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Ph.D. Thesis.

THE SOCIAL DEFINITION OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN 'CARE'.

by

David James Cowell.

University Of Middlesex, August 1993.

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ABSTRACT

The Social Definition Of Young People In 'Care'.

By

David James Cowell

The research study described by this thesis was designed to identify the process whereby young people in local authority residential 'care' come to be socially defined and to analyse the nature and validity of this definition and its effect on their employment prospects. It is an undertaking which entails a critical reading into the territories in and between several of the social sciences (e.g. sociology, social administration, social policy, social psychology, applied social studies and economics) to identify the interlocking themes which combine to form the social definition of these young people which casts them as an undeserving group set apart from their 'non-care' peers.

To test the validity of this definition matched samples of young people in, and not in 'care' from two London Boroughs were followed through their first year on the labour market. In this period they were interviewed on three occasions. An essentially qualitative approach was taken towards this task, using as the main source of material respondents' subjective reports to identify their personal problems, histories of offending, hopes and aspirations for the future, family relationships, school performance, assiduousness of job search and rates of unemployment. In so doing the study compensated for the lack of a similar comparative analysis in the literature and demonstrated that, contrary to the social definition of young people in 'care', they and their 'non-care' counterparts were much alike.

Yet, interviews also held with 'care' respondents' teachers, prospective employers and members of the public revealed that nearly all of them clung to the distorted and exaggerated stereotype of these young people produced by the stigmatic social definition of them. The study attributes this to a profound historical process which stigmatizes all who are dependent on the largess of society. It is a process so deeply

rooted that policies directed at changing the way in which they are defined are not likely to succeed.

However the study concludes by making a series of recommendations intended to help young people in 'care' overcome the effects of this definition. In doing so it goes beyond providing a long-overdue analysis of the underlying social and historical forces which influence events and moves on to begin to provide solutions, based on analysis of the study's findings, to the problems these young people confront as a result of the social definition imposed on them.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

A number of people and organizations have been very generous in giving their assistence with this research study. Their suggestions and comments have been invaluable and many have been unashamedly incorporated into this thesis. Responsibility for the way in which their ideas have been used remains entirely my own, as do any errors. Many thanks to Sid Perks, Andy Taylor, Dr. Madeline Munday, Peter Wittingham, The National Association of Young People in Care, First Key, Community Service Volunteers and the June Chambers Memorial Trust for their help without which the study would have been much poorer. My thanks also go to The Inner London Education Authority and those of its schools which took part in the research study. Thanks are also extended to the anonymous London Borough's which took part in the study and to the London Borough of Redbridge for the advice it freely gave. A debt of gratitude is also owed to Martin Moore for the kindness he showed me, and considerable work he did when printing the manuscript of this thesis.

Whilst there are many others I would like to thank for their help I am particularly grateful to my wife, Judith, for her support and care, without which I probably would have never completed this study, and to my supervisor, Dr. Julie Ford, for her constant enthusiasm, constructive criticism, encouragement and for being the 'breath of fresh air' whose interest kept me going. Finally, I must thank all the young people, teachers, employers and members of the public who were the study's respondents. In a very real sense this thesis is their story.

David James Cowell. August 1993.

INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1.

Introduction.

1.1. Purpose Of The Research Study.

There can be few issues guaranteed to provoke a fiercer debate than the proper care of children and young people. For better, or worse, all of us must have at sometime given and received advice on this subject. However, interest in this matter is matched by a curious, counterbalancing reluctance to interfere. It is as if the activities of the family are surrounded by an unchallenged aura of privacy within which much child-rearing goes on in virtual secrecy. It is a private domain in which its members and their domestic activities are sheltered from public scrutiny.

This study concerns those children and young people where the aversion to interfering has been set aside in the interests of their 'welfare', where their 'well-being' has become a matter of public concern causing them to be moved far from the seclusion of the family realm to that of the child 'care' system.

Consisting of a labyrinth of statutes, rules and regulations, run by national and local politicians, administered by the bureaucratic machines of the Department of Health and local authority Social Services Departments and staffed by an army of social work professionals, the child 'care' system is an innately public apparatus. It is regularly dissected by a plethora of social researchers, is the subject of intense Parliamentary debate and the frequent object of political dispute while a long trail of child abuse enquiries, and their attendant media coverage lends support to the assertion that social workers are among the most publicly accountable of all professional groups.

Stripped of the anonymity surrounding the private domain of the family the child 'care' system is bathed in the glare of the public domain and, thereby, exposed to a defining public gaze. As a result, the entry of children and young people into 'care' entails that they, not only, leave their families, but also, migrate from the private to public domain. In the process they too become the objects of the same defining gaze. This study is about the nature of that gaze, of how those in 'care' are socially defined and of the process which generates the definitions imposed on them.

At the time the study took place 66,700 (1.) children and young people were in local authority 'care' in England. They formed a heterogeneous group with them following a variety of different roots into 'care' allowing the legal status of its subjects to differ sharply. While some were in 'care' on a purely voluntary basis others were as the result of compulsion through the imposition of one of a number of enabling Orders made in all Courts dealing with the pertinent Public and Private Law. Equally varied were the reasons which brought children and young people into 'care'. Temporary parental incapacity due to illness, family break-up, neglect, physical, emotional and sexual abuse, offending and educational problems were a few of the causes that provided the grounds for 'care' which might last from very brief to very long periods. Once in 'care' entrants might find themselves placed in a variety of different 'care' settings. Some might be allowed to stay with friends or relatives while others could be fostered, found accommodation of their own, or put in residential 'care' establishments ranging from semi-independent living units to secure 'lock-ups'.

The passing, and implementation of the Children Act 1989 has made only a limited impact on this pattern of diversity. Although it consolidated the law regarding children and young people and introduced Family Proceedings Courts to deal with 'care' hearings individuals can still find themselves in 'care' for a host of different reasons and placed in the same range of settings. In addition, while the Act has abolished the concept of voluntary 'care' its replacement with that of 'accommodation' by agreement with a local authority is indicative of the close resemblance between 'accommodation' and voluntary 'care'.

However, whilst the diversity of the in 'care' population makes it difficult to make any statements, other than the most banal, applicable to all its segments, some parts of it are much more visible than others. In this respect the form of placement found an individual is regarded as being pre-eminently important. Those who are fostered, or placed with friends, or with relatives can be regarded as remaining substantially within the private domain while young people found tenancies are provided with the inconspicuousness of homes of their own.

It will be argued in the course of this thesis that the differing visibility of non-residential and residential 'care' plays a central role in the bifurcation of the child 'care' system, causing young people in these settings to be socially defined in radically different ways from their 'non-care' peers. It will be put that those placed in residential 'care' are the victims of this process of bifurcation for it is they who are most overtly tangled-up in the paraphernalia of the child 'care' system. This point is succinctly made by Berridge who observes that even when residential 'care' establishments are built to blend in with their surroundings;

> *"to the cognoscenti... certain visual clues soon become apparent, such as the mini-bus painted in council colours parked at the rear and, sadly, if the home is situated in a middle-class area a cluster of 'For Sale' notices in adjoining gardens" (2.).*

As a result, of the high public profile of residential 'care' establishments this study will confine itself to investigating the social definition of those in this form of 'care' setting. In doing so, it will pay specific attention to how sixteen year old school leavers in residential 'care' are defined by those on the outside of the child 'care' system. This approach is justified on the following three grounds:

1. The diversity of the residential 'care' population reflects that of the entire in 'care' population. Individuals in residential 'care' may have nothing in common other than the type of 'care' setting they find themselves in. Therefore, any attempt to study a cross-section of all in residential 'care', let alone in all forms of 'care', confronts serious methodological problems. The focus on one sub-group (sixteen year old school leavers) of individuals in residential 'care' reduces these problems to a manageable level. Members of this sub-group may differ among themselves, but they at least share the common grounds of 'care' setting, age and the necessity to find work.

2. Whilst residential 'care' provides for all age groups its main users are young

people. Therefore, by offering an account of how they are affected by the social definition imposed on them by those outside of the 'care' system the study seeks to maximize its pertinence for the residential 'care' population.

3. The persistently high level of youth unemployment has been a major social problem throughout the 1980s and early 1990s and it has had a particularly serious impact on young people in residential 'care'. As will be shown in Part 1's discussion of the literature a stream of social researchers have emphasized that when compared with their 'non-care' peers sixteen year old school leavers in residential 'care' experience far greater problems when trying to find and then hold jobs with the result that serious damage is often done to their attempts to establish themselves as independent individuals. If it proves possible to detect a link between the social definition of young people in residential 'care', the process by which this definition is shaped and the fate of these young people on the labour market this study will, hopefully, prove of benefit to them.

Finally, it is essential to grasp and remember, that while the research study to be discussed concerns, and may have implications for young people in residential 'care' it is not about them, nor the 'care' system. It is about those on the outside of that system and the definition they impose on it and its subjects and the process which produces and sustains such a definition. In short, the study is about the defining public gaze to which the child 'care' system and those within it are unavoidably exposed.

1.2. Theoretical Context Of The Research Study.

The long list of references contained in the bibliography at the end of this thesis gives some indication of the welter of theoretical and research material available concerning the child 'care' system, the role and development of public welfare, deviancy and the educational and occupational experiences of school leavers. Each of these areas has attracted interest from a number of disciplines which have provided a wide range of insights into the place occupied by the child 'care' system and young people in 'care', and into the transitional problems young people face on leaving school and starting work.

Yet, as the subject of this research study is highly focused previous material concerning its precise area of interest is scant. Therefore, research findings will be presented and interpreted within a theoretical context derived from observations provided by the different branches of learning referred to above. The problem confronted when trying to formulate a sociological analysis of this type lies in combining a diverse set of insights and in using them correctly and coherently within a conceptual framework. The danger of such an approach is that in cobbling together such a framework it may degenerate into mere eclecticism and drift towards glib, preordained conclusions emanating from a functionalist analysis.

Nevertheless, the strategy of assembling a theoretical context for the study by selectively piecing together insights gleaned from concerned disciplines proved helpful, particularly where gaps were found in the literature. For example, in the course of the study it seemed that whilst social work writers had commented on the comparative experiences of 'care' and 'non-care' sixteen year old school leavers when making the transition from school to work, these writers had paid little attention to how relative employability of these two groups might be affected by the differing social definitions attached to each. Indeed, Burgess appears to rule out the idea that such a consideration could have any importance. He comments:

> *"The transitional experiences of young people in care can be directly compared to those of other young people.... because both share the common ground and the common analytical theory of youth" (3.).*

In contrast, from the standpoint of a social historian, Spicker (4.) makes some telling observations about the attachment of stigma to public welfare and, thereby, indicates how the transitional experiences of young people in, and not in local authority residential 'care' can be influenced by the social definitions attached to them. It is a perspective which begins to call into question the comparability alleged by Burgess.

If the views of Burgess and Spicker are brought together a dual focus emerges which encourages us not to lo~~o~~se sight of what young people of differing 'care' status have in common, facilitating the discriminate use of the hefty weight of material available on the issue of general youth unemployment. This helps ensure that attention is paid to factors outside of the 'care' system which, when combined with those arising directly out of the 'care' experience provide convincing indicators as to why young people in 'care' are more likely to suffer unemployment than their 'non-care' counterparts. It is by this careful blending of the shared insights gleaned from a variety of diverse sources that the study attempts to establish a theoretical context sufficient to enable an adequate examination of the social process by which young people in local authority 'care' are defined and its implications for their employment prospects.

1.3. Research Methods.

The proposition that young people in local authority residential 'care' are subject to a damaging social definition which disadvantages them on the labour market remains to be established and the reasons for this, if true, specified. It is vital that this situation is rectified. If it is not, all attempts to comprehend and improve the lot of young people in this form of 'care' are destined to be incomplete, to lack direction and, thereby, court the danger of being irrelevant to the solution of the problems they pretend to address. The research study was conceived and designed as an attempt to fill this knowledge gap by providing a better understanding of how young people in local authority residential 'care' are socially defined, of the processes which shape and sustain this definition and of its implications for these young people.

The study commenced in 1984 and was undertaken on a part-time basis at Middlesex Polytechnic (now University). Although the study has received no funding two London Boroughs agreed to participate in it, on the condition that they not be named, and I have called them Hinkley and Ingleby. In addition, the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) also took part in the study while the London Borough of Redbridge's Personal Services (Social Services) and Education Departments gave generously of their time and advice as did the staff of several non-statutory agencies with an interest in young people in 'care'.

Using comparative success on the labour market as an indicator of the potency and effect of the social definition imposed on young people in residential 'care' the study tracked, throughout their first year at work, an in 'care' group consisting of all sixteen year old school leavers residing in residential establishments located within the borough boundaries of Hinkley and run by that Authority's Social Services Department and a local 'non-care' sample, matched for size, gender and racial presentation with the 'care' sample, of other sixteen year old school leavers. Similar samples were then drawn in Ingleby.

All the young people who participated in the study left school between Easter and July 1987 and acted as 'tracers' capable of revealing by their experiences on the labour market how they were perceived by three powerful defining groups - teachers, employers and the public - representatives of whom were also interviewed in the course of the study. It was these, not the young people, who were the study's centre of attention. Thus, while this thesis refers to the young people who took part in the study as its 'tracer' members of these defining groups are its 'target'.

This form of data was considered particularly well suited to the type of investigation conducted for, as will later be shown, it offered a means of accessing the stereotypes individuals carry around in their 'social baggage' and of supplying a succession of well grounded, rich descriptions and explanations of the processes observed in their local contexts.

In addition, the study's qualitative approach enabled it to preserve a sense of chronological flow while allowing its theoretical framework to develop in accord with findings which revealed unexpected avenues of inquiry needing to be investigated. Above all, it was hoped that the qualitative nature of the undertaking would lend an air of authenticity, for as Miles and Huberman observe:

> *"the findings of qualitative studies have a quality of 'undeniability'... Words, especially when they are organized into incidents or stories,*

> *have a concrete, vivid, meaningful flavour that often proves far more convincing than pages of numbers" (5.).*

Prior to the fieldwork phase of the research study the views of a wide range of people were elicited and considered in the course of a pilot study. As this did not form part of the main study a detailed discussion of the pilot is relegated to Appendix 1. although it achieved its primary aims which were twofold;

1. Consultation with organizations having a special interest, and some expertise in matters relating to young people in residential 'care' in order to identify the most fruitful areas of investigation and questions to ask.

2. To pretest, in their draft forms, questionnaires (see Appendix 2.) to be used on teachers, employers and the public.

The results of the pilot study were carefully recorded with, perhaps, its most important finding being the identification of the need to make a clear distinction between residential 'care' provided by local authorities and that of non-statutory organizations, like Barnardo's. Somehow, public and charitable/private residential 'care' appeared to be defined in very different ways. This is a point which will be returned to.

The fieldwork component of the research study commenced in the summer of 1987. Members of the 'care' and 'non-care' samples were all seen individually at that time. Unfortunately, logistical problems dictated that increasing reliance had to be placed on telephone interviews when contacting them again in the middle, and at the end of their first year on the labour market. This raised the spectre of the samples becoming dangerously self-selecting, a problem circumnavigated by seeking out in person those who did not have a telephone and others who did, but would only respond to 'face to face' meetings. The later respondents proved to be a rarity, the majority of them having the use of a telephone and responsive to telephone interviews.

Whilst the interviews conducted with the young people who took part in the study allowed their hopes, aspirations, preparedness for work and experiences on the labour market to be assessed and compared it is re-emphasized that their primary value lay in the way they enabled contact to be made with teachers, employers and the public; the three powerful defining groups whose perceptions of young people in 'care' were considered crucially important in determining their employment chances.

When deciding what members of the defining groups should be incorporated into the research study an attempt was made to maximize the probability that individuals approached were those whose views would have the most telling impact on young people in 'care'. This involved the application, as appropriate, of the following selection criteria:

1. Teachers interviewed must have taught the members of the 'care' and 'non-care' samples.

2. Respondents representing the views of employers had to be the individuals who took the recruitment decisions on behalf of the firms, or types of firms young people in the 'care' and 'non-care' samples sought work with, and which were located in the geographical areas covered by their job search.

3. Members of the public interviewed had to live in one of the participating London Boroughs.

All teachers and members of the public who contributed to the study were given personal interviews, but the availability of employers and their geographical spread meant that the more pragmatic approach of interviewing them by telephone was adopted.

1.4. Definitions Of Terms Used.

As most of the terms in this thesis are defined when they are first used it would be wasteful to spend time, here, specifying them in detail. However, three key terms will be defined before moving on. These definitions will remain fixed throughout the thesis unless otherwise stated.

1. 'Young People': Individuals who have reached minimum school leaving age.

2. 'Care': Children and young people for whom local authorities are responsible under the auspices of Court Orders and those who are 'accommodated' by local authorities on the basis of voluntary agreements with parents. Defining 'care' in a way which amalgamates these two groups and ignores the legal distinction between them is justified on the grounds that the observers of the 'care' system do not make this distinction. From a social perspective, being in 'care' is a matter of location within this system, not a matter of legal status. There is a pronounced tendency on the part of observers to view all children and young people in residential establishments as being in 'care'.

3. 'Residential Care': 'Care' provided within residential child 'care' establishments run by, and situated within the borough boundaries of the participating local authorities.

Finally, it will be noted that at various points in the thesis the concepts of 'social definition' and 'perception' will appear to be used interchangeably. However, they a re to be understood in different, albeit related, ways. The former is deemed to refer to how the nature of an object is said to be while the later concerns how it is felt to be. Central to this thesis is the idea that it is a relatively small step from feeling something about the nature of an object to ascribing that feeling to the nature of the object concerned. The object can then be said to inherently possess that quality which was, initially, only felt about it. It is a process by which the intuitive becomes 'factual'.

1.5. The Limitations Of The Research Study.

Marsland notes that:

> *"In every project of whatever type and style, design decisions are*

> *made which limit and condition the validity of the findings and interpretative conclusions. These ought to be made explicit and formalized, and the limits of the power and validity of the consequent analysis acknowledged". (6.)*

This statement provides a succinct reminder of the limitations research design impose on the claims of researchers to have gained valid knowledge and of the phenomological question which confronts them all - is there anything 'out there' other than phenomena? In the conduct of the research study and composition of this thesis I have operated from the view point that the answer to this fundamental question is 'no'. The researcher is not passive when making research choices for, as Ford (7.) points out, research is a relativistic 'fairy tale' in which data, evidence, validity etc. are merely those things which researchers stipulate as representing them. Consequently, claims made on behalf of all research - including this thesis - to have established, or found the 'truth' must always to be treated with caution.

This Gouldner (8.) makes clear when expanding on this cautionary theme. He describes all social theories as deliberately formulated over simplifications containing at least two distinguishable elements. The first consists of the explicitly formulated assumptions, or postulations whose overtness allows them to be adequately controlled during the course of research.

The second element concerns less readily detectable "background assumptions". It is these readers and researchers need to be particularly aware of for they are the imputations about the:

> *"realities in the social world that sociologists make not of evidence or research, but simply because of what they have seen, heard, been told or said" (9.).*

These unstated, sub-theoretical assumptions must be acknowledged. If they are not the validity of research studies and the theoretical context in which they take place comes to rest on sets of assumptions, the 'truth' of which is imputed simply because they resonate to, and are influenced by the personal experiences of their authors.

Therefore, an inherent limitation of this study consists of the background assumptions which I, as the researcher, brought to it. The problem is, that while beliefs can differ from systematically gathered facts, their interpretation and the theoretical context in which they are placed are dependent on the sub-theoretical set of beliefs imposed on them. As a result, these beliefs must be made explicit. In recognition of the necessity that this injunction be obeyed I confess to bringing to the study an underlying belief that young people in local authority residential 'care' are socially defined in a way that stigmatize them, meaning they have fewer life chances available to them than do their 'non-care' peers. The purpose of the study is not to prove, but to falsify this assumption by subjecting its component hypotheses to test.

It is impossible to shed or totally disregard all such beliefs as they form part of what, Gouldner (10.) describes as our 'subsidiary' awareness. In an effort to minimize this problem the thesis will attempt to make explicit all research decisions and give details of methodology, to open the study to critical scrutiny and possible replication. Thus, by a mixture of exposure and confession, the research attempts to overcome the limitations which would be placed on it by a strict phenomenological position whilst also avoiding the extremes of positivism.

Another limitation of the research study is that its findings arise out of the use of 'care' samples which are highly selective. They do not include any individuals in the 'care' of the participating local authorities outside of the age group and not in the form of 'care' setting which have been defined as being of interest. Similarly, the matching 'non-care' samples do not represent a cross-section of the young people in the schools they attended.

In addition, the research has a limited geographical focus - the London Boroughs of Hinkley and Ingleby. Consequently, many of the results obtained only apply to the 'types' of young people represented in the 'care' and 'non-care' samples and arose out of purely local determinants. For example, the nature and structure of the local youth labour market in each of the two Authorities.

Therefore, the relevance of the research's findings cannot be seen as extending beyond the context in which it took place as defined by time, place and participants.

This is seen to be a necessary and acceptable limitation of the research study for the following reasons:

1. The research was conducted with limited resources and unless strict boundaries were imposed on what it strived to achieve it ran an unacceptably high risk of over-reaching itself.

2. Sawdon, Pelican and Tucker (11.) have demonstrated that not only does the extent of youth unemployment differ considerably from region to region, but also from London Borough to London Borough. This emphasizes the importance of local conditions as a causative factor in the creation of youth unemployment and the need for the study to pay attention to this fact in its findings.

3. Since the completion of the research study the pattern of youth unemployment and the shape of the labour market has changed drastically with the development, extension and consolidation of the Youth Training Scheme (YTS). Whilst it was operable during the field work phase of the study it had not grown to the proportions it has since reached. Its guarantee of a job for all school leavers and the deprivation of State Benefits to the young unemployed has held down, the still considerable degree of competition among them when seeking work while encouraging employers to make use of YTS 'trainees' instead of directly employing them. These changes mean that the relative success of young people in, and not in local authority residential 'care' in their search for work cannot now be regarded, with the same degree of confidence as it was at the time of the study, as an indicator of the differing ways in which they are socially defined.

1.6. Structure Of The Thesis.

The thesis is sub-divided into four parts. Part 1. concerns the research context and attempts to lay bare the epistemological assumptions governing the interpretation of the study's findings and the knowledge base on which the research study, from which they are derived, is founded. It is an undertaking which begins with an analysis of the meaning of research, an exercise that moves from a statement of, what I have called, the Epistemological Question to a discussion of the relativistic nature of 'theories', 'facts', 'values' and their like. An explanation will then be given of why this thesis is written from the perspective of someone who feels that research is worth bothering with, leading into a debate about paradigms which attempts to articulate that woven into the context of this study.

Subsequently an overview of the literature about young people in local authority residential 'care' will be provided. It will pay particular, but not exclusive, attention to that which has arisen out of the 'Children in Care Research Initiative' launched in 1980 by the Department of Health and Social Security (D.H.S.S.) and Economic And Social Science Research Council (E.S.R.C.) and later taken over by the Department of Health (D.O.H.) and Economic and Social Research Council (E.S.R.C.). In doing so, an attempt will be made to draw out, and clarify the recurring themes found within the literature which appear to characterize its presentation of young people in local authority residential 'care'. In the course of this exercise the social component of the process by which these young people are socially defined will begin to emerge and with it the need for the kind of research to be described made more evident. Discussion of the research context will then be concluded with an examination of the problem of youth unemployment, theories of the labour market and of the health and social costs unemployment imposed on its victims.

Part 2. of the thesis moves on to provide an account of the research strategy and methodology. This will be gone into in some detail to combat the problem of subsidiary awareness discussed in 1.5., above. This undertaking commences with a discussion of the derivation of the study's analytical theory from the implicit theory which provided the investigation with its starting point. In doing so an attempt will be made to bring to the surface some of the background assumptions I made, as the researcher, in the course of the study. Supplementing this Part of this thesis are Appendices 3 and 4 which examine the investigation's geographical and respondent foci.

Part 3. of the thesis concerns the analysis and interpretation of research results and consists of two sections. The first (Part 3.1.) concerns itself with information gained from the young people who participated in the research, the 'tracers', with regard to a number of experimental variables measured in terms of respondents' 'care' status, borough of residence, gender and racial presentation. As this section has to comment on a large number of research results they will be presented in a summarative style.

The second section of Part 3. (Part 3.2.) presents the results of interviews conducted with teachers, employers and the public. These are the study's 'target' respondent groups; the key definers of young people in 'care' whose views are regarded as giving a reliable indication of how these young people are socially defined.

Part 4. of the thesis draws it to a close with a debate about the conclusions to be drawn from the study. An attempt will be made to do this in a creative fashion, using the study's findings to suggest the way forward for residential child 'care' if it is to ensure that the social definition imposed on the young people in this form of 'care' does not preventably damage their life chances. This is considered the most important part of the thesis as it may transform the study from something which might be regarded as 'just another' piece of research into a work that has potential practical value.

PART 1.

THE RESEARCH CONTEXT.

Chapter 2.

The Meaning Of Research.

2.1. The Epistemological Question.

Reference has already been made to the warning phenomenology gives against assuming anything about 'facts' that present themselves as self-evident 'truths' produced through the framework of common sense, or by the established maker of 'reality' called scientific investigation. It is a perspective which holds that, in a fundamental sense, we can never 'know' what is 'really', 'real'.

Therefore, what I have called, the Epistemological Question is of central importance to the research study. The Question asks: Can research ever do anything more than express the preferences of those engaged in it? Resting upon the answer to this Question is the justification for believing research to be more than an intuitive exercise.

The way in which the Epistemological Question was dealt with in the course of the study had two main implications. First, it set the boundaries around any claims the study might make to being 'meaningful' and, secondly, it helped explain why it was undertaken in preference to simply making broad statements about the social definition of young people in 'care'.

2.2. The Problem Of Subjectivity: 'Theories', 'Facts','Values' And Similar Terms.

Previous discussion of background assumptions made it clear that every social theory is a personal theory which necessarily expresses, and is infused with the personal experiences, views and values of the theorizer.Thus, Gouldner observes that while researchers may seek to explain 'things' in terms they feel to be 'real' they must ultimately impute 'reality'.

> *"This is to say they believe... that certain things are truly attributable to the social world.In important part, their conception of what is 'real' derives from the domain assumptions (the background assumptions applied only to the members of a single domain) they have learned in their culture.These culturally standardized assumptions are, however, differentiated by personal experience... so that domain assumptions assume a personal arrangement;they become part of the individual's reality" (my brackets) (1.).*

In a briefer, but similar vein Goode and Hatt write:

> *"Science rests upon a series of postulates... We can assert these postulates are true; we can believe them; but we cannot prove them" (2.).*

'Reality' remains beyond our grasp and all research is carried out within an investigative context informed by the epistemological understanding investigators have of the world. It is an understanding in which the boundaries between the 'theories', 'facts' and 'values' is so blurred that to present them as separate, distinct entities would be grossly misleading.

No one can ever view the world in a completely detached fashion. We can only come to 'know' it through our individual perceptual apparatus which is informed by personal 'beliefs', 'views', 'values', etc. Out of this interaction emerge our individual personal 'realities', the unique interpretations we each give to the world of events surrounding us. It is an interpretive process which provides the means of making a series of a priori assumptions about the operation of this world and from which 'theories' are deduced. The problem in theory testing is that the 'facts' of 'proof', or 'disproof' do not speak for themselves. 'Facts' are merely those 'things' the social researcher nominates them to be, and interprets as such.

Thus, implicit question marks must remain eternally fixed at the end of such words as 'reality', 'facts', 'values' and similar normative terms whose unknowability is signified by bracketing them within apostrophes (' '); a practice already begun.

The relationship between the personal 'reality' and social theorizing makes it imperative that social researchers come to terms with their role 'realities'; the things they learn in the course of their research activities. Only when this is done can they squeeze out some of the subjective content, inherent to their investigations. An awareness of this form of 'reality' is vital for to assign 'factuality' to a research finding entails a personal imputation as to what is 'truth' and to the correctness of the process which rendered it. Accordingly, to believe an imputation to be 'factual';

> *"is to assign a high value to it, setting it above such things as opinions and prejudices" (3)* .

However, to deem a belief to be a 'fact' implies a self-involving commitment for by the very act of extolling the 'truthfulness' of a claim lends credence to it. In this way the researcher's role and his, or her personal 'reality' intermingle producing an 'unscientific' subsidiary awareness that threatens the objectivity of the research undertaking.

A second order of conceptions about 'reality' held by researchers concerns those things they hold to be personally 'real'. These are imputations about the 'realities' of the social world which arise, not out of 'evidence', but out of what the individual has seen, heard or read. Although, these beliefs differ from systematically gathered 'facts' they are experienced as being 'real' and , therefore, influence research findings. The claims researchers make about the world reflect, and form part of their personal 'realities' which are prone to sink into their unconscious minds.Once lodged there this 'reality' is inaccessible to inspection, but remains capable of playing an important, unrecognized role in determining the relationship between 'theories', 'facts' and 'values'.

Ultimately, the complexity of 'theories', 'facts', 'values' etc., and of the inter-relationships between them is attributable to the differing ways in which individuals experience the world. Individuals are not passive entities, they interpret events and construct a world of 'realities' out of a world of appearances; we all make assumptions about how the realm in which we find ourselves works. These provide the subjective frame of reference for existence which is an infusion of the 'theories', 'facts', 'values' we attach to, and by which we understand the world. As a result, in their strivings for objectivity all researchers are blighted by inescapable subjectivity.

2.3.

Why Bother With Research?

The points made about the unknowability of 'reality' are well recognized and ancient, dating back to at least the time of Plato (4.) and can be construed reasons for never bothering to understand the world. As there seems to be no possibility of ever locating the absolute 'truth' why bother looking for it? Why bother with research?

Yet, a perspective which asserts that there is no such thing as observable 'reality' is facile. It is at variance with our day to day experience of the world to say that there is nothing which can be described as 'real'. Common-sense tells us that there is an unending list of things which are, emphatically, 'out there' which have a real effect on our lives. These range from the bus which will run over me if I don't assume its 'reality' and get out of its way, to the effects on my entitlement to unemployment benefit if I am thought not to be looking for work. If our senses inform us that something is 'out there' we cannot wish it away. For everyday purposes, that which appears to be 'real' is really real (5.).

Thus, there are two forms of 'reality'. On the one hand, there is the pure, absolute reality and, on the other hand, there is the limited 'reality' of common sense. Traditionally, the philosophy of science attempted to stand back from common sense and tried to view the world as an outsider and seek absolute truth through the rigorous application of scientific method (6.). There is an appealing simplicity in this aim but it can never be achieved as Dunne makes clear:

> *"All said and done, as my dentist pointed out to me the other day, the average man likes to see both ends of the stick...But... (this is like)...pursuing a will-of-the-wisp. It is impossible for you, who are part of the universe to achieve the viewpoint of an observer standing outside that universe which includes you. You can only see one end of the stick; for the other end is you" (7.).*

In contrast, the common sense approach towards the understanding of 'reality' is not concerned with absolutes. It is interested only in relative truths, with the world as it appears as opposed to the world as it is and words like 'facts', 'reality' and 'truth' take on another level of meaning. They move away from some pristine zone where they are shrouded from all who try to see them and become something more prosaic. They are transformed into phenomenon to be viewed;

> *"as that which appears, or manifests itself to the consciousness, that which emerges into view from a ground to become what it is here and now for a subject" (8.).*

'Facts', 'reality', 'truth' etc. are all meaningfully patterned from each individual's unique point of view. As a result, they must be regarded as relative concepts with no absolute meaning. From this perspective, research is defined as an undertaking which provides relative, not absolute, 'truths'.

2.4. The Research's Paradigm: The Purpose Of Research.

2.4(a.). Paradigms.

The relativity of 'truth' means that what it is thought to be depends on our perceptions of things 'out there'; we are confronted by a world of impressions which we constantly attempt to order in an unending effort to make them 'meaningful'. The ceaseless sifting and patterning of 'information' in the search for its 'meaning' is a basic feature of human existence.

However, anarchy poses a constant threat unless a shared view can be derived concerning the way in which 'information' should be patterned and the 'meanings' to be extracted.Without consensus on these matters there could be as many views of the world as there are people in it.This is where paradigms come into play which Kuhn defines as;

> *"accepted examples of actual scientific practice - examples which include law, theory, application and instrumentation together - provide models from which spring particular coherent traditions of scientific*

> *research. These are the traditions which the historian describes under such rubrics as Ptolemaic astronomy (or Copernican), Aristotelian dynamics (or Newtonian), corpuscular optics (or wave optics), and so on" (9.).*

Paradigms are thoughts about the way in which we think about the world. They are the means governing the way in which we try to make sense of our relative 'realities'. All research goes on against and is informed by the investigative background provided by researchers' epistemological understanding of the world as it is expressed by their paradigms of thought. The paradigms within which researchers operate define and restrict the ways in which they perceive 'reality', the ways in which they think about the subjects of their investigative efforts.

However, while paradigms have 'real' world implications they are abstractions whose foundations are tenuous. At their most general level they are based on our ontological assumptions; our most fundamental thoughts about the nature of things, whose ultimate realities can never be known. They form our basic beliefs (e.g. all things are the work of God) the 'truth' of which is a matter of faith. Once again we return to the 'unknowability' of reality.

Nevertheless, this problem need not be too worrying; it merely serves to warn that there can never be such things as unequivocal research findings. It is only when investigators forget this and try to escape the confines of their paradigm that they risk incapacitation. Consequently, a paradigm is the core part of any research study's context, it moulds the way in which their subjects may be thought about.

2.4(b.). The Research Study's Paradigm.

It is important for researchers to make clear the paradigms they employ; how they have thought the thoughts expressed in their work. The reader should not have to guess whether or not the author is, for example, writing from the standpoint of a logical positivist, or a symbolic interactionist, or a social phenomenologist. All will have perceived the world differently.

The paradigm employed in the course of this research study rejected the idea of trying to be absolutely objective and assumed that there seemed to be 'things' going on in the world having an existence independent of me. As a result, the research paradigm is akin to that articulated by Miles and Huberman who write:

> *"We think of ourselves as logical positivist who recognize and try to atone for the limitations of that approach. Soft-nosed logical positivism, maybe... In other words, we believe that social phenomena exist not only in the mind but also in the objective world - and that there are some lawful and reasonably stable relationships to be found among them.In part... these phenomena exist objectively in the real world because people construe them in common or agreed ways, so perceptions are crucial in understanding why social behaviour takes the form it does" (10.).*

As a corollary of the study's belief in social regularities when interpreting research findings it is felt that this thesis must examine the social definition of young people in local authority residential 'care'. In doing so, special attention will be paid to the relative importance of 'care' status, borough of residence, gender and racial presentation as predictors of some of the outcomes foretold by this definition.

2.4(c.). The Meaning Of Research.

Whilst discussion of the Epistemological Question has confirmed that research inevitably expresses the preferences of those engaged in it, it is not a meaningless exercise. To assert otherwise is to misunderstand the meaning of research by implying that because it cannot provide ultimate, or absolute 'truths' it is worthless.

Research is not about gaining possession of 'unknowables', its value lays in constantly testing out the theories we apply to the world; the explanations we concoct for events within it. It is a process geared to expanding our 'knowledge' of what we think we 'know' and don't 'know'. Perfect (absolute) knowledge may be beyond our reach, but by constantly testing and refining paradigms of thought research allows us to move ever closer to that always unattainable goal.

More specifically, the research study to be described attempts to go beyond merely fitting observations to a theory which appears to explain them to test the adequacy of that theory as an explanatory device. In doing so the study is endowed with meaning.

Chapter 3.

Themes From The Literature:

The Poor School Performance Of Young People In 'Care'.

3.1. Introduction.

There is a large body of evidence about the relationship between education and life chances, particularly for children and young people from very deprived backgrounds (1.). On the other hand, there are many indications that the education of those in 'care' is given a low priority by social workers. Retrospective accounts by individuals who grew up in 'care' frequently contain complaints about the lack of attention given to their schooling (2.). The implications of this are made clear by Essen, Lambert and Head who, when commenting on data supplied by the National Child Development Study (N.C.D.S.), state:

> *"Children, in the preliminary analysis of the children's reading and mathematical attainment... showed that on both the tests and average scores of the children who had been in care were lower than those of children who had not been in care.*
>
> *It was expected that the difference in scores could be accounted for by other factors in which children in care were at a disadvantage... social class, family size, region of the country, receipt of free school meals (by any child of the family), crowding in the home, birth weight and maternal age... After allowing for all these factors the... in care group were on average 6 months behind those who had never been in care and seven months behind on maths tests"* (3.).

Essen et al go on to point out this disparity grew with the length of time individuals spent in 'care'. Children who came into 'care' before the age of seven were, at the age of eleven, 14 months below the norm for reading and 12 months below that for mathematics. These results reflect those of a number of other smaller scale studies carried out between 1954 and 1974 (4.).

Publications, subsequent to that of Essen et al's, have continued to lend support to the notion that in 'care' status equates with educational disadvantage. Jackson, in a review of recent research (5.) concludes that;

> *"What evidence we do have... suggests that coming into care carries with it a high risk of educational failure... This is allowing for the fact that most children in care are from families which are educationally disadvantaged anyway" (6.).*

Similarly, Colton, Heath and Aldgate in a discussion of their investigation of the educational performance of children and young people in 'care' reveal that even that of those who are fostered is below the national average. They comment:

> *"The rather limited previous research carried out on the school attainment of children in care in Britain and America reveals that they are likely to exhibit behavioural problems at school and to perform the average for their age. Moreover, there are self-reports of young people who have left care at the age of majority and consider themselves educationally ill-equipped for adulthood" (7.).*

However, it is not enough to say that there is a significant body of research giving rise to, and supporting the notion that young people in 'care' perform less well at school than those not in 'care'. We need to go beyond this to state how the literature presents this problem as arising, and its implications for these young people.

3.2. The Causes Of The Poor School Performance Of Young People In Residential 'Care'.

3.2(a.). Disruption And Instability.

One of the most consistent findings in all recent research is the instability of life in 'care' with young people placed residentially frequently obliged to move; sometimes for no more than administrative reasons. The disruption this creates for them is considerable with some, in the words of Millham, Bullock, Hosie, and Haak (8.) becoming "lost in care" as they increasingly come to know, as did a member of

Stein's and Carey's (9.) 'care' leaver cohort, what a "parcel feels like".

The disruption suffered by young people in 'care'is often compounded by the accompanying necessity to change their schools. Whilst the damaging implications this has for their educational prospects are obvious, social workers stand accused of failing to mount 'damage limitation' exercises by not giving sufficient thought to the timing of such moves. Jackson writes:

> *"Social workers are seldom geared to the rhythms of the educational system, and so give little thought to timing moves to minimize the stress and disruption for the child" (10.).*

Thus, the movement of young people around the residential child 'care' system means they run a high risk of also being moved around the education system. Their 'care' status confronts them with the prospect of being, often at short notice, transferred from one school to another. The disruption this imposes on their education may be amplified by these moves happening in the middle of term, perhaps, before some long looked forward to school event, or in the midst of preparations for examinations. Even when this is not the case, Jackson considers that changes of school;

> *"inevitably involves a setback to learning while the child finds out about the rules and customs and has to build a new set of relationships. It is hardly surprising that children who are asked to adjust over and over again to new schools simply switch off or become extremely disturbed or disruptive" (11.).*

The pattern of enforced school changing on young people in 'care', is also observed by other writers. Berridge reports that several of the young people involved in his study of children's homes were unable to remember how many schools they had attended while one;

> *"proudly opened her wardrobe door to reveal the splendid mauves, greens blues and greys of four brand-new uniforms of schools she had fleetingly attended during the previous year" (12.).*

From the above it appears that while young people in 'care' continue to be required to undergo frequent changes of placement their educational performance faces a sustained threat. Unfortunately, as will be shown, life in 'care' is consistently presented as imposing an innately disruptive existence on young people, providing them with a powerful disincentive to establish themselves and succeed at school.

3.2(b.). Lack Of Self-Investment By Young People In 'Care' In Their Education.

If young people wish to maintain themselves as independent individuals on leaving 'care' it is reasonable to assume that to do so they will need a job. Only by working will they gain the financial wherewithal to sustain their independence. This view finds considerable support in the literature with, for example, Jackson, Stein and Carey, Morgan-Klein commenting, in turn, that:

> *"We know that... young people who are not integrated into the family network stand little chance of getting work unless they have formal educational qualifications or marketable skills. For them education may be the only means to avoid repeating the patterns of family disadvantage which caused them to come into care in the first place" (13.).*
>
> *"With few educational qualifications, then, our young people were poorly equipped or a contracting labour market and its scarce rewards. Throughout the project they inhabited a world of benefits, work schemes, casual labour and other practices (legal or otherwise) on the margins of employment" (14.).*
>
> *"All surveys of unemployment show a higher rate of unemployment and a tendency for it to be more frequent and longer lasting for individuals who lack educational qualifications" (15.).*

The seemingly inextricable link between obtaining a sound basic education and the ability to get a decent job presents itself as providing young people in residential 'care' with an added incentive to make the most of the educational opportunities they are offered.

Yet, the pertinent literature reveals that the poor school performance of young people in 'care' is, in large part, thought to be underpinned by the allegedly insufficient self-investment they make in their education. Multiple reasons are given for this ranging from not liking school, through to the disruption caused by life in 'care', to the alienation of these young people from the education system. Although these reasons may differ all are merely different routes to the same destination; a failure to make a sufficient self-investment in their education. This gives rise to the types of comments made below:

> *"Running away... from school was a major reason for young people coming into care... There was little interest in school or school subjects, and many saw exams as pointless and education as a whole as a waste of time" (16.).*
>
> *"Most (young people in care) felt school had little to offer them: 'I was never at school. I always dodged school. I hated school'" (17.).*
>
> *"Truancy rates for children in care, or who have subsequently been taken into care, which appear to be much higher than the national average reflect individual maladjustment and inability to sustain social relationships within the school" (18.).*

When the view of young people in residential 'care', as individuals who fail to make sufficient self-investment in their education, is combined with the disruptions of life in 'care', they emerge as being caught-up in a vicious circle. Within this circle, the disruptions of 'care' deter these young people from making an adequate investment in their education undermining their ability cope to with the demands of independent living thereby increasing their dependency on a 'care' system which deters them from making this investment.

As a result, the educational failure of the great majority of young people in residential 'care' seems to be preordained. It is a failure which appears inevitable when other important factors are taken into account, indicating that these young people suffer from a number of interlocking educational disadvantages. Some are 'external' such as the experience of frequently disrupted schooling and the lack of facilities in residential establishments for private study. Others are psychological, such as low self-esteem. However, according to Parker, Ward, Jackson, Aldgate and Wedge, a crucial factor seems to be;

> *"the minimal expectations of social workers and care-givers about what the children in their care are capable of achieving and the low priority that educational matters are accorded. Such attitudes permeate the care system, symbolized by the fact that the responsible government department requires no statistics on the school-leaving qualifications of children who have spent their whole lives in care and that local authorities do not systematically collect this information" (19.).*

The failure of social workers and the child 'care' system to accord the education of young people in 'care' adequate priority and the minimal expectations of their school performance powerfully deter these young people from making a self-investment in their education. Therefore, there is a sad predictability about Stein and Carey's finding that the group of 'care' leavers they studied had;

> *"as a whole had a poor standard of education, and that it had seemed an area of low priority. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that courses and qualifications played very little part in their lives during the months of the project" (20.).*

Whether this was attributable to the original problem which lead to Stein's and Carey's cohort coming into 'care', or arose out of the characteristics of the particular settings in which its members were placed is not made clear. However, it is significant that the level of attainment was uniformly extremely low regardless of whether the young person had been in 'care' for shorter, or longer periods.

3.2(c.). Feelings Of Rejection By The Education System.

Despite the lack of interest members of Stein's and Carey's 'care' cohort displayed in their education, the authors found a contrasting and pervasive sense of having missed out at school on the parts of many of these young people. Whilst some partially attributed this to their own lack of motivation they also resented the way in which they had been treated by the education system. Similarly, in her report on 'care' leavers in Scotland, Morgan-Klein writes:

> *"There is a widespread feeling of malaise and even of depression*

> *amongst teenagers in residential care. This can partly be explained by the uncertainty surrounding their future. Young people had few educational qualifications and were facing, or about to face certain unemployment. Young people's negative feelings towards school must have been reinforced by the feeling that they had been rejected within the school system" (21.).*

However, Morgan-Klein's respondents give clearest expression to their feelings of rejection by the education system when describing how they felt treated by teachers. This point is clearly made by two young people interviewed by her.

> *"The teachers just didnae bother me and just shoved me in a room and didnae give you any work or anything like that. Same wi' the way they treated you 'n' all at school. If you were in trouble once, that's you. They were on your back" (22.).*

> *"... this teacher says to me, 'We've nae time for youse Christmas leavers, if youse are not going to sit exams'. So I never went back" (23.).*

Statements of this type indicate that it is not good enough to habitually blame the poor educational performance of young people in residential 'care' on their supposed 'problems' and, or the life style this form of 'care' imposes on them. Whilst these factors cannot be excluded from examination of this problem they are not sufficient to provide a complete understanding of it. A more holistic approach is required which takes into account how these young people are defined and so come to be treated by others who stand outside of the 'care' system (e.g. teachers).

The potency of the definitions imposed on young people in 'care' was testified to during the course of the research study by a leading member of N.A.Y.P.I.C. who when asked about the treatment of these young people by teachers described them as;

> *"the oppressors of young people in care".*

Whilst it has to be recognized that this person's views might not reflect those of all in 'care' a reading of the literature reciting their opinions and the work carried out in the course of this study leads me to believe he speaks for many.

Thus, when attempting to identify the literature's presentation of the causes of the poor educational performance of young people in residential 'care' the disruptions and instability of 'care', the lack of investment those in 'care' make in their education and their feelings of rejection by the education system are presented as coming together to ensure that they are condemned to failure at school. When discussing the causative process the effects of the interaction between the first two components of this process have already been discussed. The experience of rejection by the education system, its inability to meet the requirements of these young people and alienation of them seems to unerringly serve to promote and reinforce the inevitability of educational failure set up by that interaction. The costs of these failures are high and it is to these we now turn.

3.3. The Cost Of Educational Failure For Young People In Residential 'Care'.

3.3(a.). Employment Prospects.

Over and over again within the literature, the view is expressed that poor school performance translates into poor job prospects. Burgess speaks for, and summarizes the views of many social researchers when asserting:

> *"When work is scarce, the major problem of unqualified school leavers may be the failure to secure any job at all" (24.).*

At the time of writing, the level of unemployment among school leavers has increased as the protracted economic recession, which took hold during the last Thatcher administration, has continued to seriously restrict the job opportunities available to them. It is a situation which has emphasized the importance of academic success as a key to employment for the young, especially for those in 'care'. Parker et al observe that:

> *"The unemployment level among young people who have been in care is extraordinarily high... It has been argued that in times of generally high unemployment not having a job can no longer be considered a negative indicator of outcome. However, the poor educational record of young people who are or have been looked after by a local authority away from home must adversely affect their chances of*

> *employment. Indeed, qualifications may be especially important for them since they are liable to lack the informal contacts and relationships which often produce jobs for young people living with their families" (25.).*

However, the role educational attainment plays in promoting the employment chances of young people is not confined to periods of recession. Prior to the onset of that referred to above unemployment among young and older workers had been dropping over a period of 15 months, but the impression this created of more abundant work opportunities was illusory. A plethora of devices were used to stop workers getting onto and to clearing them off the unemployment statistics (see Appendix 5.), concealing the scarcity of jobs, whilst the reliance of thousands of school leavers on the large pool of training scheme jobs, outside of the labour market, disguised the highly competitive environment in which those in 'care' must ultimately find work. To succeed on this market young people needed to show they could do the jobs they applied for and educational attainment provided employers with a convenient indicator of the potential of school leavers. In this context, the following comment of Burgess's takes on chilling menace:

> *"Empirical findings suggest that many fewer school leavers who have been in care have been successful in school, proportionately, than children with conventional family backgrounds. Most young people in care will be restricted to the low skill end of the labour market because they lack educational qualifications; only a small proportion will be fortunate enough to find jobs which offer formal training opportunities" (26.).*

Burgess's view, shared by Stein and Carey and Morgan Klein, depicts young people in 'care', when they do find work, as habitually funnelled into manual, unskilled, low paid work due to their invariable educational failure. Stein and Carey note:

> *"Of the jobs which had been held (by cohort members), few were likely to lead to advancement or good wages... All the young people could be seen, then, to have had at a time when, somewhat prematurely they needed to save and build up funds for an emergent independence" (my brackets) (27.).*

Thus, whilst the poor educational performance of young people in 'care' disadvantages them in their job search when they do find work it tends to be in residual forms of employment. These are the jobs no one wants, that offer no training and tend not to pay enough to sustain the new found independence of 'care' leavers.

Moreover, the difficulties confronted by 'care' leavers who manage to maintain their independence are compounded by unemployment. Without work they are deprived of an important means, as will be discussed in the next chapter, of establishing the support networks they need to cope in the community. According to the Gulbenkian Foundation this can cause them to threaten the security of society. In a report the Foundation states:

> *"Unemployment is demoralizing enough for those young people whose background has given them every reason to feel personally secure and confident. Those who... are disadvantaged in one or multiple ways may find themselves simply unable to cope and may turn against a society which, as they see it patently has no interest in them" (28.).*

The ramifications of educational failure presented within the literature, as they relate to employability of young people in 'care', are great. Educational failure is presented as restricting the jobs available to these young people, as threatening the viability of their independence, their sense of self security and contributing towards the generation, if the Gulbenkin Foundation's hypotheses is accepted, of anti-social attitudes and criminal activities on their part.

3.3(b.). Reduced 'Life Chances'.

Although couched in extreme terms, the Gulbenkian Foundation's hypothesis about the implications of unemployment for the disadvantaged young performs a useful function by linking residential 'care' with educational failure and equating this with a reduction in the future 'life chances' of these young people.

Support for this proposition is provided by Rutter, Quinton and Liddle (29.) who tracked a group of young people who had spent time in 'care'. Rutter and his colleagues found that regardless of the reasons which brought their sample members into 'care' and the differing natures of their 'care' experience their level of achievement at school was the most important factor in predicting their behaviour as adults.

A later study by Pilling's (30.) of the most disadvantaged members of the N.C.D. cohort supported the conclusions of Rutter et al, finding a close link between educational achievement and 'well-being'. It was discovered that when contacted at the age of 27 years cohort members classified as 'educational achievers' were better off in every way than those who did not succeed at school. The 'achievers' were much more likely to be employed, to earn good wages, own their homes, have strong leisure interests and feel satisfied with their own lives.

As a result, the desirable emphasis placed within the child 'care' system on perfecting the beneficent operation of residential establishments runs the risk of being irrelevant to the improvement of the long-term prospects of young people in 'care' unless this effort is coupled with attempts to improve their educational performance. The necessity to do so is indicated by Jackson when commenting on the N.C.D.'s definition of 'educational attainment'. She writes:

> *"Educational attainment was defined in this study as having five 'O' level passes or equivalent and it seemed to be a crucial factor in 'escape from disadvantage', especially for girls" (31.).*

Very few young people in 'care' achieve anything like this level of attainment as the works of Stein and Carey, Morgan-Klein, Burgess and others demonstrate. This not only proved to be the case with respect to the majority of the study's 'care' sample members, it was also true for most members of its 'non-care' sample.

However, for the time being the question of how academic failure differentially effects the 'life chances' of those in and not in 'care' will be passed over. The point now at issue is how the literature depicts the educational performance of, and its implications for young people in 'care'. Concentration on this matter leads, irrevocably, to the literature's sombre portrayal of the damage done to the futures of these young people by the inability of the education and 'care' systems to work together on behalf of those in 'care'. The former is presented as stigmatizing them while the latter stands accused of insensitivity to the important role educational success plays in maximizing their future 'life chance'.

It is Burgess who probably best encapsulates the educational experience of young people in 'care' when observing that:

> *"For whatever complex combination of causes, the stark fact about children in care is that by the time they have reached the minimum school leaving age, the great majority of them have become casualties of the education system" (32.).*

Burgess claims that young people in residential 'care' are four times less likely than their 'non-care' peers to have gained educational qualifications, and attributes to their patterns of truancy and instability (changes of address) much of the blame for their failure to achieve at school. It is a finding of increasing significance with the residential 'care' population becoming ever more dominated by young people who are about to leave, or who have just left school. Burgess describes this as arising out of an increasing concern about the behaviour of young people in society. It is a concern that demonstrates a circularity for;

> *"the problem that affects many children in care is that it is in itself a form of disadvantage as much as a response to individual disadvantage. There is a stigma attached to being in care which may be keenly felt when it comes to looking for work or at school" (33.).*

Poor school achievement is then translated into low prospects for employment and all that means for the fledgling independence of young people in 'care' and their future 'life chances'. This arises out of a situation in which the social definition of residential 'care' and of the young people in this form of 'care' is as much of a disadvantage as the problems which brought them into 'care' in the first place.

Chapter 4.

Themes From The Literature: The Inability Of Young People In Local Authority 'Care' To Cope With The Transition From Life In 'Care' To Independent Living.

4.1.Introduction.

Although, never adequately defined the word 'maturity' appears frequently in the literature with a lack of 'maturity' often associated with the serious problems young people in residential 'care' confront when making the transition to independent living. The difficulties of this task are compounded by their entry into the labour market which, as Clough (1.) points out, usually coincides with their leaving 'care', imposing on them the need to, simultaneously, make the transition from 'care' to independence and from school to work at, or just after the age of 16 years. In the view of many writers (2.), this is unreasonable and harmful. Porter comments:

> *"In a sense leaving care is to be expected to assume instant maturity... The tendency in recent years has been to compress the transitional stage between childhood (as represented by compulsory attendance at school) and adulthood (the legal age of majority) to a point where it is now two years. For those leaving care this compression may also include finding accommodation, adjusting to the demands of a new job, or the strain of unemployment, choosing between a whole set of new relationships, or loneliness. If a young person is made to leave the institution at 16 years then clearly all three will have to be faced at once" (3.).*

The problems young people face on leaving 'care' are founded on, what I describe as, the Central Contradiction of residential 'care'. It is a contradiction which arises out of the conflict between residential 'care's' duty to contain and protect young people within a network of establishments and its practice of gratuitously thrusting onto them, on leaving 'care', greater responsibility for themselves than is experienced by their 'non-care' peers.

The difficulties which flow from the Central Contradiction are presented by Godek

(4.) as aggravated by the, alleged, emotional insecurity of young people in 'care'. He describes them as having to tackle the coincident transformations of adolescence, leaving 'care' and starting work when already burdened with unresolved feelings about their pasts, themselves, their family relationships etc. Whilst Godek concludes that this situation damages young people in 'care' Gutteridge goes further. She asserts that deprived of emotional security and deficient in maturity the;

> *"creation of a positive and balanced attitude towards the future, which is an essential psychological component in preparing the teenager for independent life is undermined" (5.).*

The perspective offered by Gutteridge and others is despairing of young people in local authority 'care'. It depicts them as hopeless cases whose attitudes, lack of maturity and emotional insecurity means they are fated to struggle with work and all other aspects of their lives as independent adults. Concerns about the difficulties young people in 'care' face when trying to make the transition to independent living and their, supposed, inability to cope with its demands represent an important theme in the literature. It is a theme which will be examined in terms of, a.) the increasing significance of the Central Contradiction; b.) the preparation of young people in 'care' for independence; c.) their loss of control over their lives; d.) the support networks available to them, and; e.) the quality of the 'care' experience.

4.2. The Increasing Significance Of The Central Contradiction.

The Central Contradiction of residential 'care' is of special interest to this study owing to the structure of the residential 'care' population which has altered considerably in recent years. Clough notes:

> *"The population in residential care has 'aged' considerably. In 1977 the over 16's comprised of just 17% of the total C.H.S. (Community Homes System) group but by 1984 this had reached 31%. The 5-9 age range had the greatest proportional reduction - down 10 percentage points (my brackets)" (6.).*

Clough goes on to observe:

> *"As one would expect from the overall drop in numbers, the residential sector's proportion of all age groups has declined sharply. The notable exception is the over 16's group, where there has been a very slight increase, and where the move to fostering has been least pronounced" (7.).*

From Clough's comments, which are supported by Berridge (8.), it seems that the residential 'care' population is less heterogeneous than it once was, becoming increasingly dominated by young people. It is a situation which contributes to the pertinence of this study and adds to the significance of the role played by the Central Contradiction of residential 'care' in generating and sustaining the social definition of young people in 'care'.

4.3. Preparation For Independence.

A corollary of residential 'care's' increasing interest in young people has been the growing emphasis placed on preparing young people in 'care' for independence. This is a difficult and complex undertaking with its successful attainment requiring them to undergo a multi-faceted transformation in order to adapt to, and cope with the demands of the labour and housing markets and develop the necessary social skills they need to establish new friendships to replace those lost on leaving 'care'.

Not surprisingly, Godek (9.) concludes that to be fully effective the preparatory process would have to commence when many in 'care' are so young that they would be unable to perceive the world of work as a reality. As a result, he found that many of the establishments which participated in his investigation made no serious efforts to prepare their residents for independence.

Consequently, on leaving 'care', a significant number of Godek's subjects appeared to reject the opportunity of independence. Instead, many found work in occupations e.g. the merchant navy, stable lads etc., which provided them with alternative forms of residential 'care'. As Godek's respondents were recent school leavers and of an age when their 'non-care' contemporaries remained dependent on their parents the reluctance of his respondents to accept the self-responsibility of independence was not surprising - it was all that could have reasonably been expected of them.

Since the publication of Godek's work things have moved on. The necessity to prepare young people for independence is now recognized in law and by local authorities with those who took part in the research study having developed a range of facilities designed to enable young people in 'care' to gain experience of semi-independent living prior to leaving 'care'.

Nevertheless, although the strategy of developing independence units might be laudable, it is faulted. Stein and Carey (10.) argue that preparing young people for independence should be part of day to day life in all residential establishments and that leaving this task to a few specialized 'units' enables all others to disregard this task on the grounds that it is not their responsibility. As a result, the special role of independence units risks marginalizing efforts made to prepare young people for independence.

4.4. Loss Of Control.

The notion of independence carries with it ideas of assuming control over your own life, of taking decisions for yourself and then being responsible for them. Yet, as Clough points out, loss of control and cognitive dysfunction are widely regarded as characteristic traits of young people in 'care':

> *"One powerful impression arising from the research is that young people felt that they were not in control of what was happening to them... The phrase 'not being in control of their lives is not used by the young people, but it does capture their picture of their lives" (11.).*

The words of the young people in 'care' who took part in the research study lent support to this view:

> *"Staff kept telling me how few rules there were. Sure there wasn't anything on paper I ever saw, but you did things their way or not at all".*

(Hinkley 'Care' Respondent)

"I just sat through reviews and kept my mouth shut. Me opinion weren't never wanted".

(Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).

However, whilst young people in 'care' may experience loss of control over their lives this is not unique to them. Feelings of powerlessness and an inability to influence events in their lives are common to all adolescents.

Therefore, it needs to be asked: How, and to what extent do perceptions of powerlessness, of lack of control differ between young people in, and not in 'care'? Triseliotis suggests the answer to this question when comparing the material circumstances of a group of adoptees with a group of young people in residential 'care'. He found that only a fifth of adoptees compared with half his 'care' respondents faced serious financial or housing problems and concluded that:

> *"The material circumstances of the adoptees were significantly 'better' in that (they)... shared fewer material 'handicaps', rarely being out of work or on social security benefits" (my brackets) (12.).*

In addition, to the material disadvantages suffered by young people in residential 'care', Triseliotis observes that they also had more emotional problems than adoptees. With 38% of his 'care', compared to 16% of his adoptees samples classified as "disturbed" it appears that young people in residential 'care' were more than twice as likely to suffer emotional problems than those who had been adopted.

Thus, the impression gained from Triseliotis's work is that whilst, as adolescents, adoptees may feel they lack control over their lives this is a far greater problem for young people in residential 'care'. These young people appear to be burdened with much more serious material problems which they were emotionally less well equipped than adoptees to deal with.

However, the literature goes beyond merely presenting young people in 'care' as experiencing a loss of control over their lives to stress the all pervasive nature of the feelings this gives rise to. Profound self-doubt and ambivalence about themselves are described as permeating all aspects of the daily lives of these young people who spend considerable time and energy trying to cope with an associated, and overwhelming sense of insecurity. To these worries is added the fear of being revealed as individuals who are in 'care' and of having to bear the stigma it carries. Berridge and Stein and Carey report similar feelings found on the parts of the young people in 'care' they met:

> *"People sort of... give you a funny look when you say you've been in care. But if you say you've been fostered, they look at it completely different. But its all the same thing..." (13.).*
>
> *"Well, reason why I came into being fostered is because I didn't like the people asking where you come from and you say children's home. I didn't like saying that, so I thought if I go to a foster house, they treat you proper, you know" (14.).*

From the above, it seems that young people in residential 'care' not only expend a considerable amount of energy when trying to achieve a degree of control over their lives, but in doing so may deny who they are i.e. young people in local authority residential 'care'. Therefore, they become caught up in a process of self-evasion which mitigates against the acquisition of that control over their lives which they seek.

4.5. Support Networks.

If young people are to cope with the transitional problems associated with leaving 'care' and assuming independence it seems reasonable to assume their chances of success will be greatly enhanced if they have support networks to turn to for help. Thus, an important question is raised by Stein and Carey when they ask:

> *"What emotional supports could our young people rely on during this transitional period?" (15.).*

A report (16.), produced by the Department of Health and Social Security in 1985, summarizing the findings emerging out of the "Children in Care Research Initiative", concludes there are three main support networks which young people in 'care' might turn to. These are as follows:

1. Family.

2. Friends.

3. Social Work Staff.

Each of the above will be discussed in turn.

4.5(a.). Family.

At a day conference held at the National Children's Bureau during the course of the research study David Berridge described young people in residential 'care', on occasional visits to their family homes, as undergoing an experience akin to that a person might have when calling in to his, or her former place of employment. The visit might have been alright, but its something the ex-worker would probably not want to repeat. He, or she would have discovered that there were new faces about the place, that the 'in jokes' had changed, that he, or she was not party to the latest gossip and that things had happened which he, or she was unaware of etc. In short, the ex-employee was no longer an 'insider' and ceased to belong to a setting that had moved on and changed since he, or she had left.

The positions of young people in residential 'care' with respect to their families is, in Berridge's view analogous to that of a person visiting a former place of employment. Once in 'care', young people and their families tend to drift apart as they gradually share less and less of the material of daily life which binds them together. As a result it comes as no surprise that Millham et al (17.) observe that links between these young people and their families are fragile and easily broken with the result that parents are not part of the scene for many young people in 'care'. This is a common observation as the following quotes indicate:

> *"The families of no less than one in seven of the children were no*

> *longer headed by the same parent figures as they were six months before" (18.).*
>
> *"A large proportion of the children came from families with a complex and impermanent structure, often with a mix of different parent figures... Many families underwent periodic changes of structure with irregular, but frequent arrivals and departures of parent figures" (19.).*
>
> *"Many of these family structures underwent radical changes during the child's absence, even though their stay in care was short... By six months, nearly half the children will have had a major change in their family structure... These oscillations are most noticeable among the families of young children, a factor which not only presents their return home and affects their wider relationships but also greatly hinders contact between parents and children" (20.).*

However, the delicacy of the link between young people in residential 'care' and their families cannot simply be attributed to 'things' inherent in the make up of each, or the fact that they have ceased to co-exist within the shared privacy of the family domain. The operation of the child care system plays a pivotal role in the erosion of family ties. Concerns about the gulf between the values and expectations of social workers and their clients and about communication between them form a continuous thread running throughout numerous research reports. Liberally scattered across them are references to parents feeling separated from, and unable to care for their children in 'care' (21.) and allegations that social workers do not understand, and underestimate the significance that separation from their children has for parents (22.). Representative examples of comments made by writers on these issues include:

> *(The care order) "was felt to cast doubt on their (parents) qualification to know what was best for their child and they had a sense of alienation from the care being given to their child" (my brackets) (23.).*
>
> *"Parents tend to see the child as the problem, social workers to regard the family relationships as the core issue. In addition parents thought that social workers did not understand the duration and chronic nature of their problems" (24.).*
>
> *"They let him do what he wants. I mean he's dying his hair green and black and I've gone barmy with him about it but... There is no discipline up there at all, they're just running wild, they might as well*

> *be at home" (25.).*

It seems that being in 'care' seriously reduces the level of support its subjects can expect to receive from their families. This is symptomatic of the corrosive effect residential 'care' has on the relationships these young people have with their families. The primary corrosive agents are the demand that the young people live away from their family homes and the failure of social workers to take account of, and incorporate into their work the views and feelings of parents. As a result, the support network of greatest value to most young people, the family, may not be available to many in 'care'.

4.5(b.). Friends.

Just as entry into residential 'care' entails the loss or dilution of young people's family links it is also likely to weaken their ties with friends. The longer 'care' episodes go on the more tenuous former friendships become causing the young people to turn to their peers in 'care' for new friendships. These are important and often form one of the more positive aspects of their time in 'care'. This is observed by Stein and Carey who stress:

> *"the importance of friends within the residential centre for some young people who had few friends outside: being helped to cope with difficult social situations by building confidence and helping to form friendships" (26.).*

However, the instability of life in 'care' tends to make friendships between its young people shallow. It is difficult to make friends when you, and or they, are always on the move from one residential establishment to another. This inconstancy was something N.A.Y.P.I.C. complained long and loudly about when consulted in the course of the research study whilst the ephemeral nature of placements is hammered home with depressing regularity by numerous investigators. For example:

> *"The median number of permanent changes of address during the five years of secondary school education up to minimum school leaving age found in the care sample was 4. This high rate of change can be explained in many of these children's cases by the institutional*

> *arrangements... Adolescents who are normally placed by a local authority will normally spend a period of weeks, or in some cases months, at an assessment centre. Their subsequent placement may be in a community home, a hostel or return to the parental home..." (27.).*
>
> *"A variety of residential institutions had been experienced by the children... Forty-three per cent of the children had lived in two, or more homes, the current placement being their third... Six per cent had ten, or more moves" (28.).*
>
> *"Four out of five admitted children had moved at least twice and a quarter at least four times, in the space of a few months" (29.).*
>
> *"Transfer and breakdown of placements selected by social workers are common" (30.).*

Even when young people remain in a placement long enough to get to know each other they may find themselves competing for close personal relationships with other residents. Where such relationships are sought from staff members, jealousies leading to enmity are prone to arise between the young people making the formation of friendships between them more elusive than ever. This, Kahan discovered in her study of growing up in 'care' when a young person she interviewed reported:

> *"I was jealous, I think I was rather sensitive while I was there - I watched him very jealousy to see whether he was given any special privileges if I wasn't and if he received any preferential treatment" (31.).*

Friendships can be made between young people in 'care' but they tend to be based on the compatibility of the public personas on individuals and fail to incorporate an appreciation of them as entire entities. Thus, these friendships become 'stuck' at a superficial level. While the upheavals of life in 'care' may perpetuate this situation; it owes much to the nature of group living as Carey and Stein point out. They observe that;

> *"newcomers... are categorized into the tough or the soft, the exciting or dull depending on the individual standpoint - much as would happen ordinarily at school. Fears and allegiance, enmities then follow" (32.).*

The implications of Carey's and Stein's view is that it may be difficult for young people in 'care' to regard each other as 'real live' individuals. Instead, residential living predisposes them to view each other as objects on which to project their reaction against what each individual is regarded as representing within the resident group (33.). This view provides bleak reinforcement for Whitaker's disturbing report that these young people tend to view fellow residents as antagonistic to them. It seems bullying is rife:

> *"Thirty out of the thirty four children reported personally experiencing physical abuse, verbal tormenting, feelings of intense aggravation with other children, and/or alarm at witnessing aggressive exchanges between other children. In the course of the observations half the children observed bullying of others. Bullying ranged from persistent verbal ridicule to violent fights. Those who bullied others tended to see themselves as being provoked by their victims. Children who bullied others were often bullied themselves on other occasions" (34.).*

However, whilst friendships between young people in 'care' may be difficult to establish and sustain these young people, at least, share the common ground of being in 'care' which just might provide a bond between them. Unfortunately, such a bond is insubstantial for, as Stein and Carey found in their study of leaving 'care', friendships made between these young people rarely lasted with;

> *"several of those now living independently said that their friends were overbearing or took advantage of them in some way" (35.).*

Thus, young people lose friends on coming into 'care' while the ones they may have made in 'care' are lost on their leaving. Consequently, they have imposed upon them, for a second time, the necessity to make friends anew. In this sense the transition to independence can involve the loss of the last remnants of 'care' leavers' friendship support networks.

4.5(c.). Social Workers.

The importance of the relationships young people in 'care' have with field and residential social workers figures prominently in the literature. Clough feels this relationship is so important that it is:

> *"The single factor which appears to point to some relative social and personal stability in the current lives of some young people living in residential care was the extent to which they felt they experienced good and caring relationships with the staff" (36.).*

In a similar vein, Whitaker stresses that one third of the young people in 'care' involved in a study undertaken by her;

> *"attached great importance to the special bond they felt they had with their favourite residential social worker" (37.).*

This comment points to the positive transference which can go on between young people and their residential workers. Remarks made by two young people belonging to the 'care' generations of the late 1960s, early 1970s and early to mid-1980s, respectively, signify the historical consistency of this process and emphasizes the continuing importance young people in 'care' attach to good relationships with social workers:

> *"There were certain staff - one of the aunties you could turn to, and if she weren't on duty, it were awful cos you had to keep it sort of bottled up inside you..." (38.).*
>
> *"I really got on well with one of the housemothers. She was the one person I felt I could trust completely. I could talk to her about anything - jobs, boys, my mum and dad. You always felt she was listening" (39.).*

In an effort to provide young people in 'care' with the 'nuturing' relationships they need with residential social workers the 'key' or 'link' worker system has been established which allows a specified worker to take a special interest in the young person he, or she is 'linked' to. It is a practice which can be regarded as a partial response to an issue arising out of the 'consumer' studies (40.) referred to by Berridge which highlighted:

> *"the frequent lack of continuity and caring from one adult and absence of a parent substitute" (41.).*

However, the same studies unerringly return to the instability of life in 'care' and the obstacles this places in the way of the establishment of nurturing relationships between residential workers and the young people they are responsible for. Relationships of this type require an appropriate degree of familiarity between them and these workers but the workings of the 'care' system prevent this. The high 'turnover' of staff in the residential sector and the shift patterns they work do not lend themselves to the development of familiarity while the changes of placement undergone by young people in 'care' prevent them from consolidating supportive relationships with their key workers. The effects of this are illustrated by Clough and Fisher et al who make, respectively, the following observations:

> *"Yet there are some worrying aspects of daily life. First young people liked control which was firm yet flexible, consistency of approach amongst the staff team and dislike of arbitrary action. For example, their concern was not so much that there were different rules but that members of staff interpreted them so differently that it was not possible to predict consequences" (42.).*
>
> *"Each staff member was seen as having a personal approach which the young people needed to appreciate in order to avoid unwitting transgression. Tailoring your behaviour to the estimated tolerance of the staff was a tricky enterprise: some got it wrong" (43.).*

Instead of a supportive familiarity, the literature depicts relationships between young people in 'care' and residential social workers as another element of uncertainty in the lives of these young people. Within this context of uncertainty these relationships may become no more than simple functional arrangements made to ensure that the tasks of day to day living, e.g. bed making, washing-up, cooking etc., get done. The ends of such relationships are about getting on with the immediate work, not the nuturing of young people.

Nevertheless, it is field, not residential, social workers who most often carry primary responsibility for 'care' leavers. Whilst residential workers come and go with establishments in which young people are placed, their field workers remain with them.

However, a paradox is contained in the literature's frequently expressed view that while fieldworkers exercise a tremendous influence on all aspects of the 'care' careers of young people they fail to show that much interest in them. This has been commented on by numerous writers who contrast the power of fieldworkers with their inactivity on behalf of young people in 'care'. Studies indicate that fieldworkers lend their assistance in a miserly fashion and are reported as having a peripheral involvement with the young people for whom they are responsible allowing them to 'drift' in 'care'. Indeed, a study by Rowe, Cann, Hundleby and Keane concluded:

> *"There was little evidence to suggest that (field) social workers were involved in direct contact with children... The child's primary carers, foster parents or residential staff were seen to have greater opportunities. Where skills beyond this were required, the social worker generally referred the case to an acknowledged specialist" (my brackets) (44.).*

In general, it is evident from previous research that residential and field social workers offer 'care' leavers limited support. While the links residential workers have with young people are weakened by the disruptions which characterize life in 'care' and are, usually, automatically severed when they leave establishments fieldworkers emerge from the research as wanting to have little to do with those in 'care'. It, therefore, seems barely creditable that residential and fieldworkers will offer support to a young person on leaving 'care'. When this is combined with the confusion arising out of the squabbling which sometimes occurs between these workers (see Chapter 6.) there seems no reason to believe that either will form significant parts of the support networks of 'care' leavers. Not surprisingly Stein and Carey found that:

> *"With regard to the possible continuation of a care relationship, the majority neither expected nor particularly wanted a formal social work relationship with regular visits" (45.).*

4.6. The Quality Of The 'Care' Experience.

The Central Contradiction of the residential child care system, the lack of control young people in 'care' are allowed over their lives and the denuded support networks available to them as 'care' leavers are all prominent features of the literature that, when taken together, appear to provide a solid basis from which to argue that when these young people are faced with independent living they will, inevitably, be unable to cope.

Yet, all is not necessarily lost. It might be that the 'care' experience is capable of providing young people with a store of 'good' experiences that help them learn and 'grow'. As these experiences remain with 'care' leavers they can also be drawn on when needed. The key question to be considered, therefore, is: "What is the 'care' experience like"? It is a question concerned, not with the intentions of 'care' but, with the quality of life it provides young people.

The grounds for investing hope in the beneficent effects of a high quality 'care' experience are founded on the works of John Bowlby (46.) which have had a profound, and lasting impact on social work thought and practice. Of particular importance to this study are his writings on mother-child attachment which stress the importance of the quality of the relationships we make with others. From infancy, he sees this qualitative issue as having an all pervading influence since it affects:

> *" - our capacity to love and be loved, of being able, to trust and be trustworthy; - our self-image and self-esteem; - our sense of having a network of family and friends and whether we can hold on to the importance of people no longer with us; - our idea of continuity with past, present and future; - consequently, our capacity to cope with transitions, such as that from dependence to independence, and the accompanying emotional, and physical deprivations" (47.).*

Bowlby's views demand that a qualitative assessment be made of the relationships residential workers are able to provide these young people in 'care'. This is an important undertaking and Rutter (48.) attributes any long-term damaging effects of 'care' to its failure to provide relationships which promote the self-development of the individual.

Unfortunately, the ability of the literature to provide such an assessment is debatable given its monotonous habit of being, seemingly, automatically critical about residential 'care' per se. As a result criticisms of the child 'care' system run the risk of being skewed as they fail to pay sufficient attention to those things about the 'care' experience which might be described as 'good'. It is, therefore, heartening to note that Berridge stresses that:

> *"The quality of individual care offered in the homes visited was, generally, of acceptable standard and in several establishments was extremely impressive... Residential workers were generally sensitive to the children's needs and problems and revealed an admirable degree of tolerance. However, there was little indication that staff adopted a laissez faire approach to anti-social behaviour and numerous potential crises were avoided each day by appropriate interventions" (49.).*

However, other writers differ from Berridge. For example, Whitaker writes that one of the assumptions held by residential social workers was;

> *"that on the whole children can and should resolve their own quarrels" (50.).*

She also considers that young people tended to find their peer group a source of stress while Fisher (51.) and his collaborators also make comments which conflict with Berridge's. They found that many of the parents they interviewed complained about the inability, or unwillingness of residential establishments to impose the sorts of constraints on their children they wished to see. This seemed to be symptomatic of the differing perspectives of workers and parents. It may be that discipline satisfactory to residential staff, was not to parents.

Misalignment between social worker and parental perspectives can have potentially disastrous consequences for the quality of the 'care' experience. It can lead to disputes between them, turning young people in 'care' into the objects of a struggle between their parents and social workers whilst frustrating any hopes these young people may have of being restored to their families.

Whilst the key worker system represents an attempt to overcome problems of this type and individualize the 'care' offered to young people we cannot be sanguine about its ability to do so. It has already been made clear that the high ideals of this system are too often translated into a series of functional arrangements intended to keep 'care' establishments running. This problem is described as arising out of the inherently regimented life style residential living imposes on its subjects. Strenuous efforts may be made to individualize 'care', but the need to keep establishments 'ticking-over' comes first.

Chapter 5.

Themes From The Literature:
Young People In 'Care' Are Job Changers.

5.1. Introduction.

Finding and holding a steady job are two of the most important tasks confronting 'care' leavers. The success with which it is tackled will determine their ability to maintain themselves in decent accommodation, live in a reasonable style and afford a social life that will provide them with the opportunity to make new friends whilst the workplace provides them with an arena in which to achieve.

However, within the literature, young people from 'care' backgrounds are frequently presented in research reports as flitting from job to job. They are described as 'job changers' whose constant job changing poses a threat to their imminent, or new found independence. Therefore, this Chapter will provide an overview of the literature concerning the job changing 'habits' of young people in 'care', before going on to analyze the interplay between the themes so far discussed.

5.2. Overview Of The Literature.

A significant number of writers consider that young people in 'care' and 'care' leavers are unlikely to stay with a single employer for more than, comparatively, short periods. Such, Utting and Lambert represent this view, attributing the frequent job changing of these young people to the 'care' regimes found in residential establishments and state that:

> *"Those children who were unhappy in their children's homes tended positively to dislike the imposition of fixed rules and regimentation; they complained about a lack of individual choice and privacy and lack of involvement in decisions affecting their stay in care" (1.).*

According to this analysis, young people who evaluate their time in 'care' as characterized by too much supervision and the demand that they adhere to a large number of rules are likely to experience problems in accepting the discipline of the work place. Failure to do so will inevitably lead to conflict between them and their employers, resulting in the former's, probable, dismissal.

Yet, in a study of persistent job changers Cherry concludes that job changing by young people new to the world of work is a rational and normal activity. It constitutes a 'trial and error' means of discovering the kind of work they wish to take up, on a long-term basis, in the absence of any clear ideas as to what this might be. She writes:

> *"Contrary, perhaps, to the expectations of many of those in occupations with recognized career structures, a frequent change of employer appears to be a satisfactory and effective strategy for the young worker entering the labour market with the minimum qualifications" (2.).*

However, following his study of the needs of forty-three young men in residential 'care' who were new entrants to the labour market Burgess took issue with Cherry's interpretation of job changing. He asserted that it:

> *"cannot simply be seen as an effective strategy" (3.).*

Burgess reached this conclusion after 41.5% of his sample members were forced to change their jobs due their unacceptable behaviour at work or failure to get on with workmates and superiors. The job changing of these young people was involuntary and the reasons given for their dismissals reflect those predicted by Such et al. It is not the activity of job changing which concerns these authors, but the ways in which the reasons leading to it differ between young people in, and not in 'care'. As a result, job changing is transformed from a rational activity when undertaken by young people who were not in 'care' into something which is irrational when undertaken by those in 'care'. It seems a double standard which exists when comparing the behaviours of these two groups of young people.

Furthermore, the job changing of young people in 'care' is prone to be regarded as having a pathological root, as reflecting their;

> *"lack of psychological adjustment to employment" (4.).*

Thus, job changing by young people in 'care' is seen, not as a means of maximizing job satisfaction and income, but as a symptom of their failure to adapt to the demands of working life. Within the literature support is easily found for this view. Carey and Stein observe:

> *"All those who write in this area agree... that it is sufficiently difficult to have a history of care when seeking work: to have to face this at the very same time as adjustment to leaving care has far greater ramifications..." (5.).*

Similarities can be observed between the literature's thematic presentations of young people in 'care' as job changers and as individuals who lack the maturity to cope with the demands of independence. Each of the themes describe these young people as having to undergo too many changes. In this sense, the themes represent different facets of the same problem i.e. the transition from the dependency of 'care' to the autonomy of independence. It is a problem given a perniciousness twist by accounts of the needs residential 'care' exists to meet and how it goes about doing so. These are indicated by Brierly (6.) who characterizes this form of 'care' as providing young people with 'rehabilitation', 'treatment', or 'containment' whilst Burns, Gregory and Templeman state that:

> *"Put crudely, the methodology of residential care is based on the premise that it is possible to discover the causes of the presenting behavioural difficulties and thereby prescribe and treat the young persons needs. It assumes that the presenting problem can be treated... This postulates that there has been something wrong in the child's upbringing and that if this can be identified when appropriate treatment to remedy the situation can be found" (7.).*

It seems that the trouble young people in 'care' experience in 'holding jobs' and with the management of their independence is not just attributable to them having to undergo too many changes. More important, is the emotional disturbance regarded as 'typical' of these young people. As a result they need to be 'treated' and, or 'controlled'. The way in which the task of residential 'care' and, thereby, the type of young people living within it are defined makes this startling conclusion unavoidable. The shortcomings of this form of 'care' may be recognized, but this fails to alter the tendency to define its subjects as having problems and to describe it as existing to provide for the 'troubled' and, or 'troublesome'.

Therefore, the literature once more, draws the same consistent distinction between the reasons underpinning the job changing activities of young people in, and not in 'care'. While job changing by 'non-care' school leavers is regarded as a normal, rational activity when undertaken by young people in 'care' it is liable to be given a pathological interpretation.

In addition, if Cherry's three main hypotheses concerning the relationship between persistent job changing and personal problems are correct job changing may exacerbate the emotional 'problems' of young people in 'care' with long lasting effects. These she summarizes as follows:

> *"Job changing in the early years may set up a pattern of employment that puts stress on the individual and results in personal problems. Alternatively, early job changing may be caused by incipient personality or psychiatric problems that become more evident... Thirdly, both job changing and social behaviour may result from an inability (or unwillingness) to adopt a life style congruent with the expectations of the majority, this lack of congruence leads in turn to nervous or psychiatric troubles" (8.).*

Young people in 'care' are in an irretrievable position. They are presented as individuals whose personal problems lead to their frequent job changing which adds to these problems and leads to further job changing, and so on. As a result, they are fated to become ever more unreliable employees, who move from job to job and in each present workmates and managers with an expanding repertoire of behavioural, emotional and psychiatric disorders.

5.3. The Interplay Between The Themes.

5.3(a.). Young People In Residential 'Care' Are Job Changers/The Inability Of Young People In 'Care' To Cope With The Transition From Life In 'Care' To Independent Living.

As independence is materially sustained, payments received in return for work the themes presenting young people in 'care' as job changers and as unable to cope with the transition from in 'care' to independent living, are inseparable. A powerful unifying concept is provided by the, alleged, emotional and behavioural problems of young people in 'care'.

Thus, while studies (9.) of 'care' leavers show them to be vulnerable, lacking in support and ill-equipped to manage on their own who are, nevertheless, unreasonably expected to do so, there is also copious evidence which suggests that the difficulties they encounter on assuming their independence are amplified considerably by their supposed behavioural and emotional problems.

Similarly, the attribution of job changing by young people in 'care' to their 'emotional instability' are to be found within the literature. In this respect, the work of Brierly, Cherry, Burns, Gregory and Templeman are noteworthy. Accordingly, central to both themes under discussion is the idea of young people in 'care' being more 'unstable' than their 'non-care' peers. It then comes as no surprise to find that Lupton comments in her survey of research into young people in 'care' that:

> *"Long periods of time spent in care - particularly residential care - can often prevent young people from developing the personal qualities and practice skills to 'survive the system' after care" (11.).*

Another point of overlap between the themes describing young people in 'care' as job changers and as unable to cope with the demand of independence concerns the issue of 'control'. While previous discussion of this matter showed that investigators have frequently reported that young people in 'care' are allowed little autonomy the literature also indicates that they are subjected to autocratic treatment. They may be made to undergo frequent changes of establishment and schools but have no effective means of objecting to this treatment. As a result, the proposition, put forward by Such et al, that these young people resent and resist regimentation takes on obvious importance. It seems they may change jobs, not because they become dissatisfied, but because they are sacked or are 'quitters', by nature. In this way, the job changing of young people in 'care' is, again, linked with their inability to cope with independence.

Convergence between the two themes can also be witnessed when attention is turned to the role support networks can play in helping young people adapt to independence and work. These networks are critically important in the context of the type of stress model of adolescence described by Jones and Pritchard;

> *"attempts to explain adolescent behaviour and problems by relating them to the stress situations which young people have to cope with in their families, at school, at work and in the community. A high level of unemployment is an example of a major stress situation which many adolescents face and can evoke the responses of delinquency, violence, cynicism, depression and apathy... The response to these situations is determined by the resources available to the adolescent - his personal strengths and weaknesses, the acceptance and recognition he receives from peer groups at school and at work, and the leisure and recreational facilities available in the community" (12.).*

According to this model, adolescence is a time of multiple, stressful changes for all young people, giving rise to frustration, anxiety and anger. The success with which they manage this period of their lives is determined by the supports and positive experiences they have to sustain them. For young people in 'care' the implications of this model are as clear as they are ominous, for it confronts them with the spectre of having to cope with developmental stresses of adolescence at a time when they are also attempting to adapt to the demands of independence and work. As a result, the availability of support networks to these young people can determine the success with which they are able to make the many transformations imposed upon them.

Yet, previous discussion has shown that the literature presents young people in 'care' as having seriously denuded support networks. As a result, they have to cope with adolescence and the management of independence with inadequate support. In doing so these young people risk suffering the emotional and behavioural concomitants of stress.

Nevertheless, mention has been made of the possibility that the problems young people in 'care' face being ameliorated by a decent quality of 'care' experience. Winnicott points to this possibility when emphasizing the responsibility social workers have for providing 'care' experiences which are qualitatively good. She writes:

> *"These good experiences are not only the stuff of life, but the stuff dreams are made of, and have the power to become part of the child's inner psychic reality, correcting the past and creating the future" (13.).*

However, whilst we have seen that Berridge draws attention to the fact that the individual 'care' offered in some residential establishments is impressive, on balance, previous research tends to describe the quality of 'care' offered young people as functional, designed to ensure the smooth operation of establishments. As a result, these young people are consigned to independence and work with the deficiencies of their support networks not compensated for by the quality of the 'care' experience. Once again, what emerges from the literature is the image of young people in 'care' as inadequately equipped to assume independence and, therefore, liable to suffer emotional stress which will drive them into frequent job changing.

5.3(b.) Young People In 'Care' Are Job Changers/ The School Performance Of Young People In 'Care' Is Poor.

The literature's analysis of the relationship between the poor educational performance of young people in 'care', their job changing and other employment problems is incomplete. Insufficient mention is made of the structure of the labour market and how its mode of operation impinges on this relationship. Mentioned, in passing, by only a few of the authors referred to in the course of this study the workings of the labour market impose serious limitations on the extent to which job changing by young people in 'care' can be attributed to their poor education. The way in which the labour market functions is equally, if not more important in stimulating job changing than poor educational performance.

Therefore, it is important to understand the implications of the labour market's operation for young people in 'care' if the relationship between their 'poor' educational performance and job changing is to be properly appreciated. It is a task which will be approached by reviewing this relationship from the perspective offered by dual labour market theory. Exponents (14.) of this theory hypothesize that the allocation of job opportunities has to be understood in terms of the labour market's division into primary and secondary sectors. The employment conditions found in these sectors are seen to differ significantly as Lonsdale observes. She states:

> *"The primary sector contains good jobs which offer relatively high wages, good working conditions, substantial job security, chances of career advancement and a fair deal in the administration of work rules. The secondary sector has poor jobs which offer inferior social status, low wages and poor working conditions. The jobs are dead-end ones and insecure, often involving a capricious relationship between supervisor and worker" (15.).*

As dual labour market theory will be described in the course of Chapter 9 all that now needs to be stressed is the prominence numerous writers give to educational attainment as the means of determining the labour market sector young people will enter. For example, Burgess, Casson, and Garner, Main and Raffe, respectively, note that:

> *"It is because the entry barriers in the form of minimum paper qualifications are getting higher, or rather companies getting more selective within normal standards, that the poorly qualified stand so little chance of direct recruitment to the primary sector" (16.).*
>
> *"The Employers Survey (based on interviews with senior personnel officers of 701 companies in the public and private sectors conducted by the Manpower services Commission in 1976) reveals the disadvantage that unqualified young people suffer when seeking employment. On the whole young people show up badly, particularly on literacy and numeracy, attitude to work and ability to communicate... On average employers believe that the calibre of young applicants is declining, and most of those who think it is improving attribute this to their 'creaming off'" (17.).*

> *"But the reason why some areas had high levels of unemployment was that the young people who lived there suffered higher levels of personal disadvantage - notably low qualifications" (18.).*

It appears that the true importance of educational qualifications lies in their use by primary sector employers as a convenient means of screening job applicants. Recruitment of school leavers to this sector has become increasingly associated with the use of educational qualifications as pre-selectors, with the result that young people in 'care' are condemned, by their 'poor' school performance, to the secondary sector. The low wages, the bad working conditions and insecurity of employment found within it ensure that a characteristic feature of this sector is a high 'turn-over' of labour and job changing on the part of workers.

Consequently job changing and educational performance are inextricably bound together with lack of formal qualifications gained by those in 'care' consigning them to the secondary sector of the labour market, where job changing is an endemic and rapidly repeating process.

Chapter 6.

Themes From The Literature: Pessimism About Residential 'Care'.

6.1. Introduction.

Recent research indicates that local authority residential 'care' is considered not to be a 'good thing'; it is presented as something to be avoided even though it performs a variety of useful functions. These Berridge (1.) describes as including the provision of a reception service to individuals on coming into 'care', shelter, a means of keeping large sibling groups together, and a place where young people who have been unsuccessfully placed elsewhere, especially in foster homes, will find acceptance. It seems residential 'care' can be an agent for social and individual 'good' deserving of the same high esteem accorded to, for example, hospitals.

Yet, whilst hospitalization does not negatively label patients, except where the condition requiring treatment is stigmatized (e.g. A.I.D.S.) attitudes towards young people in residential 'care' contrast sharply. Clough sees this as occurring because;

> *"the inability of the family to cope is not considered as legitimate a reason for moving out of one's own home as is 'illness'; the task of the residential centre is not clear (what is the treatment?); the length of stay is more likely to be indeterminate; the responsibility of the prime carers is more threatened by residential care than hospital; judging whether 'residential life' for one person is beneficial is harder than for a hospital stay; a successful hospital stay may be judged in terms of the treatment for the illness, of getting better" (2.)*

It is as if there is something disreputable about residential 'care' and its inhabitants. The Curtis Committee's Report (3.), published in 1946, intimated this being, in many respects, hostile to residential 'care'. Similarly, the Thatcher Government's opposition to residential 'care' was made clear with the publication of its priorities for the Health and Social Services in 1981. These continue to be adhered to and state that:

> *"It has been a major policy objective for many years to foster and develop community care for the main client groups... The specific objectives of community care policies are different for different client groups, but the general aim is to maintain a persons link with family and friends and normal life, and offer support to meet his or her particular needs" (4.).*

'Community care' is a phrase which has come to summarize a crude belief that life in a residential setting is always less desirable than in the community and that every effort must be made to prevent admission into the former. As a result, it has become increasingly easy to regard the use of residential child 'care' as a measure of last resort and to think of it as an institutional 'dustbin' in which young people who can't, or shouldn't be returned to the community are held.

However, pessimism about residential 'care' is not solely attributable to the publication of the Health and Social Services Priorities. They did not evolve in a vacuum, but in a social environment which has, since the publication of the Curtis report, nurtured and sustained the widespread support for the running down of all forms of institutional 'care'. The idea of 'community care' readily took root, latching on to an accompanying ideology founded on the works of academic and popular writers e.g. Goffman (5.), Vaizey (6.), Graves (7.), Behan (8.), who were critical of institutional 'care'. The essence of their cause is enshrined in an ethical conviction that any society having pretensions to being 'caring' must replace all forms of residential 'care' with more humane community alternatives. Thus we find that:

> *"The number of children in local authority residential care has declined in each of the last five years... This is a sudden reversal of the rising trend in the numbers evident from the previous twenty years. Since the mid-seventies arguments against (residential) care have begun to get the upper hand... the new emphasis among social workers (is) on preventative work to keep children out of care... Where prevention fails, the new wisdom dictates that a substitute family be found... The main problem with the otherwise admirable efforts that social workers now make to help families stay together is that residential care is viewed negatively, as a last resort" (my brackets) (9.).*

Within this atmosphere of all pervading gloom about residential 'care', there are two features of special interest which will be discussed. These are:

1. The extent and effects of social work pessimism about residential 'care'.

2. The way in which the low regard in which residential 'care' is held transforms its subjects into social pariahs.

After discussion of these two topics this Chapter will conclude by summarizing the main points to emerge from previous studies and some of the conclusions which can be drawn from them.

6.2. Social Work Pessimism About Residential 'Care'.

To some extent social work pessimism about residential 'care' is a product of those themes of the literature already discussed. If residential 'care' is equated with poor educational performance, the inability to cope with independence and habitual job changing it is not likely to elicit the enthusiastic support of those responsible for it. This is testified to by Rowe who states:

> *"Virtually all social workers appear to view admission into care very negatively. They see it as a last resort and as a sign of failure to prevent the break up of the family. Residential care is looked on with special pessimism. This attitude serves only to increase the stigma, shame, depression and passivity in families, field and residential social workers alike" (10.).*

Therefore it comes as no surprise to discover that Fisher, Marsh, Phillips and Sainsbury found, in their interviews with social workers, that:

> *"A constant theme in workers' descriptions of their decision to admit the young person to residential care was that it represented a failure. Their attempts to modify patterns of family behaviour had often been frustrated... residential care thus came to be viewed as necessary only because of social work failure with the family and a 'last resort' attitude characterized workers' decisions to use residential care" (11.).*

Similarly, Morgan-Klein makes reference to the length at which the young people she interviewed spoke of the stigma of being in residential 'care'. She writes:

> *"Some young people saw living in the children's home simply as a punishment and spoke of being 'inside' or 'put away' ...In some homes we visited staff were extremely concerned with delinquency, seeing young people primarily as individuals in need of reform rather than as ordinary young adults needing the provision of material, social and educational opportunities to promote their growth and development. Where this concern with 'reform' existed it may have helped to reinforce the notion of the children's home as punishment" (12.).*

It seems that a deep disquiet about the value of residential 'care' and the chances of forming constructive relationships with the young people within it and their families has crept into the thinking of many social workers. As a result, there is a danger that the child 'care' policies of local social services departments may unthinkingly reflect the dogma of 'community care'. In the process the needs of individuals get lost as policies become about promoting fostering and stopping young people entering residential 'care' irrespective of the contribution it might make to promoting their welfare. Clough shows sympathy for this view when observing that the policy of departments;

> *"only makes sense if the purpose and consequence of the policy is to ensure that there are sound plans for individual children. The reality is... their concerns are not given the individual attention they warrant" (13.).*

It is at this point that another contradiction of the child 'care' system is encountered for while it exists to meet the needs of unique individuals it is run and administered in terms of the policy dictates which, by definition, deal in generalities. As a result, the 'system' has a built-in insensitivity to the needs of individuals and, therefore, an innate propensity to fail them.

Therefore, the literature's preference for child 'care' policies couched in terms of community, as opposed to residential 'care' is worrying. The indiscriminate way in which this preference is expressed goes beyond making valid criticisms about residential 'care' to raise doubts about the merits of all residential establishments and their residents. Residential 'care' is presented as a ghetto populated by those young people left behind when all others have been returned home, or fostered, or adopted as the cannons of 'community care' demand. It is a situation having damaging implications for relationships between the field and residential social workers of young people in 'care', detracting from the effective planning on their behalf.

6.2(a.). Relationships Between Field And Residential Social Workers.

Following a series of interviews with field and residential social workers, Fisher et al (14.) discovered that the former accused the latter of devising a structure which served the needs of the 'unit' rather than those of the individual. Residential staff were accused by fieldworkers of collaborating with, and operating unacceptably regimented 'care' regimes. One fieldworker commented:

> *"I mean some of the things I've observed and some of the things (a young person) has told me about the way staff go on, is that they will use their power in that they will joke around with the kids and they'll reach the stage where... it can go one way or the other - if the adult pulls the authority, that kid is totally dependent and at the mercy of that adult. That's very unfair, it's totally abusing your position" (15.).*

In addition, fieldworkers also regarded the high 'turnover' rate of residential staff and their shift working as reproducing the unsatisfactory, fractured personal relationships which often underpinned the reception of many young people into 'care'. From this perspective, residential 'care' was thought to prolong the uncertainty surrounding the lives of its subjects, making it unfit to serve any 'therapeutic' purpose. Fieldworkers felt that residential 'care' failed to meet the minimum criteria for doing so, the establishment of trusting relationships between young people and their residential workers. A fieldworker comments:

> *"The kids pick up if there's a lot of instability and chaos among adult groupings... and I think a lot of kids get very unsettled because they don't feel that some of the adult staff actually have the ability to give them controls and boundaries... They have an awful lot of staff changes and its bad enough I think for kids to be trying to relate to*

> *staff going through an ordinary shift system without constantly new people coming in" (16.).*

Complaints by fieldworkers also emphasized the intolerance they felt their residential counterparts displayed towards difficult behaviour. Many fieldworkers believed this intolerance to be the main cause for residential establishments asking for young people to be transferred elsewhere.

Ultimately, fieldworkers appeared to lack faith in the competence of residential staff. Concern was frequently expressed by the fieldworkers surveyed by Fisher et al about the inadequate skills and ability of their residential colleagues to do a decent job on behalf of the young people in their 'care'. It is as if, those who work in the 'field' regard themselves as first class social workers, seeing residential workers as second class.

However, the accuracy of this judgement is open to question. Berridge observes that:

> *"An examination of the staffing situation in the twenty homes revealed that many staff had considerable experience of child care work although, with important regional differences, few had experience relevant to professional training. However, the overall calibre of staff homes the homes had managed to recruit was impressive" (17.).*

Nevertheless, the question of whether, or not, fieldworkers' criticisms are well founded is, in an important sense, irrelevant to this thesis. The salient point is that the pessimism with which residential 'care' is viewed incorporates a pessimistic assessment of residential staff, by field social workers.

Therefore, it is not too surprising to find that Fisher and his colleagues were repeatedly told by residential workers that their efforts on behalf of young people in 'care' were constantly undermined by fieldworkers:

> *"Fieldworkers stood accused by their residential colleagues of an unwillingness and inability to communicate effectively their plans... Indeed, the accusation was sometimes made that no plan existed save that of depositing the child into care and retreating from active involvement" (18.).*

This allegation has a 'ring of truth' about it as reception into local authority residential 'care' is regarded by a number of social researchers as, invariably, meaning the end of planning (see 6.2(b.).) reflecting the pessimism the social work profession attaches to residential 'care'. After all, if it considers young people in 'care' as 'terminal' cases, what is the point of planning?

Social work planning is directed at keeping young people out of residential 'care' with admission to it being an unwanted event which occurs when all plans have failed. Consequently, fieldworkers will have no plans to relay to residential staff. In these circumstances residential 'care' is truly the 'dustbin' of the child 'care' system leaving its workers to act the parts imposed on them of the dustpersons of that system.

An additional criticism residential staff make of fieldworkers is identified by Berry (19.) who found that fieldwork staff are often naive about the operational problems encountered in 'care' establishments. It seems they do not understand that establishments have to develop ways of running which unavoidably impose conformity on all residents. 'Regimentation', whilst not desirable in itself, provides establishments with the indispensable daily routines they need if they are to function and avoid slipping into anarchy.

In addition, there is an imperative which demands that residential staff consider the needs of the group as well as those of its individual members. Residential living is group living, making it impossible, despite the demands of some fieldworkers, to tailor 'care' to each young person's unique pattern of needs. There will always be certain group needs which, from time to time, will take precedence over those of individuals'.

A contributory factor to the alleged naivety of fieldworkers is, inevitably, the pessimism with which they view residential 'care'. If these workers regard it as an unsatisfactory end to cases they have conducted they are unlikely to be interested in the problems of those who operate within this form of 'care' have to overcome if it is to function at all. As a result:

> *"Despite some areas of agreement with their fieldwork colleagues, residential social workers tended to operate from an entirely different perspective and set of priorities" (20.).*

6.2(b.). Planning And Decision Making With Respect To Young People In Residential 'Care'.

Much recent research (21.) indicates that admission into 'care' should be a planned event although it rarely is. Clough (22.) concludes that few young people enter residential 'care' as part of a plan and that:

> *"In most cases the plan had been to keep them out and, when this failed, actions were taken in a rush; in effect, residential care rather than being part of a plan, became what happens when plans have failed; indeed it almost seemed that if there was time for planning, it would be argued that there was no need for any action to be taken" (23.).*

What makes Clough's words particularly disconcerting is his observation that most young people who come into residential 'care' are already known to their local social services departments. As a result, there can be no real reason for the failure to plan for them.

Yet, Fisher et al (24.) Whitaker (25.) and Vernon and Fruin (26.) all join Clough in describing admission into residential 'care' as the antithesis of planning, as a reactive undertaking. Therefore, the placement made of a young person on admission into 'care' is unlikely to be determined by what is considered to be the most appropriate, but by where a vacancy happens to exist. Following in the wake of the, seeming, ad hoc, unplanned nature of many admissions are a number of problems for it leads to;

> *"young people and parents expecting something different from life in the centre than it turned out to be, and also to field and residential social workers having little agreement about the past history of the family, or what would best serve the welfare of the young person; residential workers had often been poorly informed... There were also conflicting views on plans" (27.).*

The implications of this situation are, potentially, very damaging. Failure to involve parents as active participants in the admission of their children into 'care' threatens to disassociate them from the child 'care' system and from their children within it. In so doing, the support network families provide to young people in 'care' is undermined.

In addition, if young people do not take part in planning, at all stages of their 'care careers', their ability to make the best use of their time in 'care' will be reduced. Their feelings of powerlessness, of not being in control of their own lives will be enhanced to the detriment of their prospects of adapting to the demands of independence as 'care' leavers.

However, the implications of poor planning are at their clearest when the lack of dialogue between field and residential social workers is considered. Discussed in the previous section, its implications are stated by Fisher et al:

> *"Where residential social workers felt that the field worker had no clear plan, or had failed to communicate it, it is hardly surprising that they sometimes began to generate plans independently of the fieldworker" (28.).*

If generously interpreted, separate planning by field and residential social workers can be attributed to the fundamentally different perspectives they have on the operation of the child 'care' system, arising out of the different places they occupy within it. But, the fact remains that their failure to plan in a co-ordinated way has frightening implications for young people in 'care'. It is impossible to see how the interests of these young people are served if two of the most powerful groups in their lives behave as if they exist on different worlds.

Nevertheless, once a young person is in 'care' regular formal planning opportunities are presented at legally required reviews which must take place, at least, every six months. A range of individuals can be present at these including the young person, his, or her parents and the involved residential and field social workers along with their managers.

However, a D.H.S.S. report observes that reviews demonstrate the strain which exists between practice, intent and outcomes. It observes:

> *"Policies - as distinct from procedures - appear to be little known by social workers" (29.) with respect to child 'care' practices in general.*

Certainly, the literature indicates that practice at reviews does not necessarily promote the best interests of the young person. Where this occurred it often seemed to be by chance.

> *"The tendency is for workers to react to events, to adopt a passive style... to feel powerless... planning for the young person's future is poor - a placement which becomes settled turns into a 'plan'; there is a lack of strategy to achieve stated objectives" (30.).*

Thus, whilst the rhetoric of planning is in place its practice is absent. Certainly, the predominance of 'bad practice' at reviews was commented on by Stein and Carey who found that;

> *"a heavy bureaucracy... was often identified with the review situation... leaving the young person feeling totally hopeless" (31.).*

Here the driving force of the reviews appears to be the statutory demand that they take place, not that they offer an opportunity for effective joint planning. In these circumstances the procedures of reviews are implemented, but not their spirit.

However, Stein's and Carey's reference to "the young person feeling totally hopeless" is regarded as particularly significant. Attention is drawn to the unequal power relationships between those in attendance at reviews. Fieldworkers emerge, from the literature, as being overwhelmingly powerful through their control of information. This provides the basis of decision taking giving them considerable influence when decisions are being made. Whilst Clough (32.) comments on this McDonnell and Aldgate found that:

> *"Fieldworkers controlled the information which was available at all stages of decision making... they had the main responsibility for*

> *providing factual information and evaluation; they provided factual information and evaluation; then provided the assessment of the child, of the placement, of the family and the work done; they reported on the child's interests and leisure activities; they were the main source of information in reporting the views of others when these were requested; in most cases the information was not checked or commented on by others, particularly those about whom it was written; only 3 per cent of parents, children and other professionals received copies of review reports" (33.).*

In contrast, to the dominating influence fieldworkers have on planning is the lack of involvement those most intimately affected by decisions made; young people in 'care' and their parents. They are marginalized by a review process which asks them to participate in decision taking, but does not enable them to do so.

Yet, research evidence is available which indicates that they want to play a greater part. However, there is a substantial discrepancy between social researchers as to the extent to which young people attend reviews. Sinclair (34.) reported in her agency study that only 9.8% of young people were included at reviews held at residential establishments while none were present at reviews carried out in the area social services office.

In comparison, McDonnell and Aldgate (35.) claim that 97% of young people attend reviews frequently or occasionally. Clarification of the differences in research findings would be interesting, but any attempt to gauge the level of participation young people and their family members in reviews needs to be tied to a qualitative study of how they found the experience of attending a review. Was it in any way meaningful or did they feel that they were expected to keep quiet?

A surprising feature of research studies is the limited contribution residential workers make to reviews. They seem to be restricted to providing factual information. McDonnell and Aldgate comment:

> *"One might wonder if forms that give so little opportunity for the caretaker to contribute anything other than fairly mundane facts represent a general reluctance on the part of some agencies to encourage field workers to forge real working relationships with fellow*

> *professionals" (36.).*

They go on to suggest:

> *"Carefully taken decisions are likely to flounder in their implementation if they have not carried the support and commitment of all those who are touched by them" (37.).*

It seems anomalous that residential workers as the primary carers of young people in 'care' and the individuals responsible for carrying out review decisions should play a comparatively minor part in them. Sinclair (38.) argues that this reflects the subordinate status of residential workers and goes some way to explaining the failure to implement review decisions. The consequences of this are harmful as reviews offer a rare opportunity to start planning and to monitor and modify past plans in a collaborative way between all those responsible for implementing, and effected by them.

6.3. Social Pariahs.

Social researchers (39.) report that examination of public attitudes towards residential 'care' shows that these are still influenced by the vestiges of the old Poor Law principle of less eligibility; that is the notion that young people who are looked after by the local authority should not be better off in 'care' than they would be with their parents. This depresses expectations of 'care' because so many of the young people it provides for come from poor families suffering multiple problems and stresses (40.). It is a point, illustrated by Bebbington and Miles (41.) when giving the differing probabilities of children coming into 'care' from families whose circumstances are very different:

Child 'A'.	**Child 'B'.**
Age 5 to 9.	Age 5 to 9.
No supplementary benefit	Household head receives SB.
Two parent family.	Single adult household.
Three or fewer children.	Four or more children.
White.	Mixed ethnic origin.
Owner occupied home.	Private rented home.
More rooms than people.	One or more persons per room.
Odds are 1 in 7,000.	Odds are 1 in 10.

Source: Bebbington and Miles (42.).

The Poor Law's continuing influence on pubilc attitudes towards residential 'care' means that young people in this form of 'care' take on the role of 'outcasts'. The literature groans under the weight of comments received from these young people which show they feel condemned by the perceptions of those outside the 'care' system have of them:

> *"the feeling of shame at living in a children's home was graphically depicted by John who said that : 'The children's home used to take us all to school in a minibus but I always insisted they dropped me off a mile before so I could walk the rest of the way'" (43.).*
>
> *"When you tell folk that you're in care an' that... they think you are some kind of bampot" (44.).*
>
> *"the stigma of care, was something that followed them into the world of employment, and could mean suspicion or unpleasantness: 'I'd been away so they thought I were away for pinching and all these different things...it di'nt enter their head that I were away for just not going to school. I found it difficult because when you go to careers and things like that you've got to tell em what you've been through, what you've done. And if anything happened in care, like I went in for not going to school'" (45.)*

Members of the 'care' samples interviewed in the course of this research study made similar comments. Two stated:

> *"Look its hard enough to get a job as it is, I'd stand no chance if I told people I was in care. There is no way I would tell".*
>
> (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).

> *"I wouldn't tell employers if I was in care, but I wouldn't lie if they asked. Only one has and I think it cost me the job".*
>
> (Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).

It may be that the above remarks by young people in 'care' are wrong, being the product of their imaginations. However, this is not easy to accept for to do so would be to ignore numerous similar statements made by many young people belonging to various 'care' generations. The unequivocal view of nearly all is that they believe themselves to be the objects of a distrustful, stigmatizing public gaze.

Furthermore, whilst the accuracy of the accounts given by young people in 'care' about how they are seen by others might be challenged, what is inescapable is that many of them feel surrounded by an atmosphere of public distrust. Thus, added to their status as pariahs of the 'care' system is that, if only felt, of social pariahs.

In this regard it is interesting to note that while public kudos is attached to other young people who 'go away' to public schools the reverse is true of those who 'go away' to 'care'. Whereas places in public schools are seen as a privilege and their recipients viewed as potential leaders of society, 'care' and its subjects are viewed with suspicion, as though there is something wrong with it and them. Porter underlines when stating:

> *"In addition to other disadvantages, children in care have to suffer a further handicap - the way the general public perceives them. All the teenagers I interviewed felt stigmatized and labelled by the community at large as a result of being in care. People reacted to the knowledge that these teenagers were in care with nauseating pity or disapproval - 'What have you done wrong to be in a children's home?'" (46.).*

It is not the intention here to delve deeply into the pariah status of young people in 'care' as this will be explored in Chapter 25. At this time comment is confined to indicating that an important component of the literature's pessimism about residential 'care' is its assertion that young people in 'care' are so stigmatized by their 'care' status that they are transformed into social pariahs. It is as though residential 'care' is socially defined in a way which means that the mere fact of being placed within it imposes on young people a kind of 'guilt by association'.

6.3. Summary And Conclusions.

Some social researchers, like Berridge (47.), are fairly optimistic about residential 'care', but the majority of such writers express a thematic pessimism about it. Discussion of this revealed that this form of 'care' and its subjects are viewed unfavourably with both appearing to lack legitimacy. It has been shown that this is associated with the consistent emphasis, in place since at least the founding of the modern child 'care' system in 1946, on developing 'better' community based alternatives. 'Community care' is deserving of support, but its uncritical application has made an important contribution to the high level of pessimism surrounding residential 'care' and young people in it..

Yet, more cynical motives than the provision of the best form of 'care' for young people appear to have played a part in the promotion of 'community care'. Cost has been influential in determining the level of support it has received from official circles. 'Community care' is a much cheaper form of provision than residential care. New Society Database reports:

> *"keeping children in care is... very expensive: it costs of £380 million in 1983-84. Conveniently, therefore, the new emphasis among social workers on preventative work with families to keep children out of care also brings big savings. Where prevention fails, the new wisdom dictates that a substitute family may be found. This, too, is cheaper than providing a place in a children's home. This explains the big rise in fostering and the corresponding fall in the numbers in children's homes" (48.).*

The durability of the power which economic motives exert over official attitudes in favour of 'community care' is striking. For example, the Parliamentary Select Committee on Estimates (1951/52) noted the savings to be made by reducing the use of residential 'care' through the increased utilization of fostering and preventing the need to receive individuals into 'care'. Official views of this type were not critically examined by the social work profession which accepted and followed the line of successive governments. The effects of this on individual social workers by 1960 is bluntly described by John Stroud who writes:

> *"When I first came galloping out of university, in shining armour and with all pennants flying, it was to the Rescue of Deprived Child. Light and air were going to be flooded into dark places (children's homes), all those miserable waifs were going to have a square deal... What we had'nt stopped to consider was how they managed to get there in the first place... But we'd only taken a few cautious steps in direction when Whitehall seized upon this development (prevention of the need for care) with glee: here was an even better and even cheaper way of keeping the children, so cheap it didn't cost anything. Don't care for them at all" (49.).*

However, 'community care' has proved ideologically seductive to one of the most powerful groups - field social workers - staffing the child 'care' system. The pessimism with which these workers view residential 'care' has been discussed and whilst the educational, employment, and independent living experiences of young people in 'care' and 'care' leavers is hardly a cause for optimism about it these factors, in terms of a 'community care' ideology, are not failures in themselves, but the outcomes of failure; the failure of social workers to prevent the necessity of residential 'care'.

From this perspective, field worker pessimism about residential 'care' encompasses the view that young people in 'care' are beyond help. Left to live within a system which operates in terms of policies intended to deal with the aggregate needs of the 'care' population there is always the risk its individual members will get lost. As a result, the 'care' regime may be inappropriate to meet, and be insensitive to the educational, employment and developmental requirements of a young person and, thereby, provide further fuel for those themes previously discussed.

None of this should come as a surprise for when reviewing the literature which gives vent to the pessimism surrounding residential 'care' a resemblance between it and that produced by a number of influential observers (50.) of the penal system can be detected. Writers about the child 'care' and penal systems tend to start from the common standpoint provided by their view that the use of residential 'care' establishments and imprisonment reflects the failure of each. Entry into residential 'care' is represented as indicating the inability of the 'care' system to prevent the need for 'care' whilst the continuing use of imprisonment is indicative of what Bottoms and Preston call the collapse of the "rehabilitative ideal" (51.).

Each are measures of the last resort, to be invoked only when community based alternatives have failed. The bifurcation of both systems is a consequence of this, a tendency exacerbated by the ever rising cost of providing already expensive 'institutional' accommodation. According to this prescription residential 'care' is set to become increasingly concerned about meeting the needs of young people who are so 'troubles' or 'troublesome' that they are beyond hope while the prisons become increasingly warehouses for the 'evil' and 'dangerous'.

Given the despondency with which fieldworkers regard residential 'care' it was not surprising to find that the overview of the literature indicated that this often found expression in the critical appraisals they provided of residential 'care'. It seems those who work in the residential sector, as do the young people they 'care' for, are tainted by their association with it. It renders them the pariahs of the social work profession, and reduces those in 'care' to a similar rank, causing them to be as professionally marginalized and isolated as is the setting in which they work. Berridge observes:

> *"Professional and social isolation, which was described for heads of homes also affects child care staff. A recent study of residential staff showed that staff in community homes occupy a marginal professional status... During the fieldwork for this present study it also became apparent that staff are professionally isolated and have little contact with colleagues elsewhere" (52.).*

While residential workers return the criticisms of their fieldwork colleagues the tensions and poor communications between them were shown to inhibit proper planning and decision taking with respect to the young people for whom they are jointly responsible. As a result, there is a tendency for both sets of workers to plan, where planing occurs, independently of each other, lending weight to the proposition that admission into 'care' and life within it are dominated by chance events which become the plan.

Chapter 7.

An Introduction To Youth Unemployment.

When Bryan Nicholson (1.), one time chairperson of the Manpower Service Commission, predicted that by the end of the 1980s nobody under the age of 18 years could expect to get a full-time job, he was pointing to the structural changes in the British economy which had taken place since the late 1970s that were marked by the unprecedented decline of traditional industries, the rapid introduction of new technology and deep recession. In this period the long standing situation in which upwards of 50% of 16 year olds could be expected to move straight from school to a job gradually gave way to a variety of educational, training and occupational experiences, including unemployment.

However, the fall in overall unemployment towards the end of the 1980s proved Nicholson wrong and gave the impression that mass unemployment was no longer a problem, creating the danger that it would become a disregarded 'time bomb'. It is a bomb which exploded with the depression which commenced in the late 1980's when the number of people out of work climbed month after month. Large scale unemployment is a constant problem and it seems always to be with us.

Table 7.1. Full-Time Employment: Gender And Percentage Change 1974-88 (1000's).

Group	1974	1979	1983	1987	1988	Change
Male	13,659	13,321	11,923	11,954	11,953	-1706
Female	9,131	9,408	8,960	9,948	9,948	+817

Sources: Rowlands, A. (1.).

Table 7.1. shows that even in the prosperous economic climate of 1988 there were less people at work than in 1977; 1.7 million fewer males offset by 817,000 more females in employment making a net reduction in the work force of 4 per cent.

Table 7.2. Long-Term Unemployment (6 Months+): Gender (1,000s).

Group	1976	1979	1983	1987	1988(Jan)
Males	334	436	1356	1379	1135
% of all unemployed	33	42	58	61	60
Females	56	146	338	533	413
% of all unemployed	19	37	46	52	50

Source: Rowlands, A. (3.)

Table 7.2 points out that, over the same period, as the proportion of the work force in employment shrunk the number of long-term unemployed, not surprisingly, grew.

Table 7.3: Regions And Gender: Percent Of Jobless And Chances Of A Job In The Next 12 Months And Percentage Of All U.K. Vacancies: January 1988.

Region	Jobless(%)	All Vacancies(%)	Chances of Work	
			Males	Females
South East	6.5	40	48	57
East Anglia	6.4	4	52	58
South West	8.1	8	49	55
West Midlands	10.6	10	35	43
East Midlands	8.8	5	38	51
Yorks/Humber	11.3	6	37	49
North West	12.6	9	35	48
North	14.1	5	35	46
Wales	12.6	4	37	53
Scotland	13.6	8	35	47
N. Ireland	17.9	1	na.	na.

Source: Rowlands, A. (4.).

Table 7.3 contrasts vacancies, unemployment and job prospects between the regions in 1988, demonstrating the brighter employment prospects for workers living in Southern England, a pattern which has changed in the 1990s as their chances of finding a job went into relative decline. Taken together the three Tables provide an overview of the tough labour market environment the young people who participated in the research study entered on leaving school and about which Rowland said;

> *"the realities of structural unemployment contrast with the official optimism; for example it will take more than seven years for male and five years for female unemployment to return to the levels of 1979. Hence mass unemployment will persist well into the next decade" (5.).*

Since the completion of the study the young unemployed have become the subjects of increasingly draconian treatment characterized by the imposition of ever tighter rules governing their right to state benefit, culminating in its denial to the majority. This has enabled the young to be dragooned into a proliferation of 'training schemes', regardless of their quality, acceptability and appropriateness. For the young, 'welfare' has, effectively, been replaced by 'workfare', an application of 'less eligibility' which has enabled substantial numbers of them to be trimmed from increasingly dubious unemployment statistics (see Appendix 5.) that are forever massaged in a downward direction. Temporary jobs or places on the Youth Training Scheme (YTS) cannot be regarded as replacements for, so called, 'proper' jobs obtained on the labour market and capable of being carried over into adulthood.

However the implications of being young and unemployed go beyound the immediate economic consequences of not having a wage earned through employment. Unemployment imposes on them a severe, far reaching social penalty. The nature of, and reasons for this are forcefully expressed by Borrill and Marshal who writes:

> *"More than twelve million young adults in Britain and other Western European countries are facing a crisis of exclusion - exclusion from responsible participation in society. They are being excluded from from the economic, social and political lives of their communities. The traditional means available to working class adolescents of becoming adults have broken down and all sorts of tactics and strategies are being tried out by young people as they struggle to understand what is happening to their generation. The collapse of the job market for this age group has created a crisis for working class families as adolescents enter their twenties financially and emotionally dependent on their parents" (6.).*

Added to the social costs unemployment inflicts on the young is its ability to threaten the health of all who are without work. Henwood and Miles emphasize this when observing that:

> *"The balance of research suggests that unemployment in Western societies contributes to a variety of physical health problems... There is strong support for job loss and unemployment being implicated with poor mental health... Noting that the sorts of psychological problems reported among groups of unemployed men have been remarkably consistent over some 50 years... Marie Jahoda (7.) suggested that these problems do not stem from financial hardship alone... She argues that to have a job places one in a complex set of social relationships, going beyond the wage relation. Five experiences which are crucial to psychological well-being - social contacts, status, time structure, activity and being part of some collective purpose - are typically provided in our society by formal employment... With the decline of traditional forms of household production and community life and with an increasing proportion of the population participating in the labour force, employment has become increasingly the means of gaining access to these categories of experience" (my brackets) (8.).*

Employment is revealed as profoundly important for young people; it is a powerful means of effecting economic and political socialization and provides individuals with one of the most important activities through which they can gain a satisfactory personal integration. From this perspective the acquisition of work takes on an added importance for young people in local authority residential 'care' embarking upon the process of establishing themselves as independent adults.

Yet, despite the importance of youth unemployment this study's interest in it is limited to an examination of the experience young people in 'care' encounter on the labour market. It is the labour market that is the arena in which the effects and identity of the process by which these young people are socially defined, can be identified. However, this use of the labour market demands that we have some understanding of the problem of youth unemployment, of the different interpretations it has been given and of its implications for its victims.

Therefore, Chapter 8 will attempt to place youth unemployment in an historical perspective before Chapter 9 goes on to provide a brief overview of some influential theoretical explanations of the mechanizms governing the labour market's operation. Chapter 10 will discuss the health and social costs of unemployment.

However, before proceeding it is necessary to sound a note of warning concerning the definition of 'youth unemployment'. It is a chameleon like term whose varying meanings makes it something to be treated with caution. For example, the Department of Employment (D.O.E.) defines anyone between the ages of 16 to 25 years without a job as being one of the 'young unemployed', a convention followed by Francis (9.), whilst other authors e.g. Sawdon, Pelican, and Tucker (10.), are more restricted in its use applying it only to those without work and aged between 16 and 17 years.

In order to avoid inflicting the reader with the confusion arising out of the varying definitions of the 'young unemployed' this study uses this term, unless otherwise stated, to refer to young people aged 16 to 19 years. The adequacy of this definition is justified on two grounds. First, it covers the crucial years when those in 'care' have to make the transition to independent living. Second, it is an age range covering the youngest group of workers to which Labour Force Surveys (LFSs), which later discussion refers to at length.

Chapter 8.

The History of Youth Unemployment.

8.1. Introduction.

The scale of present day youth unemployment and the political furore and publicity surrounding it makes it all too easy to assume that it is a modern phenomenon. Yet nothing could be further from the truth. Large scale youth unemployment has been, with brief periods of respite, an historical constant which must be understood in its historical, as well as, its economic context.

Therefore this Chapter will examine the origins of youth unemployment, tracing its development in Britain since late-Victorian times by reviewing a few earlier works on the subject. In doing so, the intention is not to provide a comprehensive review of the previous literature in this field, but to impart something of its flavour and to demonstrate how little the characteristics of youth unemployment have changed in the eighty years since the subject was first seriously studied by Tawney (1.) and those of his contemporaries (2.) interested in the 'boy labour' problem.

8.2. The Boy Labour Problem.

A major social issue of late Victorian times was that of juvenile labour - principally that of boys - in casual and unskilled occupations: the so called, 'boy labour problem'. It arose out of the excess demand for the labour of boys and girls in certain 'blind-alley' occupations (see Table 8.1.) which recruited them straight from school and 'fired', or forced them to quit two, or three years later without having provided them with any training. The places of these young people, who were left with no option other than to join a reservior of surplus unskilled labour, were taken by a new crop of school leavers who repeated the cycle.

Unemployment among the very young, 14 to 17 year olds, was not a problem, but

Table 8.1. **Employment** Of Men And Boys In Various Establishments, c. 1909.

Establishment/ Activity	Men	Boys	Ratio of Boys to Men
Biscuit-making.	12	41	3.4
Finishing Comp. - raising.	10	18	1.8
Soap-making.	98	114	1.2
Weaving.	120	126	1.1
Finishing Comp. - storemills.	40	40	1.0
Finishing Comp. - drying.	28	26	0.9
Sawmills - machine shop.	78	64	0.8
Sawmills - chair shop.	38	14	0.4
Sawmills - turning.	30	4	0.1
Pastry-making	60	7	0.1
Finishing Comp. - pressing.	96	10	0.1
Bread-making.	96	8	0.1

Source: Tawney, R. H. (3.).

when they entered their late teens and attempted to make the transition to more secure, skilled employment young workers encountered serious difficulties. Beveridge wrote of this, that;

> *"it is clear that a great many boys and girls on leaving school enter occupations in which they cannot hope to remain for more than a few years and in which they are not fitted for any permanent career. With... the development of trades and processes to which apprenticeship has never been applied, there has come a break-up in the continuity of industrial life. The principle of apprenticeship was that people should enter in early youth the craft in which they would remain until the end. At the present time... some industries use far more boys than they can possibly find room for as men... they are the 'blind-alley' occupations which have to be abandoned when man's estate is reached... The boys enter, not as learners, but as wage earners, doing some work too simple or too light to require the services of grown people. When, therefore, they themselves grow up and begin to expect the wages of grown people, they must go elsewhere to obtain these wages. They leave or are dismissed and their places are taken by a fresh generation from the schools. They find themselves at eighteen or twenty without any obvious career before them, without a trade in their hands, and with no resources save unskilled labour. They go, therefore - very likely after a period of military service - to overcrowd that already crowded market" (4.).*

A number of the 'blind alley' occupations were identified in a survey carried out by Tawney (5.). He considered the classic case to be that of a van-boy, but there were many other trades in which the boys taken on by employers far outnumbered the jobs available for men e.g. biscuit-making, finishing, soap-making and weaving etc. In these the jobs available for young adults were far fewer than the number of such workers eligible for them.

In itself, this need not have been too problematic if the young workers had received training which equipped them for the transition to adult employment in other trades. However, Tawney argued, as do present day critics of government training initiatives, that where training was given it was too superficial and specialized. Many apprentices were no more than machine minders. Not surprisingly, few young people stayed long enough with an employer to acquire any training at all.

Tawney concluded that the poor quality of training, when married with the chronic lack of job security that marked the industrial sectors and occupations in which they were found, wasted what he regarded as the nation's greatest asset - namely, the young people who were the workforce of the future. As we shall see when discussing youth unemployment in the 1980s remarkably little appears to have changed in this respect since the turn of the century.

8.3. Pre-1914 Surveys.

Mark Casson (6.) provides a brief but helpful overview of Pre-1914 surveys of youth unemployment the scale of which, he claims, came as a nasty surprise to investigators. Of particular interest is a study conducted by Rowntree and Lasker (7.) in June 1910. During this time they visited a sample of working-class households in York and collected information on the members of each. As a result, it was discovered that a surprisingly large number of young people were, not only without work, but had been so for some time. In fact, of the 129 individuals aged fourteen to eighteen who were interviewed, seven had been unemployed for over a year and sixteen for over six months.

Rowntree and Lasker noted the following four main characteristics of the young unemployed

1. Their educational attainment was poor.

2. The unemployed were typically of low intelligence, physically weak or disabled, and came from 'unsatisfactory' home backgrounds. It was estimated 80% unemployed were disadvantaged in one or more of these ways.

3. Their previous employment was largely unskilled or casual or both: 42% were first employed as messenger boys, while only 2% had taken apprenticeships.

4. Most of the young unemployed were frequent job changers, tending to drift in and out of dead-end jobs with intervening periods of unemployment.

It was Rowntree and Lasker's belief that many of the problems of unemployment stemed from unsatisfactory experiences of entry into working life. They felt that recurrent exposure to unemployment stimulated a taste in the young for idleness, and introduced them to petty crime. Furthermore, many of the best jobs - apprenticeships - were only offered to school-leavers and were not available to young people already unemployed.

The significance of frequent job changing among young people was a theme developed by Freeman, in a study published in 1914 (8.). Utilizing a sample of seventy-one fourteen year old boys who left school in Birmingham in 1909 his work focused on chronic job changers - those who had taken four or more jobs in the three years since leaving school. The boys were sorted into three categories according to whether they were destined for skilled work (class 1), for unskilled work (class 2), or to become unemployable through some physical, mental or moral defect (class 3). The classification was made twice: once when Freeman's subjects were fourteen years old, on the basis of teacher's reports, and when they reached the age of seventeen years. The results are summarized in Table 8.2.

Table 8.2. Mobility Of A Sample Of Young Workers In Birmingham 1909-12.

Destined of work at 14.	Destined class of work at 17			
	1	2	3	Total
1	6	13	-	19
2	-	31	4	35
3	-	-	17	17
All classes	6	44	21	71

Source: Freeman, A. (9.).
Note: Classes as explained in text.

Although, there is a strong subjective element in Freeman's classifications, his results indicated the deteriorating prospects of the chronic job changer. Whilst nineteen of the 14 year olds seemed destined for skilled work this appeared to be true for only six of them by the time they had reached the age of 17 years. Of the latter age group twenty-one seemed doomed to become unemployable, four more than the number of respondents classified as such when 14 years old.

The reasons for job changing varied considerably between members of classes 1 and 3. Most members of class 1 changed because of they wished to broaden their experience of their trade by taking other jobs within it. In contrast, Freeman describes the frequent job changing by young people in class 3 as driven by the wish to find easy ways of making money. It is a view which reflects that of Rowntree and Lasker who had earlier remarked;

> *"It is obvious that such frequent changes make for general instability. Taking into account periods of unemployment, probably a permanent occupation at a lower wage would yield a better financial result than this constant change with occasional short periods of relatively high wages; as well as being morally more desirable" (10.).*

Some of the findings arising out of the two influential pre-1914 studies discussed seem very familiar. The connections they make between educational attainment, the allocation of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled work and frequent job changing emulates the conclusions arising out of present day studies of the employment prospects of young people. In the light of the earlier writing the, supposed, inability of young people in residential 'care' to hold a job takes on a special interest, making explicit something merely implicit in recent works: the immorality of job changing, an activity such young people in 'care' are defined as undertaking with an intensity which marks them out from their 'non-care' peers.

8.4. Youth Unemployment In The Great Depression.

On the heels of the First World War came a short-lived economic 'boom' founded on a government campaigne to meet the great social needs revealed by the War. Efforts to remedy these centred on a massive building programme launched to, in Lloyd George's ringing phrase , "build homes fit for heroes". Accompanying this were measures taken to improve the health and education services along with the introduction of a national unemployment insurance scheme. All figured prominently in the government's attempt to establish a post-war settlement.

However, the 'boom' soon dissipated itself and retrenchment became the order of the day as the British economy, along with those of other Western nations, contracted sharply with the onset of the Great Depression which dominated the inter-war years. Its most marked feature was the previously unheard of high levels of unemployment. From the summer of 1920 to the summer of 1940 unemployment was never below one million and at times was over three (11.). Casson observes that within this economic environment;

> *"it soon became apparent that the employment prospects of school-leavers were very poor, and by the early 1930's there were a large number of youngsters who had not had the opportunity of a steady job for several years. There was considerable concern about the demoralization that this situation produced among the young unemployed, and anxiety lest the frustration lead to political unrest" (12.).*

The first major study during the Depression was by Jewkes and Winterbottom (15.) who surveyed 21,000 school-leavers in Lancashire in the Autumn of 1922. They recorded the duration of unemployment among sample members and their occupational choices. In view of the depressed state of the economy and the declining competitiveness of the main local industry, cotton, it is not surprising to find that Jewkes and Winterbottom discovered that the duration of unemployment of their sample members tended to be high.

Certain features of the youth labour market appeared to have barely changed since before the First World War. In particular, employment was much higher for fourteen and fifteen year olds than for older teenagers and those in their early twenties. Approximately, 80% of fourteen year olds found work within three months of leaving school, mostly in the cotton industry and retail distribution trade where long-term employment prospects were poor. Workers in the cotton industry tended to be fired before their sixteenth birthday, when employers had to start paying unemployment and health insurance contributions. As a result, unemployment among sixteen year olds was particularly high. In retailing, wages were so low many left employers voluntarily. The low demand for sixteen year olds led to the paradoxical situation in which young people who had the most education were the least able to find a job.

A second important study of youth unemployment during the Great Depression was undertaken by Cameron, Lush and Meara (14.) They surveyed 1561 young males aged eighteen to twenty-five who were registered as unemployed in the summer of 1937. Sample members constituted 10% of the young unemployed in Glasgow, Liverpool and Cardiff. The employment history of each young person was taken from his leaving school until the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. At that time the national unemployment rate for this age group averaged out at 15%.

From the research two facts immediately became apparent. These were;

> *"First, unemployment increased with age. The proportion of the three year period spent unemployed rose steadily from about 10 percent at age fifteen to a peak of about 24 percent at age twenty-two. Unemployment at fourteen was slightly higher than at fifteen., while from twenty-two onwards it began to decline slowly. Secondly the incidence of unemployment was very unequal. The 20 per cent of youths most prone to unemployment spent four times as long on the dole as did the 14 per cent least prone to unemployment. For each youth the past history of unemployment was a very good guide to his present employment status" (15.).*

Contrary to Jewkes and Winterbottom, Cameron et al found that the incidence of unemployment was much lower the later a young person left school showing a positive correlation between attaining a good educational status and getting a job. The explanation for the divergence between the two sets of investigators is not clear, but it may, to some extent, be accounted for by a combination of methodological and political factors.

Of the former factors the most obvious of these concerns the use of a more geographically scattered sample by Cameron et al than that of Jewkes and Winterbottom. Consequently, while their investigation may provide a reliable commentary on youth unemployment in Lancashire in the early 1930's problems may arise when attempting to extrapolate from their localized sample findings applicable to other areas, such as those covered by Cameron et al in their work.

Furthermore, whilst both studies were concerned about youth unemployment in the 1930's they took place at different ends of the decade during which time the international political climate changed drastically. In the early 1930's the prospect of the Great Depression stretching on endlessly seemed real. There appeared to be no solution and with it no need for educated labour. By the late 1930's all had changed. National Socialism was the order of the day in Germany; Hitler threatened and with the Second World War looming employment prospects opened up as Britain began to rearm.

When it came to actually getting a job, Cameron et al placed considerable emphasis on the role of appearance in getting work. The chronically unemployed tended to be shorter, lighter and less well dressed than the employed. However, it is difficult to distinguish cause and effect; were shortness and lightness the result of the poor diet the unemployed were forced to eat and their poor dress a reflection of their inability to afford new clothes, or was their appearance a cause of their being refused work?

A common grievance among the young unemployed was that they were only ever offered inferior jobs by Employment Exchanges. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that of Cameron et al's sample less than 20% of all jobs gained by its members were found through official agencies (see Table 8.3.). It was the widespread belief among the young people that the best jobs could be got through 'influence'; a recommendation from an important customer of an employer, or by merely being on good terms with the foreman.

The type of work obtained varied considerably according to age. The distributive trades were major employers, accounting for 39% of all jobs for fourteen to sixteen year olds, but for only 18% of all those for young people over twenty-one years old. Whilst the large scale entry of school-leavers into distribution may, in part, be accounted for in the growth of this sector in the late 1930's the skewed nature of the age distribution among those employed within it implies a high turnover of young workers.

Cameron et al also found that the reasons given for leaving jobs also varied considerably with age (see Table 8.4.). The under eighteens were much more likely to quit and in those cases where they had been dismissed it tended to be because they had become too old, or because the were 'unsuitable' for the work. Straightforward redundancy was much less common than for the over eighteens.

Table 8.3. Methods Of Obtaining Jobs, 1937.

Age Group.		Percentage Of Jobs Obtained Through				
	No. of jobs	own efforts	relatives & friends	official agencies	other means	Total
14-17	2607	62.6	18.0	18.7	0.7	100.0
18+	3523	69.9	10.7	18.6	0.8	100.0
Both groups	6130	66.8	13.8	18.7	0.7	100.0

Source: Cameron, C., Lush, A. and Meara, G. (11.).

In addition, Cameron et al reported that the young men involved in their investigation were dissatisfied with the wages offered them which were lower than those paid to older workers. Young workers felt they were used as cheap labour and resented this. In some cases those who participated in Cameron et al's research refused to continue on juvenile rates of pay and found themselves made redundant while others quit jobs after arguments with employers over why they should not be paid the same as older workers they had displaced or who earned more for doing the same job. The inequitabability of pay rates was considerable (18.1). Twenty-four year olds received, on average, five times as much as fourteen year olds whilst at the age of sixteen, eighteen and twenty-one young workers were moved onto progressively higher pay scales giving rise to the syndrome of redundancy as a result of 'being too old at sixteen', 'too old at eighteen' and 'too old at twenty-one'.

8.5. Early Post Second World War Studies.

In the early post war period increasing attention was paid to young people's move from school to work. It was an interest reflecting the efforts being made to extend education and create equality of opportunity within the full employment society of the newly formed Welfare State. Summerised below are three influential studies carried between 1945 and 1960.

8.5(a.) Ferguson and Cunninson: School-Leaver Survey.

Ferguson and Cunnison (19.) surveyed 1349 fourteen year old males who left school in Glasgow in 1947. It was a time of high demand for labour when youth unemployment averaged only 1.6%. Eighty per cent of sample members left school with definite careers in mind with most looking for skilled manual work. The commonest reason governing these young people's career choice was job interest; parental wishes, the desire for status and income were all found to be comparatively unimportant. Interestingly, the career choices of Ferguson's and Cunnison's respondents proved to be stable with most of them at the end of the three year study period still persuing those they had opted for on leaving school.

Table 8.4. Reasons For Leaving Job, 1937.

Age group	Total no. of jobs	Reason Job Left (%)							
		Work finished	Firm closed down	Paid off owing to age	Wages too low	No prospects, disliked job, etc.	Illness or accident	Dismissed as unsuitable	Total
14-17	1926	36.8	8.9	18.85	10.8	11.6	5.2	8.2	100.0
18+	3388	71.8	3.3	6.0	5.3	4.1	4.2	5.3	100.0
Both groups	5314	59.2	5.5	10.5	7.1	6.8	4.6	6.3	100.0

Source: Cameron, C., Lush, A. and Meara, G. (12.).

Ferguson and Cunnison succeeded in isolating a number of factors influencing career choice - see Table 8.5. Entry into skilled manual work was inversely related to the size of family, and the quality of the residential area and home life of respondents. Although the influence of their fathers occupations were of marginal importance there was a tendency for the sons of skilled workers to be more successful than their peers when seeking skilled work. This may have been attributable to the inability of low-paid workers to afford apprenticeships for their sons.

Table 8.5. Distribution Of Occupational Status According To Potential Influences On Occupational Choice.

	Percentage Distribution By Status				
Influences	Skilled manual	Semi-Skilled manual	Unskilled manual	Non-manual	Total
Father's occupation					
Skilled manual	51.6	9.2	13.1	26.1	100.0
Semi-skilled manual	49.4	10.9	14.9	24.8	100.0
Unskilled manual	44.7	11.2	22.6	21.5	100.0
Non-manual	47.2	12.1	12.7	28.0	100.0
Family assessment					
Good	50.9	9.9	15.4	23.7	100.0
Fair or bad	34.2	14.5	25.2	26.1	100.0
No. children in family					
1-4	50.1	12.0	12.8	25.1	100.0
5+	42.9	10.2	22.9	24.1	100.0
Position of boy in family					
1st or 2nd child	47.7	11.7	16.8	23.8	100.0
5th or over	41.3	8.5	23.0	12.2	100.0
Residential area					
Good or fair	52.3	8.7	13.2	25.8	100.0
Slum	31.1	12.6	27.4	28.9	100.0
Accommodation					
-2 per room	51.9	12.2	14.4	21.5	100.0
4 and more per room	37.1	12.6	24.6	25.7	100.0
Family Structure					
Unbroken	48.2	10.9	16.3	24.6	100.0
Broken	39.4	11.8	24.8	24.0	100.0

Source: Ferguson, T. and Cunnison, J. (20.).

Frequent job changing proved characteristic of the young people. On average they changed jobs once a year, but there were considerable differences between them. Nearly 25% remained with the same employer throughout the three years of the study, while 14% changed employers five times or more in this period. Rate of job changing seemed to be inversely associated to job status, size of family, quality of residential area and home life and regular attendance at school. The reasons for job changing varied according to its frequency - see Table 8.6. Young people who only changed once tended to do so in order to begin an apprenticeship, to obtain promotion or to improve long-term career prospects, while more frequent changers tended to move for higher wages, because of dissatisfaction, or because they were fired.

At the end of their three year study period Ferguson and Cunnison found that 74% of their sample members had obtained work and considered themselves to be settled in for the foreseeable future. Over 96% of skilled, and 63% of semi-skilled workers thought of themselves in this way. In contrast, 64% of those in unskilled occupations viewed their jobs as 'stop-gap' and visualized themselves as holding them only until something better came along.

Table 8.6. Distribution Of Predominant Reasons For Changing Job, According To Number Of Jobs Held.

		Predominant Reasons For Change (%): Voluntary Leaving					
No. of jobs	No. of boys	Apprenticeship, promotion and prospects	Wages	Dislike of job	Other reasons	Dismissal	Total
1-2	482	71.2	8.7	5.8	9.5	4.8	100.0
3-4	123	29.2	16.3	38.2	11.3	5.0	100.0
5+	61	10.0	11.4	44.2	26.2	8.2	100.0
All groups	667	57.9	10.3	15.3	11.4	5.1	100.0

Source: Ferguson, T. and Cunnison, J. (21.).

Of those described as 'settled' in their work 80% reported that they had chosen their jobs for themselves with half their number reporting that they had been attracted to a particular occupation as it appeared interesting. A third of the remainder said they had chosen their work as it offered security. Wages were a less important factor in job choice for these young people with them earning marginally less than those of their age who were in 'stop-gap' employment. The contrast between these two groups was also reflected in the less pronounced tendency for those in 'stop-gap' employment to have chosen their jobs for themselves and the relatively greater importance they attached to wages and scant regard they had for job interest.

Ferguson and Cunnison suggest that the differences between those in settled and those in 'stop-gap' employment mirror an underlying difference in their attitudes towards work. They present the latter are more hostile to work, are less well trained and more prone to dismissal than are former group of young workers.

Clearly, many social and economic influences impinged on youth unemployment and inter-acted in complex ways. Some of the most important appear to concern the young person's personality and family backgrounds; their effects are summarized in Table 8.7.

However, not all aspects of family background appeared to operate as expected. Ferguson and Cunnison found that the families of working widows tended to have good employment records while observations suggested that the degree of responsibility young people had at home was a more important influence on their employment records than the standard of living provided by their occupations. As a result, it seems dangerous to draw general conclusions about social influences on youth unemployment without very detailed evidence. A factor borne in mind throughout the conduct of this study and the prime reason for restricting the applicability, as discussed in the Introduction to this thesis, of its findings.

8.5(b.). Harris: School-Leavers Survey.

A survey by Harris (23.) of 3960 school-Leavers in 1954-55 provided evidence of a relationship between educational background and job changing. The study

Table 8.7. Incidence Of Unemployment According To Family Background And Young Person's Personality Characteristics.

Influences on unemployment	Amount Of Unemployment In Three Years (%)			
	None	Less than 3 months	3 months or more	Total
No. Children in family				
1-2	73.5	18.7	7.8	100.0
3-4	70.1	22.1	7.8	100.0
5-7	64.6	26.5	8.9	100.0
8+	57.2	30.7	12.1	100.0
Position in family				
1st or 2nd	69.9	21.0	9.0	100.0
3rd or 4th	67.3	26.7	6.0	100.0
5th or later	55.7	31.2	13.1	100.0
Scholastic assessment: age 14				
A or B	71.8	21.3	6.9	100.0
C	69.0	22.5	8.5	100.0
D	64.9	26.1	9.0	100.0
E	54.7	32.2	13.1	100.0
Personality assessment: age 14				
A	72.4	19.0	8.6	100.0
B	67.8	24.1	8.1	100.0
C	58.8	29.0	12.2	100.0
Mother's status				
Working out of home	71.2	19.0	9.8	100.0
Not working out of home	67.3	25.3	7.4	100.0
Dead	51.5	25.8	22.7	100.0
All boys	66.7	22.4	8.9	100.0

Source: Ferguson, T. and Cunnison, J. (22.).

distinguished between grammar and technical schools, on the one hand, and secondary-modern schools, on the other hand.

Of those leaving grammar and technical schools 67% of boys and 58% of girls did not change jobs in the first two years of their working lives. 12% of boys and 13% of girls changed more than once, but only 3% of boys and girls changed more than twice. Of those leaving secondary schools only 49% of boys and 44% of girls did not change jobs in their first year at work. Twice as many boys and girls changed more than once in this period and about four times as many - 13% of boys and 11% of girls - changed jobs more than twice. These results appear to indicate that while secondary modern school-leavers were more prone to job changing than those who left grammar and technical schools the difference between the two groups was almost entirely attributable to the existence of a small 'hard core' of job changers from secondary modern schools.

Harris's study also suggests that there is considerable social mobility in the labour market. Although he demonstrated a positive association between a father's occupation and that of his children, especially son's, it was weak and largely unaffected by the job changing behaviour of young workers.

8.5(c.). Carter: Secondary Modern School-Leaver 1959.

Carter (24.) studied a sample of 200 fifteen year olds - 100 male and 100 females - who left five secondary modern schools in Sheffield in 1959. Whilst it was primarily concerned with youth unemployment Carter's work offered corroborated the details of earlier studies.

Although the late 1950s were a time of high employment, the young people contacted by Carter appeared to take a realistic view of their prospects. It was an attitude which seemed to reflect an awareness of their own limitations rather than appreciation of available employment opportunities. Few of the young people expressed strong preferences for any particular kinds of work, although there appeared to be an agreed hierarchy of occupations: For young men apprenticeships conferred most social standing, while the young women ranked, in descending order, office, shop and factory work.

Most of the young people interviewed had jobs arranged when they left school, few found difficulty in finding work. However, much job searching was carried out hastily in the last few weeks before leaving school.

Very few jobs were found through 'official' channels; both workers and employers were found to regard the Youth Employment Service as dealing with second-class jobs for second-class people. Many of the, so called, 'good' jobs were arranged through family contacts while 17% were found by simply calling an employer on the 'off chance'.

Perhaps because of the chance nature of initial job placements Carter found the association between 'IQ' and the skill level of the first job obtained by school-leavers to be positive, but low. However, it was an association which strengthened over time, because of the relatively high drop-out rate among apprentices with low 'IQ' scores.

Thirty-six per cent of all sample members changed jobs within a year of leaving school. Change of occupation, as opposed to change of employer, was more common among males than females. 11% of males and 8% of females had at least three jobs. Most quit because of dissatisfaction with the nature of the work they were doing or with their promotion prospects. Although coveted, dissatisfaction with apprenticeships was fairly common even among those who continued them. None of the young people found trade unions of any assistance and at the end of their first year at work; only 15% and 11% of male and female sample members, respectively, had joined unions. As a result of young people's lack of contact with unions and the disinterest of unions, their work related problems, which might have easily been solved, tended to fester, build up and lead them to quit.

8.6. Recent Studies Of Youth Unemployment.

Since the early 1960's the trend has been for unemployment to increase at a faster rate among young, rather than older workers. As a result, at the outset of this research study more than half those under the age of 18 years were either unemployed or on a government training scheme - see Table 8.8. In Casson's view (25.) this has resulted in research focusing more intensely on the job changing habits of the young. He cites as examples of this two surveys carried out by Baxter (26.) in Sheffield, covering young people born in 1952 and 1956, respectively.

8.6(a.). Baxter's Sheffield Surveys.

The first of Baxter's (28.) surveys was confined to chronic job changers, i.e. those who changed jobs, on average, more than twice a year for the first three years of

Table 8.8. Employment Status Of Those Under 18 Years Of Age, Great Britain (1000's).

September	Total in labour force	Employed	Unemployed or on a Government sponsored scheme
1980	1155.9	745.8 (64%)	410.1 (36%)
1981	1135.3	606.4 (53%)	528.9 (47%)
1982	1111.5	527.1 (47%)	584.4 (53%)
1983	1102.0	523.5 (47%)	578.5 (53%)
1984	1091.4	523.1 (48%)	568.3 (52%)

Source: Lonsdale, S. (27.).

their working lives. 115 chronic job changers were identified with each being followed from school-leaving age (fifteen years) up to the age of twenty years, and some up to the age of twenty-two years. Although Baxter discovered that the frequency of job changing amongst this group dropped sharply when they reached the ages of eighteen and nineteen years and remained stable thereafter, it did so at a rate well above the average for all young people. The second survey covered 7000 school-leavers and followed each of them for a three year period.

The studies revealed that, as a whole, sample members were prone to dismissal for disciplinary reasons, especially for absenteeism and bad time keeping. In this respect the experience of chronic job changers did not appear to be significantly different from the norm. A probable explanation for the types of disciplinary problems young people encountered at work is that they arose out of the difficulties they faced when making the transition from school to working life.

The surveys also indicated that a relatively high proportion of the chronic job changers were employed in the distributive trades, where dismissal for disciplinary reasons seemed to be particularly common. Baxter suggests that the large number of small firms and relative weakness of union representation in them may go some way to explaining the high rate of dismissal among those young people employed in distribution. However, the explanatory power of this suggestion is diluted by the tenuous links between unions and young workers.

8.6(b.). Manpower Commission Surveys.

The startling increase in unemployment following the onset of the world recession in 1973 further underlined the importance of research into youth unemployment. Official agencies in a number of countries commissioned studies of this subject with a great deal of work being undertaken internationally.

In Britain the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) sponsored several surveys (29.) concerned with youth unemployment. Perhaps, the two most important of these are the Young People Survey (30.), a national random sample of 3074 sixteen to nineteen year olds, and the Employer Survey (31.), based on interviews with the senior personnel officers of 701 different kinds of employing organizations in the private and public sector industries and in local government. Both surveys were carried out in 1976.

The Employers Survey revealed the disadvantages that young people with no, or poor academic qualifications suffer when seeking a job. Table 8.9. lists the criteria used for screening job applicants, showing their relative importance for different types of work whilst also indicating how employers rated young people, in comparison to other applicants, according to each criterion. On the whole young people appear to show up badly, particularly in terms of literacy, numeracy, attitude to work, appearance and ability to communicate badly when they are set alongside older recruits. The Survey observes:

> *"The most frequently quoted reason for refusing job applications from young people were related to attitude and personality (45%), appearance and manner (27%) and lack of basic education (24%)"* (32.).

It seems that from a potential employers point of view that the only factors in young job applicants are those derived from their presumed superior physical fitness. Whilst they also 'score' marginally higher than other workers with respect to the probability of them having specific educational qualifications and their willingness to join a trade union these are factors to which employers attached little importance.

Table 8.9. Employers' View Of Essential And Desirable Characteristics Of Job Applicants: A Comparison Of Young People With Other Recruits.

	Percentage stating attribute essiential to all recruits	Net rating of young people relative to older recruits*
Willingness/+ attitude to work	76	-32
Basic ' 3 Rs '	50	-34
Good level of numeracy	39	-34
Good level of physical fitness	39	+18
Presentable appearance/tidiness	38	-28
Good written English/literate	36	-42
Ability to communicate well verbally	30	-25
Mature/stable	24	-50
Specific educational qualifications	23	+5
Specific physical attributes	21	+16
Willingness to join union	15	+5
Past experience	10	-57
Existing union membership	5	-7

Source: Manpower Services Commission (33.).
* Calculated by subtracting the percentage of respondents who thought young people were worse on each attribute from the percentage who thought they were better.

A particularly interesting facet of the Employers Survey was its discovery that the employers contacted believed the calibre of young people applying for jobs was declining. Employers who thought the reverse to be true only did so because they felt the supply of young people looking for work was increasing, allowing them to 'cream off' the best job applicants. The ramifications of employers' poor estimation of young workers are considerable as there are other groups of workers occupying the same section of the labour market and against whom they must compete for employment. In this respect, the flow of housewives back into work poses a serious threat to the employment prospects of many young people. Lonsdale points out:

> *"Women and young people now account for a sizeable and larger proportion of the labour market than previously... Both have fewer skills and less experience than older males. For different reasons both groups have a weaker attachment to their jobs... Despite their increase in numbers on the labour market , both groups remain underemployed and marginal workers in the secondary labour market. Both groups pose competition for one another in that they often pursue the same jobs at the same lower wage that an older male would command. There is some evidence that, given a choice of recruits, many employers prefer to recruit women" (34.).*

The evidence referred to is that of the Employers Survey which suggests that the low regard in which young people are held by employers means that when faced with a choice between a young person and a housewife seeking to return to work an employer will invariably opt for the latter. This is especially true when those young people seeking work are poorly academically qualified and ill-equipped to compete for jobs with women returning to work.

The Young People Survey also indicates that their attitudes to work have not changed a great deal since pre-War days. Most young people sampled, who were in employment appeared happy with their work and considered job satisfaction the most important aspect of a job. The survey found that unemployed young people placed much less emphasis on job satisfaction and far more on good wages. As secondary factors, those in employment attached more importance to a friendly atmosphere at work and promotion opportunities than did their unemployed peers.

The survey also found that little had changed with respect to young people's job search methods. Informal means still predominated, with official agencies having a relatively small role to play: 31% of sample members first jobs were gained through personal contacts or family influences, 15% by direct approaches to employers, another 15% by replying to newspaper advertisements and 4% through approaches made by sample members schools. Only 28% of first jobs were found through Careers Offices or Job Centres. These figures receive support from the Labour Force Surveys (LFSs) conducted in the 1980s. These are a rich source of information about the character and extent of youth unemployment and will be referred to in the following discussion.

8.7. Youth Unemployment In The 1980s.

8.7(a.). Into Deep Depression.

A complex crisis, having its roots in the 1970s, gripped the British economy in 1980 involving more than the directly cyclical elements of recession as the country plunged into a fully fledged economic depression. The havoc it caused restricted the employment chances available to so many young workers that this crisis came to provide the context in which their unemployment in the years that followed must be understood. Accordingly, the primary features of the crisis are briefly summarized here.

There had been a marked weakening in the performance of many manufacturing industries in the 1970s. Hampered by the steady appreciation of the sterling exchange rate they became less and less competitive with their foreign rivals leading to a huge balance of payment deficit which was crowned by the necessity, faced by the Callaghan Government, to call-in the International Monetary Fund in order to avoid national bankruptcy.

In the midst of this economic turmoil the Thatcher Government took power and accentuated virtually all the elements of crisis and decline by relentlessly introducing policies intended to have a strong deflationary impact on demand and the suppression of public expenditure. In so doing, the cyclical elements of recession were transformed into those of depression, ever deepened by exposing British industry to international competition which it was expected to meet whilst simultaneouly having to cope with the burden of an over-valued currency and a higher rate of inflation than was faced by firms operating in competing economies. Not surprisingly, deprived of any competitive 'edge' many businesses and huge chunks of previously staple industries e.g. iron and steel, ship building, motor industries closed down with job losses mounting at an alarming rate, leading to an unemployment crisis comparable to that of the inter-war years.

Daubed over this situation was a thick redeeming explanatory gloss which made reference to the "medicinal" qualities , as administered by Mrs Thatcher, of depression and the opportunity it gave British industry to "shake-out" its redundant elements, to become "leaner and fitter" and more "competitive".

Nevertheless, jobs continued to disappear in quantities which caused Hughes remark that:

> *"Throughout the second half of 1980 and into the opening months of 1981 the total register of unemployed has risen 100,000 or more a*

> *month. Every three months a whole army equal in size to the entire armed forces of this country is added to the dole queues... Unemployment has grown by around 50%, by over 500,000 in only six months" (35.).*

However, even the massive figures given by Hughes understate the decline in employment, because many female workers failed to register, or be registered as unemployed. Despite the vagueness this creates with respect to the levels of female unemployment what was happening to men is made clear enough in Table 8.10.

Table 8.10. Full-Time Employment, Gender And Percentage Change 1974-88, (1000's).

Group	1974	1979	1983	1987	1988	Change
Male	13,659	13,321	11,923	11,954	11,953	-1706
Female	9,131	9,408	8,960	9,948	9,948	+817

Sources: Rowlands, A. (36.).

Some government apologists argued that unemployment is under control because of Britain's, so called, 'booming' economy at the end of the 1980s and pointed to the fall in unemployment which took place at that time. However, this was not a creditable line of reasoning as the country continued to run a huge balance of payments deficit and a survey (37.), conducted by the International Labour Office (ILO) (38.), of unemployment in Britain and the original European Economic Community countries from 1974 to 1988 showed that, irrespective of gender, unemployment is generally worse in Britain than in the rest of the Community.

8.7(b.). Youth Unemployment In The 1980s: The Labour Force Surveys (LFSs) 1984, 1986 and 1988.

Within the wilderness of economic depression young people could not hope to escape its accompanying high levels of unemployment. They were among the first and most seriously affected groups of workers to encounter the vagaries of joblessness.

However, the political rhetoric surrounding the monthly unemployment figures published by the Department of Employment (D.O.E.) and the controversy about the way in which they are calculated dilutes their admissibility as a means of assessing and generating consensus about the employment fortunes of the young in the 1980s. To counteract this problem reference here will be limited to LFS estimates of unemployment. The authority of these are more widely accepted than those of the D.O.E., being based on an internationally accepted ILO/OECD definition of the unemployed: Those without paid jobs who were available for work at some time during the four weeks prior to their survey interview (39.).

The LFSs also offer technical consistency (see Appendix 6: Technical Note) lacking in the D.O.E's figures . Thus, the results of the 1988 survey, the latest available at the time of writing, can be compared with those of its immediate predecessors. This allows LFSs, not only, to provide an accurate picture of unemployment at the time each was undertaken which also gives a detailed picture of how employment conditions have varied over time. Consequently, the analysis of youth unemployment in the 1980s will be offered in the form of a synopsis of the pertinent findings of the LFS's since 1984. These emphasize the following:

1. Unemployment Rates:

According the ILO/OECD definition, the period running from the Spring 1984 to that of 1988 witnessed a fall of 715,000 (40.) in the overall level of unemployment. However, as Tables 8.11 and 8.12 demonstrate unemployment rates varied considerably with age, being worse among the 16 to 19 year old age group, regardless of gender. They bear the brunt of unemployment with the average rate for males of this age in spring 1988 standing at 14.7%. All other age groups were less severely affected with their rates of unemployment falling progressively for the 35 to 49 year age group; thereafter rising as retirement approached.

It is harder to comment on the unemployment rate of 16 to 19 year old married women, which is very high, than it is for others of their age as it is based on a small, and so error prone, sample. What is clear is that women of this age, regardless of marital status, have along with their male counterparts suffered consistently higher rates of unemployment since 1984 than have men and women belonging to all other age groups. The situation described caused even the Employment Gazette, the official journal on employment matters, to recognize that:

> *"However even in 1987, youths featured disproportionately in the unemployment stock: over a third of the unemployed were aged between 16 and 24" (41.).*

Table 8.11. Unemployment Rates* By Age, Gender And Female Marital Status.

GB.,Spring1988
Per cent.

Age	All	Male	Female	Married Females	Non-Married Females**
ILO/OECD Unemp. All aged 16 & over	8.6	8.8	8.4	7.3	10.6
16-19	13.5	14.7	12.3	20.3	11.9
20-24	11.9	12.6	11.0	14.5	8.6
25-34	9.4	8.3	10.9	10.9	11.0
35-49	6.0	6.2	5.8	5.0	10.3
50-59	7.6	8.7	6.1	4.3	12.6
60-64	9.1	10.3	5.6	4.0	8.1
65 & over	5.4	5.9			

* The unemployed as a percentage of all economically active people inrelevant sex and age group.
** Single, devorced, widowed or legally separated.
Source: Preliminary 1988 LFS estimates (40.).

Table 8.12: Unemployment Rates*, By Age And Gender.

GB.,Spring1988
Per cent.

Age	Males					Females				
	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988**	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988**
All 16 & over	11.8	11.4	11.5	11.0	8.8	11.5	10.7	10.6	10.1	8.8
16-19	22.9	20.7	20.6	19.5	14.7	21.0	18.5	19.2	16.2	12.3
20-24	19.0	17.8	17.9	14.6	12.6	16.0	14.1	14.5	13.5	11.0
25-34	11.5	11.2	11.5	11.2	8.3	13.7	13.6	13.3	13.0	10.9
35-49	8.1	8.3	8.0	8.0	6.2	8.0	7.6	7.3	7.1	5.8
50-59	9.1	8.6	9.0	9.5	8.7	6.9	6.2	6.0	6.7	6.1
60-64	10.4	10.3	9.8	11.2	10.3	7.1	5.5	5.1	4.8	5.6
65 & over	7.9	8.9	9.4	8.3	5.9					

* ILO/OECD definition.
** Preliminary estimates (1988 only).
Source: Preliminary 1988 estimates (41.).

2. Training Schemes.

It remains extremely difficult to know how many school leavers do gain employment. As has been noted, the 1980s proved to be the era of Training Schemes which proliferated in the course of the decade. These mopped-up many thousands of school leavers who, as a result, did not appear in the unemployment figures despite their failure to get a job. Thus, equivocation about the status of the unemployment rate of the young as being 'fact' or 'fantasy' is inescapable.

Table 8.13 makes clear that many thousands of young people have been absorbed by training schemes. Between spring 1984 and spring 1988 the number of people involved in training schemes increased by 200,000, or 65% with nearly three-quarters of this growth occuring among those on YTS. The effect of its extension to two years together with more recent adjustments to the definition and calculation of claimant status makes it impossible to ignore the growing under-presentation in the reported unemployment rate of the young.

Table 8.13: School-Leavers On YTS.

GB., SpringEach Year. Thousands.

	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988*	Estimated Changes 1987-88	Estimated Changes 1984-88
All YTS	214	268	229	266	290	+24	+76
Males YTS	127	163	142	148	167	+18	+40
Females YTS	88	104	88	118	124	+6	+36

* Preliminary estimates (1988 only).
Source: Preliminary 1988 estimates (44.).

3. Routes Into Unemployment.

The 1988 LFS classifies the unemployed as either job losers, job quitters, new entrants or re-entrants (45.). School leavers, naturally, tend to fall into the new entrants (never had a job before) category, as Table 8.14 indicates, while the percentage of them who quit jobs is also quite high. This is to be expected given the previously put argument that at the start of their working lives young people may find it difficult to settle into a job whilst still trying to discover for themselves their preferred occupations.

The Table also shows that the main routes into unemployment differed between school leavers and older workers who are less likely to be new entrants and more prone to voluntary unemployment. Older workers have, generally made their career decisions and the benefits of leaving a job to find another are not as great.

Routes also differ between gender, with job losses dominating for older males while job quits and the problems of re-entry were more important for older females attempting to come back into the labour force after raising children. However,

differences of this type are not so evident for school leavers with males and females both struggling with the problems of entry and the discovery of a suitable occupation.

Table 8.14. Routes Into Unemployment.

Per cent

	All		Males		Females	
Age and status	1984	1987	1984	1987	1984	1987
16-19						
Job losers	29.4	30.2	30.1	33.1	28.5	26.4
Job quits	19.0	26.6	18.6	23.3	19.5	26.4
New entrants	50.8	44.4	50.4	43.1	51 4	46.1
Re-entrants	-	-	-	-	-	-
20-24						
Job losers	36.2	35.8	44.0	45.3	24.2	22.6
Job quits	30.4	30.3	22.9	23.3	42.0	44.7
New entrants	14.0	16.2	12.9	16.8	15.6	15.2
Re-entrants	19.4	17.7	20.2	14.6	18.2	17.5
25-49						
Job losers	35.7	30.8	46.3	39.1	21.3	19.5
Job quits	26.9	27.8	21.5	21.5	34.0	36.5
New entrants	2.0	1.9	1.7	1.5	2.4	2.5
Re-entrants	35.4	39.5	30.5	37.9	42.3	41.5
50-54						
Job losers	39.3	36.0	47.6	38.6	26.1	31.8
Job quits	21.0	24.0	18.4	20.1	25.1	30.3
New entrants	-	-	-	-	-	-
Re-entrants	38.3	39.6	33.6	41.0	45.9	37.4
55-59						
Job losers	39.7	34.2	45.9	37.1	25.7	27.3
Job quits	24.2	22.7	19.9	21.9	33.7	24.6
New entrants	-	-	-	-	-	-
Re-entrants	35.1	41.3	33.9	40.4	38.0	43.7
60-64 (males)						
Job losers	50.4	39.4	50.4	39.4	-	-
Job quits	20.2	22.0	20.2	22.0	-	-
New entrants	-	-	-	-	-	-
Re-entrants	29.4	38.6	29.4	38.6	-	-

Source: LFS estimates, Great Britain, Spring 1984 and 1987 (45.).

Between 1984 and 1987 economic conditions improved giving rise to the expectation that job quits would rise in line with increased employment opportunities. Conversely, the proportion of new entrants and involuntary job loss might be expected to decline as the number of available jobs rose. However, the evidence supplied in the Table is inconclusive with regard to school leavers showing that whilst the significance of these routes into unemployment diminished over this period their decline was not great.

4. Job Search And Occupational Distribution.

The persistence with which the job search patterns of young people are typified by constant movement from employer to employer makes the assumption that this is one of their defining characteristics tempting. However, while not entirely false, it is an assumption which contains a substantial element of myth. This point is illustrated by Tables 8.15 and 8.16.

Table 8.15 outlines the degree of job search undertaken by employees as a possible measure of labour mobility, indicating that at any particular point in time most people are not actively considering changing their job, especially older workers. In the LFSs of 1984 and 1987 less than 7% of employees said they were looking for new, or additional employment. However, teenagers and young adults had a job search rate far higher than this. These figures are consistent with the problems of labour market entry and job quits by these groups which accompany the transition from school - further or higher education in the case of young adults - to working life.

Nevertheless, the information on occupational mobility contained in Table 8.16 indicates that in both survey years the vast majority of employees, even the young, were with the same employer and in the same occupation as they had been in the year prior to each of the surveys. When young people did move it was more common for them to change employer and occupation than for older workers; this lends support to their use of repeated job search as a means of adapting to working life and finding a suitable occupation.

However, whilst the young are more prone to change jobs than other workers they are not a chronically unstable group who flit from job to job. Their 'addiction' to job search and job change is overplayed. Primarily, they are workers who stick with their jobs and whose mobility is easily accounted for by the place they occupy in the labour market.

Table 8.15. Job Search.

Per cent

Per cent employees looking for new or additional jobs	Age 16-19	20-24	25-49	50-54	55-59	60-64 (males)
All 1984						
Per cent	11.1	8.7	5.7	2.5	1.5	*
Total employees (thousands)	1,643	2,731	11,325	1,912	1,611	645
All 1987						
Per cent	9.8	9.2	6.5	2.3	1.6	*
Total employees (thousands)	1,643	2,898	11,489	1,801	1,491	544
Males 1984						
Per cent	9.5	8.5	5.9	3.1	1.8	*
Total employees (thousands)	831	1,466	6,451	1,047	930	645
Males 1987						
Per cent	8.9	10.2	6.9	2.3	2.1	*
Total employees (thousands)	798	1,553	6,451	963	818	544
Females 1984						
Per cent	12.7	9.0	5.4	1.8	*	-
Total employees (thousands)	812	1,265	4,874	865	681	-
Females 1987						
Per cent	10.7	8.1	5.9	2.2	*	-
Total employees (thousands)	845	1,345	5,160	838	673	-

* = Less than 10,000 in cell, estimates not shown.
Source: LFS estimates, GB., spring 1984 and 1987 (47.).

Table 8.16. Occupational Mobility.

Per Cent

	Same employer Same occupation		Same employer Diff. occupation		Diff. employer Same occupation		Diff. employer Diff. occupation		All (thousands)	
	1984	1987	1984	1987	1984	1987	1984	1987	1984	1987
All										
16-19	81.6	75.4	2.6	3.7	2.9	3.7	12.9	17.2	1,166	1,307
20-24	83.2	78.6	3.4	5.0	4.2	4.0	9.2	12.4	2,355	4,041
25-49	89.7	87.1	2.7	3.3	2.7	2.9	4.9	6.7	12,739	13,656
50-54	94.9	93.6	1.4	1.5	1.0	1.3	2.7	3.6	2,191	2,155
55-59	96.8	96.0	0.8	0.9	0.8	1.0	1.6	2.1	1,899	1,845
60-64	97.6	96.5	*	*	*	*	1.1	1.8	-	-
Males										
16-19	83.7	77.1	2.6	2.9	2.7	3.2	11.0	1.7	627	686
25-24	82.8	79.1	3.4	5.1	4.6	4.1	9.2	11.7	1,562	1,666
25-49	89.6	87.4	2.8	3.5	3.0	3.2	4.6	5.9	7,705	8,043
50-54	94.8	93.8	1.4	1.5	1.0	1.4	2.8	3.3	1,260	1,218
55-59	96.3	95.4	1.0	1.2	0.9	1.2	1.8	2.2	1,124	1,076
60-64	97.4	96.4	*	*	*	*	*	2.0	880	756
Females										
16-19	79.2	73.6	2.6	4.7	3.1	4.3	15.1	17.4	539	821
20-24	83.9	77.9	3.4	5.0	3.6	4.0	9.1	13.1	1,293	1,383
25-49	89.8	86.7	2.7	3.1	2.2	2.4	5.3	7.8	5,084	5,607
50-54	95.1	93.3	1.4	1.5	*	*	2.5	4.2	931	937
55-59	97.8	97.0	*	*	*	*	*	1.8	775	769

* = Less than 10,000 in cell, estimates not shown.
Source: LFS estimates, GB., spring 1984, 1987 (48.).

Table 8.17. Educational Attainment Of Economically Active By Working Age.

Per cent

Age group	Highest qualification									
	All (1,000s = 100%)		Degree/ Professional Qual.		Trade/ Craft		Other		None	
	1984	1987	1984	1987	1984	1987	1984	1987	1984	1987
16-19										
Employed	1,893	1,962	*	*	8.5	10.5	68.3	68.2	22.8	20.7
Unemploy.	540	472	*	*	5.0	7.2	50.0	47.5	43.7	45.1
20-24										
Employed	2,901	3,151	8.3	9.5	24.5	23.2	50.8	51.9	16.5	15.2
Unemploy.	626	517	3.4	4.4	13.3	13.1	43.2	46.8	39.8	35.7
25-49										
Employed	12,817	13,716	16.4	17.0	23.6	23.0	25.4	30.8	34.6	29.2
Unemploy	1,393	1,418	6.8	5.8	17.3	17.6	22.6	28.4	53.2	48.0
50-54										
Employed	2,136	2,079	12.0	13.6	20.9	19.8	16.0	21.7	51.0	45.0
Unemploy	168	172	6.0	*	19.0	18.3	14.3	14.0	60.1	61.9
55-59										
Employed	1,772	1,724	9.1	10.9	18.3	18.2	13.8	19.0	57.8	51.9
Unemploy.	186	175	*	7.3	16.1	16.6	11.3	15.5	68.3	60.4
60-64 (males)										
Employed	770	658	9.2	12.6	25.4	24.9	11.2	13.2	54.2	49.3
Unemploy.	88	86	*	*	28.8	30.5	8.0	10.9	60.2	50.9

* = Less than 10,000 in cell, estimates not shown.
Source: LFS estimates GB., spring 1984, 1987 (49.)

5. Educational Attainment.

Table 8.18: Educational Attainment Of Economically Active Workers By Working Age And Gender.

Per cent

Age group	Highest qualification									
	All (1,000s = 100%)		Degree/ Professional Qual.		Trade/ Craft		Other		None	
	1984	1987	1984	1987	1984	1987	1984	1987	1984	1987
16-19										
Males										
Employed	986	988	*	*	10.2	12.6	63.8	63.8	25.3	23.3
Unemploy.	298	240	*	*	5.2	7.5	46.1	44.3	47.4	47.9
Females										
Employed	907	974	*	*	6.7	6.4	73.2	72.7	20.0	18.0
Unemploy.	242	187	*	*	4.7	6.8	54.8	51.7	39.1	41.5
20-24										
Males										
Employed	1,604	1,758	9.1	10.4	32.4	27.9	39.5	43.5	19.0	17.9
Unemploy.	377	300	3.4	5.0	15.9	14.7	35.8	40.0	44.8	40.4
Females										
Employed	1,297	1,393	7.2	8.3	14.8	17.4	64.7	62.6	13.3	11.7
Unemploy.	294	217	4.4	*	9.2	7.8	54.2	40.6	32.1	21.1
50-54										
Males										
Employed	1,230	1,173	14.5	17.2	28.6	27.5	13.7	18.7	43.1	36.6
Unemploy.	104	107	*	*	24.0	23.8	12.5	12.9	57.7	57.6
Females										
Employed	906	906	12.3	13.7	25.5	25.6	11.8	17.5	50.3	43.2
Unemploy.	64	65	*	*	*	*	*	18.1	64.1	69.0
55-59										
Males										
Employed	1,053	995	12.3	13.7	25.5	25.6	11.8	17.5	50.3	43.2
Unemploy.	128	123	*	8.3	19.5	21.4	7.8	15.7	66.4	54.7
Females										
Employed	719	729	4.5	7.1	7.8	8.0	16.8	21.1	68.9	63.9
Unemploy.	58	52	*	*	*	*	*	*	72.4	73.9
60-64										
Males										
Employed	770	658	9.2	12.6	25.4	24.9	11.2	13.2	54.2	49.3
Unemploy.	88	86	*	*	28.8	30.5	8.0	10.9	60.2	50.9

* = Less than 10,000 in cell, estimates not shown.
Source: LFS estimates GB., spring 1984, 1987 (50.).

Tables 8.17 and 8.18 present the educational attainment of workers according to age group. The Tables show that, in general, young people tend to be better qualified than older workers conferring on them a competitive advantage on the labour market. The 1988 LFS points out:

> *"Unemployment rates also vary according to the highest qualification held. The 1988 estimates... show overall unemployment rates ranging from 13.4 per cent for those with no qualifications to 2.9 per cent for*

> *those with higher education qualifications below degree level and 3.3 per cent for those with degrees" (51.).*

However, as young people in 'care' are persistently represented as having an unusually poor school performance it seems unlikely that they will be better qualified than those with whom they compete for jobs. Therefore, the better educational attainment of young workers plays no part in fending off the threat unemployment poses to those in 'care'.

> *"since individuals, both young and old without any formal qualifications are more likely to suffer unemployment" (52.) (see Table 8.19).*

Table 8.19: Unemployment Rates*, By Highest Qualification And Gender.

Per cent

Highest qualification held	Men					Females				
	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988^	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988#
All qualifications (people of working age)	11.9	11.5	11.5	11.0	8.9	11.7	10.9	10.8	10.3	8.5
Degree or same.	3.5	3.5	4.2	3.5	2.6	7.4	6.4	5.2	5.5	4.8
Higher Education, below degree level.	3.7	3.1	3.6	4.2	2.8	6.2	5.2	5.6	4.2	3.1
GCE A-level or same.	8.2	8.3	8.1	7.9	6.1	10.6	9.9	10.2	9.3	7.5
GCE O-level or same.	11.2	10.2	10.7	9.1	7.2	10.6	10.0	10.1	9.9	7.8
CSE other than grade 1.	18.6	17.1	17.9	15.5	11.8	18.9	17.0	18.2	15.3	12.6
Other professional/ vocational quals.	10.4	12.9	12.0	10.9	8.6	10.9	9.8	9.0	8.4	6.9
No quals.	18.2	17.5	17.8	18.0	15.4	13.4	12.6	12.5	12.8	11.0

* = ILO/OECD definition - see Appendix 4.
\# = Preliminary estimates only.
Source: LFS estimates (53.).

6. Characteristics Of Youth Employment:

Table 8.20 describes the industrial distribution of employment, by age and gender, in the years 1984 and 1987. Its most striking feature is the differing structures of teenage and adult employment. The former appear to be concentrated in the service industries, particularly distribution, hotels, catering and repair (division 6), but under represented in other sectors except construction (division 5) for males and 'other' manufacturing (division 4) and financial service (division 8) for females. A similar, but less pronounced pattern can be detected for workers aged 20 to 24 years while the employment of older age groups is more evenly distributed.

Differences from the overall distribution can be summarized using the Structural Difference Index (SDI) at the bottom of the Table. This index measures variations in the distribution of employment between different age groups and genders. The closer the index is to zero, the smaller the difference from the overall distribution - in other words, the more the industrial/occupational spread of a group resembles the national norm.

The peculiarity of school leavers' industrial distribution recalls the boy labour problem with which it has some worrying parallels. The point was made when discussing this problem that it revolved around the use of juveniles, recruited straight from school, as cheap unskilled labour in a number of 'blind alley' occupations in times of economic prosperity which speedily discharged them once demand slackened. Having been given no training and replaced by subsequent generations of school leavers the young people could do nothing other than swell the ranks of the unemployed. Similarly, present day school leavers are concentrated in the service idustries (e.g. catering hotels etc.) which are infamous for their poor pay and lack of job security.

Furthermore, the occupational distribution of these young people - see Table 8.21 - indicates that within given industries they are herded into relatively unskilled occupations. As a result, school leavers are not provided with any marketable skills to offer other employers if they need to find other work. This inevitably stunts the careers of young workers in industries which produce unstable employment as demand for their usually 'non-essiential' products is highly 'elastic'. In times of economic prosperity the demand for them grows rapidly, but contracts just as rapidly when the first pains of recession are felt.

Table 8.20. The Industrial Distribution Of Employment.

Per cent

Industry Div. (SIC 1980)	Age. 16-19		20-24		50-54		55-59		60-64(males)		All***	
	1984	1987	1984	1987	1984	1987	1984	1987	1984	1987	1984	1987
Males												
0 Agriculture.	4.4	3.0	3.6	2.8	3.6	3.7	4.0	3.4	4.6	5.2	3.2	2.9
1 Energy.	1.8	1.4	4.1	3.0	5.0	4.0	4.7	3.2	3.1	2.4	4.4	3.6
2 Mineral extraction.	3.1	2.2	3.5	3.7	5.4	5.1	5.6	5.0	4.7	3.9	4.7	4.1
3 Metal engineering.	12.4	12.5	14.5	13.7	14.9	15.6	17.5	14.9	16.9	17.0	15.0	14.3
4 Other manufact.	12.6	11.9	11.2	11.1	11.1	11.4	10.3	10.8	10.9	10.7	10.5	10.4
5 Construction.	14.6	13.6	12.8	13.7	12.5	11.4	10.2	11.1	9.0	8.1	12.0	12.0
6 Trade, retail, hotels.	31.5	33.9	20.3	20.2	11.9	14.6	11.2	13.9	14.8	14.3	15.7	16.4
7 Transport, communications.	4.0	3.6	6.3	6.6	9.1	9.7	10.6	9.8	9.9	8.9	8.6	8.5
8 Finacial servs.	4.9	7.5	8.3	9.2	7.3	8.0	6.9	8.0	5.6	7.0	7.6	8.8
9 Pub. admin. etc.	10.6	10.3	15.1	15.6	18.7	19.9	18.6	19.4	20.1	22.2	18.0	18.5
** SDI.	43.2	41.0	14.6	13.1	8.2	10.3	14.7	9.4	14.3	18.6	-	-
Females												
0 Agriculture.	*	*	0.8	0.8	1.6	1.2	1.4	1.9	-	-	1.1	1.1
1 Energy.	*	*	1.1	1.0	*	*	*	*	-	-	1.1	0.8
2 Mineral.	1.8	1.3	2.2	2.4	2.3	1.5	1.9	1.9	-	-	2.0	1.7
3 Metal. engineering.	5.7	4.8	6.8	6.8	6.2	5.2	6.6	6.1	-	-	5.7	5.1
4 Other manufact.	11.6	11.2	13.0	9.6	8.4	8.2	9.9	8.0	-	-	9.7	8.6
5 Construction.	1.3	1.6	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.5	1.0	1.9	-	-	1.6	1.6
6 Trade, retail, hotels.	39.7	39.9	23.4	23.3	25.8	24.4	26.7	24.6	-	-	26.4	25.7
7 Transport, communications.	3.0	3.6	3.1	4.1	2.8	2.9	3.1	2.7	-	-	3.0	3.1
8 Financial servs.	10.8	14.0	16.6	16.8	5.4	6.6	6.4	6.4	-	-	9.8	11.3
9 Pub. admin. etc.	24.4	22.1	31.2	33.1	44.8	43.7	41.8	45.5	-	-	39.3	40.4
** SDI.	37.4	39.0	22.7	19.6	12.8	10.3	8.1	13.6	-	-	-	-

* = less than 10,000 in cells, estimates not shown.
** = Structual Difference Index.
*** = Totals include 25-49 year olds. Source: LFS estimates GB. spring 1984, 1987 (54.).

Table 8.21. Distribution Of Employment By Occupation.

Per cent

Occupation	Age										All***	
	16-19		20-24		50-54		55-59		60-64(males)			
	1984	1987	1984	1987	1984	1987	1984	1987	1984	1987	1984	1987
Males												
Professional.	4.9	5.8	12.6	14.3	20.6	22.4	19.4	20.5	15.7	17.8	20.0	21.1
Managerial.	2.4	1.8	6.6	5.8	15.7	17.1	15.8	15.6	16.0	15.5	12.6	12.5
Clerical.	10.2	13.3	10.0	9.7	5.3	5.8	7.5	7.2	7.5	7.0	6.5	6.7
Selling.	11.4	12.6	6.0	5.8	3.1	3.3	3.2	3.8	3.4	3.0	4.5	4.7
Protective servs.	*	*	3.3	2.9	1.7	2.0	1.5	2.2	2.5	2.8	2.6	2.7
Personal servs.	6.9	8.4	4.6	4.8	4.1	3.2	4.1	4.6	6.1	5.7	3.7	3.8
Farming.	5.6	5.1	3.8	3.7	2.5	2.4	2.6	2.2	3.3	3.4	2,5	2.5
Material processing.	12.9	11.4	10.8	10.2	7.6	7.7	6.9	7.0	6.9	7.1	8.2	8.1
Metal, electrical production.	20.3	18.6	19.9	17.7	14.9	14.5	15.9	14.1	14.7	14.7	17.1	16.2
Repetitive Assem.	4.8	5.8	4.2	4.8	4.3	4.2	3.5	3.7	3.4	3.4	3.7	3.7
Mining, conctruct.	8.1	6.4	7.0	8.0	6.5	4.6	5.9	5.0	5.3	4.7	6.2	6.0
Transportation.	7.1	7.3	7.3	10.1	0.4	11.0	10.9	11.5	11.6	12.1	9.3	10.0
Miscellaneous.	5.0	1.9	3.4	2.1	2.4	1.3	2.7	1.9	3.0	2.4	2.4	2.4
** SDI	57.1	59.1	30.3	27.3	11.5	14.0	11.5	12.4	21.4	18.3		
Females												
Professional.	5.2	4.8	16.7	17.8	17.6	19.4	13.7	16.4	-	-	19.1	20.1
Managerial.	*	1.7	3.4	5.4	6.3	7.6	7.6	6.8	-	-	5.6	6.1
Clerical.	34.6	37.4	41.6	40.0	25.3	27.3	27.9	27.8	-	-	30.2	30.7
Selling.	21.5	19.4	9.6	8.7	9.4	8.7	7.3	7.6	-	-	10.0	9.8
Protective servs.	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	-	-	0.4	0.4
Personal servs.	20.3	21.6	12.3	13.2	28.8	24.5	30.1	29.2	-	-	22.5	21.6
Farming.	1.2	1.6	0.8	0.9	*	*	*	*	-	-	0.7	0.8
Material processing	6.3	7.3	7.3	5.1	4.7	4.8	5.3	4.1	-	-	5.2	4.6
Metal, electrical production.	1.4	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.6	1.0	-	-	1.1	1.0
Repetitive assem.	4.9	3.9	3.8	5.2	4.3	4.1	4.2	4.1	-	-	3.7	3.6
Mining, construct.	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	-	-	*	*
Transportation.	*	*	*	*	0.8	1.0	0.7	1.1	-	-	0.7	0.7
Miscellaneous.	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	-	-	0.3	0.2
** SDI	34.7	34.7	25.8	22.6	14.7	9.4	19.1	17.4	-	-		

* = less than 10,000 in cells, estimates not shown. ** = Structual Difference Index.
*** = Totals include 25-49 year olds. Source: LFS estimates GB. spring 1984, 1987 (55.).

Table 8.22. Unemployment Rates, By Ethnic Origin And Gender - GB., Spring 1988.

People of working age — Per cent

Ethnic origin	All	Men	Women
All of working age	8.7	8.9	8.5
Whites	8.5	8.6	8.3
Ethnic minority groups of which:	13.5	14.3	12.4
W. Indian/Guyanese	14.9	17.9	11.4
Indian	11.9	11.1	*
Pakistani/Bangladeshi	24.0	24.5	22.3
All other ethnic origin	9.7	9.3	10.3

* = Sample size too small to give reliable estimate.
Source: Preliminary estimates, 1988 LFS (56.).

Table 8.23. Unemployment Rates By Ethnic Origin - Time Series, GB., Spring Each Year.

PerCent

Gender/Ethnic origin	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
All					
All origins	11.8	11.2	11.2	10.7	8.7
Whites	11.4	10.9	10.8	10.5	8.5
Ethnic minorities	21.4	20.7	20.0	17.1	13.5
Males					
All origins	11.9	11.5	11.5	11.0	8.9
Whites	11.4	11.0	11.1	10.7	8.6
Ethnic minorities	22.1	21.6	20.5	17.4	14.3
Females					
All origins	11.7	10.9	10.8	10.3	8.5
Whites	11.3	10.6	10.4	10.1	8.3
Ethnic minorities	20.2	19.2	19.4	16.5	12.4

Source: Preliminary estimates, 1988 LFS (57.).

7. Ethnic Minorities.

Tables 8.22 and 8.23 point to the consistently higher rate of unemployment suffered by the ethnic miniorities, especially for those in the Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities, than by the White population. Since 1984, when the unemployment among ethnic minority groups was nearly twice that of the White majority, some improvement has taken place with the differential between them narrowing slightly. However, the ethnic minorities remain on the fringes of the labour market; in spring 1988 they were still one and a half times more likely to suffer unemployment than their White counterparts.

One of the most striking features of the unemployment suffered by ethnic minorities is its extent among the young. Since the majority of them have been born, brought-up and educated in Britain their vulnerability to unemployment cannot easily be explained in terms of language or cultural difference. Neither can their high unemployment be put down to them having fewer qualifications than White youths. This point is underlined by Roberts who examined the labour market experience of all 16-20 year olds in selected neighbourhoods of London, Liverpool, Manchester and Wolverhampton. He found that while;

> *"black respondents had left school with higher qualifications than the whites, were more ambitious and more likely to enroll in further education... their unemployment rate was 36% greater than for whites" (58.).*

Evidence of this type makes it impossible not to conclude that underpinning the disproportionate high unemployment of the ethnic minorites is racial discrimination on the part of employers. Support for this proposition was first clearly identified in Britain in 1966 by Political and Economic Planning (PEP). This tested for discrimination by having people with similar experience and educational qualifications, but of different ethnic origins apply for the same jobs. The tests were carefully controlled and in most cases apparently incontrovertible evidence was obtained of discrimination on the basis of race. Later surveys in the 1970s and 1980s (59.) have confirmed the continuing validity of this finding.

In 1975 the Labour Government published a White Paper (60.) which identified racial discrimination as a major problem confronting members of ethnic minorities and went on to link this with a cycle of cumulative disadvantage. The White Paper presented discrimination as one of a series of disadvantages, mainly arising out of a moribund socio-economic status, which unite to ensure that the forms of employment available to young Black workers are predominately low-paid and menial. Smith's (61.) study of racial discrimination and youth unemployment provided confirmation of the White Paper's suppositions when he discovered that whilst the young from the minorities, in his sample, were perpetually squeezed into unattractive occupations they were more highly qualified than the young White unemployed group he surveyed.

The unemployment problems confronted by young people from the ethnic minorities in the 1980s were unchanged from those faced by their predecessors in the 1960s and 1970s (62.). They face a multiplicity of interlocking disadvantages with the existence of racism conferring on them a dimension of disadvantage not encountered by members of the majority White population in their search for work. As a result, the mechanics of youth unemployment as it affects the ethnic minorities are very different from those governing its impact on White youths.

8.8. Summary.

This Chapter has attempted to put the problem of youth unemployment in its historical perspective, showing that it is not something peculiar to the late twentieth century. However, the limitations of the literature restrict the inferences which can be drawn from this undertaking.

The principal shortcoming of the literature is its treatment of youth unemployment as an almost exclusively male problem; its implications for women have been largely ignored. Since the late 1970s a sustained attempt has been made by a number of researchers (63.) to redress this imbalance. However, the weight of past and present thinking about unemployment is dominated by the assumption that it only effects males.

The literature also takes little account of how unemployment effects the ethnic minorities. Much work is underway on this subject, but that which is available tends be incomplete. How the labour market experience of the ethnic minorities is tainted by racism is often overlooked along with the important contribution an ethnographic approach to its study with respect to them might make.

Other weaknesses of the literature stem, principally, from the sampling methods the surveys, described, use. The three main ways of sampling the unemployed - household surveys, use of school leavers records and registers of the unemployed - are critically assessed by Casson who writes:

> *"In principle a household survey can provide a fully representative sample; in practice its main disadvantage is cost. This has meant that in the past household surveys have been confined to urban areas, where the concentration of population is high; relatively little has been discovered about youth unemployment in rural areas...*
>
> *A sample based on school-leavers has the disadvantage that it excludes those going on to further education as well as new immigrants...It therefore, needs to be supplemented by other surveys, but in practice this has rarely been done...*
>
> *A sample of the registered unemployed is biased against those who have little incentive to register" (64.).*

Another limitation is the small size of some survey samples, reducing the degrees of confidence that can be placed in any findings arising out of them. However, this need not be too great a worry for a major feature of youth unemployment is the amazingly similar picture the numerous studies of it have given.

In summary, the following features have characterized youth unemployment throughout the twentieth century:

1. There are enduring and significant differences between the employment experiences of skilled and unskilled young workers. Those who are unskilled tend to enter 'dead-end' jobs in which career prospects are poor. Young people in the unskilled sector of the labour market change jobs frequently, often motivated by dissatisfaction with their present jobs. On the other hand,

young people who find skilled work are consistently reported as pursuing long-term career development, rarely changing jobs, doing so only as a means of gaining experience of their chosen trades.

2. Employers of young unskilled workers take little interest in their welfare. They are intolerant of the difficulties young people face in making the transition from school to work and tolerate a high wastage of these workers knowing that the next generation of school leavers can be relied upon to provide a new intake of unskilled workers.

3. It is cheaper to hire and fire than it is to carefully screen job applicants. Although, most jobs require only a basic level of educational attainment employers tend to inflate that which they ask of school leavers instead of developing proper screening procedures. So long as each new generation of school leavers is willing to enter unskilled employment employers will have no incentive to improve their personnel policies and practices.

4. Previous research shows that trade unions have done little to protect and promote the interests of young workers. It is far easier for an employer to dismiss a young person than someone who is older. Trade unions have normally failed to oppose the laying-off of apprentices when their training was complete. It may be argued, that so long as the levels of recruitment of apprentices do not threaten existing jobs the low wages paid them helps subsidize that of trades people who, therefore, have an interest in going along with the use of cheap youth labour.

5. The job search methods of young people have, historically, been informal. They make little use of official agencies preferring to use their families and social networks to find out about vacancies. Studies also reveal that the young, contrary to depictions of them as 'loafers' and 'scroungers', frequently make direct approaches to employers.

6. A large proportion of unemployment among the young is accounted for by a relatively small number of chronic job changers. These are described as,

typically, coming from poor areas and homes where other household members are also likely to be out of work. On the other hand, chronic job changers are a small proportion of all young workers coming from 'deprived' backgrounds. It appears from the studies that in every generation a large number of young workers from poor families obtain better jobs than those of their parents.

8.9. Conclusions.

1. The argument that youth unemployment is a modern phenomenon is not sustainable. The research evidence cited makes clear that it has been ever present, except for a 'quirky' period of high unemployment in the 1950's, since late-Victorian times. Indeed, Fraser points out concern about youth unemployment goes back much further than that as the passing of the Poor Law Act 1601 testifies. He observes that under its auspices the young unemployed;

   > *"were set to work on hemp or some other appropriate material and for this a 'house of correction' (really a workhouse), not at first residential, was established. Some children were also found apprenticeships so they could become useful self supporting citizens" (65.).*

2. The use made of the demand that job applicants have unnecessarily high educational qualifications as a means of screening mechanism meditates against the interests of young people in 'care' who tend to have a poor school performance.

3. The failure of trade unions to adequately represent young workers, the practice of keeping them on low rates of pay to subsidize older workers forces young people in 'care' into 'dead-end' occupations. These can be avoided by most young people who, normally, remain with their parents on starting work and are provided with financial support by them. Young people in 'care' often lack this support and be expected to pay their own way. As a

result, financial pressures coerce them into taking any job.

4. The research studies referred to describe two forms of job changing among young workers. The first, concerns young workers in the process of acquiring a skill who tend only to change in order to broaden their knowledge of that skill. The second, involves unskilled young workers whose job changing takes place for no constructive purpose. It is as if these constitute acceptable and unacceptable, respectively, reasons for job changing.

The distinction made takes no heed of the particular vulnerability to job loss young unskilled workers have due to working in occupations which do not offer secure employment. This validates the perception of these young people as individuals who change their employment, or become unemployed for unacceptable reasons. As most young people in 'care' enter unskilled occupations it seems that they are at a high risk of joining the 'shiftless' group.

Moreover, whilst job changing among young workers can be interpreted as a legitimate way for school leavers to find out what form of employment best suits them, it is liable to be regrarded as a symptom of underlying pathology when practiced by young people in 'care'. The unacceptability of their job changing is, therefore, much greater than when undertaken for reasons of mere dissatisfaction.

Chapter 9.

Theories Of The Labour Market.

9.1. Introduction.

In a large scale study of poverty, Townsend (1.) confirmed the long held suspicion that some groups in society form a disproportionately large part of the unemployed. His study convincingly demonstrates that the unskilled and low paid along with the young, ethnic minorities, the elderly, the disabled and women are all over-represented among the unemployed. It seems that while anyone can find themselves without a job some are more likely to do so than others. Individuals may flow in and out of work but, the unemployed are, disproportionately, drawn from the same social groups.

However, this problem is not peculiar to Britain. A report prepared by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) stated that a deeply entrenched characteristic of its member countries is the existence of long-term, recurrent unemployment which compounds;

> *"the labour market problems of some members of the groups which traditionally bear an above average burden of unemployment, i.e. youth, older workers, migrants" (2.).*

While the availability of work may be determined by the level of economic activity the allocation of jobs is influenced by institutional factors which structure and stratify the labour force. Consequently, though the labour market is invariably presented as an economic artifact it is inalienably social in nature, it is the mechanism through which the social division of labour takes place.

Thus, young people in local authority residential 'care' find that the security and quality of such employment as they may find is determined, in large part, by the position they occupy in the social hierarchy. As a result, the labour market is transformed into a place where it is possible to identify the impact the social definition has on the 'life chances' available to these young people.

Therefore, some of the theories which attempt to explain the operation of the labour market and its social division of labour will be reviewed. In the course of this undertaking attention will be focused on the following:

1. Neo-classical theory's representation of the labour market as an infallible device for the 'rational', allocation of labour according to the demand for, and price of it.

2. Human capital theory which is concerned with the effects of individual decisions on employment status.

3. Dual market theory which posits a division of the labour market into primary and secondary sectors.

4. 'Radical' or structured labour market theory which stresses the parts historical and institutional forces play in influencing the demand for labour and producing a 'segmented' market structure.

Attention will also be given to the special significance internal and local labour markets have for young people. An outline of each will be provided before bringing this Chapter to a close with a summary of the discussion and an attempt to arrive at some general conclusions.

However, before proceeding it should be acknowledged that;

> *"a major constraint to any analysis of the transition from school to work is that... there has been no purpose-built study of juvenile labour markets... A wealth of material does exist on young people's attitudes to work... and on certain aspects of behaviour in youth labour markets,... but very little on the nature of the markets themselves" (3.).*

Nevertheless, a considerable amount of research material has been produced on the nature of adult labour markets, providing a body of work that supplies a frame of reference for understanding the relationship between young people, the labour market and the job opportunities available to them.

9.2. Neo-classical Theory.

Neo-classical theory provides a model of the labour market steming from the work of Adam Smith and assumes that:

1. People interact more as isolated individuals than as social beings.
2. Labour is a commodity which can be bought and sold.
3. The amounts of labour bought and sold effect and are by affected by its price, i.e. wages.
4. Jobs are differentiated by the income they command which is determined by the quality of labour on 'offer' as denoted in terms of the skill levels, productivity, qualifications etc. of individual workers.

Within the framework of neo-classical theory the labour market is presented as being identical to any other market with workers representing the 'goods' for sale; the wages they command being their price. So long as wages are flexible the market is deemed to be an infallible mechanism requiring no regulation.

However, the proposition to be explored here is that the view of the labour market as a competitive, perfectly functioning structure carries no force in the face of government intervention in its workings, trade union activity and employers' monopoly power. It will be argued that the market is not free and that the buying and selling of labour is influenced in a number of ways; chief among which are the following:

1. The supply and demand for labour is not always easily and quickly

adjustable being influenced in a number of different ways. Lonsdale notes it can be restrained by;

> *"(a) a lack of easy geographical mobility...; (b) restricted entry into certain trades and professions; (c) the need to undergo training for certain jobs; (d) being unable to transfer certain rights which have accrued over time such as pension rights; and lack of child care facilities" (4.).*

As a result of the above factors, governments can and have intervened in the market to overcome these restriction by offering incentives to move geographically, by providing training facilities, introducing statutory and voluntary incomes policies etc. This kind of intervention requires some forward planning and projections of need which, in themselves, can influence employment patterns.

2. The contract made between the buyer and seller of labour reflects more than economic behaviour. The price of work and its products is not determined by the pristine interaction of supply and demand, but by moral and social forces. Social values and conventions influence earnings paid, fringe benefits and work environments. This is illustrated in the comparative pay and conditions of professional workers and, for example, skilled workers. Wooton gives some useful examples of the esteem with which doctors and judges are accorded and its roots in social and moral factors. She writes:

> *"More significant socially are the issues raised in cost of living claims by the fact that attempts to measure absolute standards of living are inevitably conditioned by the whole gamut of conventions implied in our social hierarchy: their absolutism is indeed quite specious. Occasionally these conventions are explicitly acknowledged, and the cost of living is frankly defined as the cost of maintaining an appropriate social position.... The Spens Committee, which was appointed to make recommendations as to the remuneration of the various branches of the medical and dental professions, included an instruction to have 'due regard to... the desirability of maintaining the proper social and economic status' of the professionals concerned; and in the public discussion of the Government's proposal early in 1953 to increase the salaries of Her Majesty's judges, the same argument was freely used. After pointing out that the puisne judges had enjoyed no increase of salary at all since 1832, a leading article*

in The Times went on to remark...' it is of first-rate importance that they should continue to be men of substance and security. The vast moral authority of the law in this country is bound up in the public mind with the visible dignity of the men who dispense the Queen's justice" (5.).

The substantive point made is that we do not live in an egalitarian society meaning that the labour market's operation is distorted by factors other than those of mere free competition. The labour market reflects the sanctity attached to the present social heirarchy, allowing the ability of individuals to live on widely differing wages to be tacitly redefined at every level in that heirarchy.

3. The labour market is the site of the struggle for the control of labour. Policies which mediate between employment and unemployment, e.g. the Redundancy Payments Scheme, Employment Training, Equal Opportunities Policy all have an impact on the supply and demand for labour whilst lessening or increasing the vulnerability of certain workers to dismissal or continued unemployment. Policies of this type denote the State's response to pressures from workers for protective and regulatory measures to moderate the operation of labour market and from employers to facilitate their control over the process of production, including the entry to and exit from employment.

Having offered a rudimentary critique of the classical view of the labour market as a perfect market, unhindered by anything other than purely economic factors attention will now be turned to the attempt made by human capital theory to explain the inequalities which abound on this market.

9.3. Human Capital Theory.

Most closely associated with the work of Becker (6.), human capital theory shares neo-classicism's fundamental, but doubtful assumption of a competitive, perfectly functioning labour market. From this basis it goes on to predict that the fates individuals meet on it are determined by the decisions they have made, or characteristics they have which enhance their employability. In the kind of language in which the theory is couched; 'investments', in terms of time an effort, individuals make in education and training in order to enter certain forms of work plus their innate ability determine the rate of return i.e. wage, they will receive from employment.

Thus, human capitalists views wage differences as the 'return' obtained on 'capital' 'invested', in acquiring certain skills and levels of education. Central to its analysis of the labour market is the presumed existence of something which might be called 'rational economic man' who with unwavering foresight and conviction decides how much to 'invest' in education, training, obtaining certain work experiences etc., in order to receive the 'reward', or 'return' sought on that which has been 'invested'.

The model of the labour market which emerges from human capital theory presents the wages earned by individual workers as being the products of the success in the 'investments' they make in themselves to increase their 'value' on the labour market. However, whilst 'self-investment' may increase earnings capacity a bad 'investment' decision reduces the value of workers to employers and increases their vulnerability to unemployment. Such decisions are described by Becker as including;

> *"investments in information about employment opportunities as well as education and training. For instance, a better job might be found by spending money on employment agencies and in situations wanted ads.... by talking to friends and visiting firms as well as moving if necessary" (7.).*

In short, human capital theory says that in a society where people are free to choose certain forms of employment labour market disadvantage can be attributed to lack of education or training or effort to obtain them. Undertaking either is a cost which will be compensated for by later higher earnings.

However, human capital theory makes two important assumptions which are open to question:

1. Implicit in the theory is that all individauls have the same opportunities and, therefore, enter the labour market at similar starting points. Yet, as has already been suggested, social hierarchies exist which severely restrict the freedom of some people along with the opportunities available to them. Whilst the effects of poverty on life chances have been well documented Wooton (8.) suggests that, given the existence of free education and a free National Health Service since the 1940s, more people should have been able to obtain human capital, and thereby reduced differences in earnings. No such reduction has occurred with the nation's wealth remaining in the hands of a few.

2. A second assumption made by human capital theory is that earnings are determined purely by economic forces with wage differentials reflecting no more than the compensation individuals receive for the efforts they have made in acquiring certain skills. However, North American evidence cited by Atkinson (9.) shows this differential to be much greater than mere compensation would account for, lending support to the notion of wage differences being attributable to factors other than education and training. The equation which human capitalists see as existing between earnings and the level of skill in which workers have 'invested' in gaining is misleading.

   For example, the theory is confounded by factors such as sexual and racial discrimination (10.). It is also very difficult to measure the productivity of the chairperson of British Rail against that of one of its skilled manual workers in an effort to explain the wide wage differential between them. Here social factors appear to play just as important a part in determining rates of pay as do economic considerations.

In summary, human capital theory fails to provide a satisfactory explanation of the different fates met by individuals on the labour market. It is a theory whose assumptions are faulted and which ignores the existence of a 'culture' of earnings that is socially, not economically, based and in which wages paid are determined as much by race, sex, age, etc., as they are by the 'self-investment' decisions of workers.

9.4. Dual Labour Market Theory.

In contrast to human capital theory's interpretation of the labour market's operation in terms of labour supply issues, exponents of the dual labour market provide an analysis which focuses on the role demand for labour plays in determining wages and the unequal distribution of incomes. In doing so, a theory is produced which proposes that the allocation of job opportunities can only be understood in terms of the labour market's division into primary and secondary sectors. The distinguishing characteristics of these sectors are authoritative stated by Piore who writes:

> *"The primary market offers jobs which possess several of the following traits; high wages, good working conditions, employment stability and job security, and chances for advancement. The other, or secondary sector, has jobs which, relative to those in the primary sector, are decidedly less attractive. They tend to involve low wages, poor working conditions, considerable variability in employment, harsh and often arbitary discipline and little opportunity of advance" (11.).*

Developed in the 1960's to explain the problems of ghetto labour markets in the USA, dual labour market theory emphasizes the interplay between the social and economic spheres, arguing that attempts to draw a strict distinction between them are false. This it did by suggesting that racial discrimination perpetuated the segmentation of the labour market into primary and secondary sectors by restricting the majority of workers from ethnic and cultural minorities to the latter sector. In other words, they were not restricted as a result of deficient education or skills, but because they were Black. Thus, social advantage and disadvantage appear to equate, respectively, with labour market advantage and disadvantage.

Despite its American origins Bosanquet and Doeringer point out that;

> *"many of the same symptoms of market duality are present, and a basic distinction can usefully be made, in Britain and the United States, between the primary and secondary sectors" (12.).*

This is a contention the work of Burgess lends support to for if the jobs obtained by members of his 'care' sample are representative of those found by all young people in 'care' it seems that the overwhelming majority of them can expect to gain only secondary sector work. When commenting on a major study of young workers Allen lends additional support to the concept of the labour market as a reflection of social divisions. She writes:

> *"Our evidence indicates that a major consideration in the transition from school to work must be... to reject the comfortable individualistic forms of explanation so often used in the debate about the crucial role played by social forces which allocate whole groups to the secondary labour market, whatever their individual characteristics and preferences" (13.).*

Wholesale allocation of this type can be seen as part of the systematic disadvantage young people confront on starting work, irrespective of 'care' status, gender and racial presentation. The pattern outlined by Bosanquet and Doeringer (14.) is for young entrants to the labour market to be disproportionately represented in certain secondary trades and to be more likely to work for small firms than is the labour force as a whole. The imbalance in the allocation of young people between the primary and secondary sectors is most pronounced where a young person suffers some form of social disadvantage, lacks recognized entry qualifications and motivation for advancement.

However, at this point dual market theory begins to break down, because ;

> *"the most significant thing about the progress of youth employment is that a large proportion of those who start in the secondary sector will be successful in moving into primary sector jobs at a latter stage" (15.).*

The eventual movement of many young people from the secondary sector into the primary is, in part, explained by the institutional structure of the youth and adult labour markets. There are statutory limitations governing entry into whole areas of work, and include; minimum age qualifications set for employment as a heavy goods vehicle driver, or as a police officer or as a member of the armed forces etc., while the Factory Acts prohibit young people under the age of 18 years doing shift work. For young people with ambitions to undertake work which they cannot take-up until they satisfy minimum age qualifications jobs they take in the interim are likely to be of no intrinsic value to them and merely be ways of making money.

However, discussion and description of the primary and secondary sectors of the labour market does not explain why this dualism should exist. Piore (16.) addresses this issue and suggests that the dual labour market is founded on the uncertainty endemic to all modern industrial economies. It represents a way of solving or responding to uncertainty by distributing cost between certain groups of workers. He suggests that in earlier times labour as a whole bore the brunt of economic fluctuations being hired and fired as needed, whereas more recently the proportion of the labour force employed within the primary sector has assumed the privileged position of 'capital', leaving secondary sector labour to bear the brunt of increases in unemployment.

Piore points to four principal explanations which have been advanced for the origins of dualism. These provide telling indications of the very different interpretations given to the cause of the the dual market.

1. When employers invest in their workers it becomes inefficient to keep them on as a stable force to maximize production. In effect they become 'quasi-fixed' factors of production.

2. The primary sector develops out of a national employment contract which employers, in return for certain levels of pay and conditions, agree to stabilize the variability of wages and employment.

3. Trade union organization and activity have won for their members improved conditions and wages.

4. The division of the labour market arises out of the efforts to divide the working class.

The influence of neo-classical and human capital theories can be detected in Piore's first and second explanations of dual market. Each is imbued with the notion of individuals as 'rational' economic beings whose actions are based on a consensus about efficiency. This is most evident in the first's account of market dualism which is analogous to the human capital theory. It is an account which attributes the division of the labour market into sectors to employer investment in workers arising out of a sympathetic response to the demands of efficiency.

In contrast, the third and fourth explanations of labour market dualism suggest it arises out of a fundamental conflict of interests between workers and employers. Labour militancy is seen by Piore as playing a vital part in the creation of the secondary sector. Its development is described as occurring in the following way: In depressed economic conditions, as well as periods of labour unrest, the issues of job security, the right to organize and negotiate pay and conditions are matters of central importance in the bargaining process between workers and employers. However, in granting to workers the rights they seek employers search for ways of restoring the flexibility they need to adjust their total wage bills to match their incomes which are subject to the vagaries of the economy. In doing so, they may sub-contract work, hire temporary workers, decentralize plant etc., leading to the development of a secondary sector. Employers also become active in recruiting certain kinds of acquiescent labour e.g. women, youths, ethnic minorities and rural workers, to ensure that the secondary sector is viable. According to Piore:

> *"The migrants - foreign and domestic - the rural workers, and the women are attractive precisely because they belong to another socio-economic structure and view industrial employment as a temporary adjunct to their primary roles. They are willing to tackle temporary jobs because they see their commitment to these jobs as temporary, and they are able to bear the flux and uncertainty of the industrial economy because they have traditional economic activities to which to fall back" (17.).*

However, at this point Piore comes close to implying that the development of the secondary sector is a rational response to economic fluctuation which, at the same time, serves the needs of certain workers. It is as if secondary workers have characteristics which the economic system makes use of, but is not responsible for.

Nevertheless, other writers have viewed the secondary sector work force as the product of a 'system' which manipulates them in order to stabilize and legitimize the economic structure, with all its inequalities, by placing at its disposal a pool of labour which can be hired and fired as economic conditions demand. However, Rubery (18.) points out that the capitalist mode of production's breaking down of traditional skill barriers and the accompanying specialization of workers tasks increases the interest they have in uniting to gain mutual industrial protection, increasing the potential threat they pose to the interests of capital. Labour market duality, or its 'segmentation' into a plurality of markets represents an effective way of dealing with this threat. Explanations of this type are conflictual being grounded in the perception of a struggle between workers and the owners of capital. They attempt to;

> *"place the dual labour market theory in an historical and ideological framework" (19.).*

It is the radical and structured labour market theorists who have most vigorously pursued the case for labour market segmentation as the product of conflict between labour and capital. In so doing, they have given dual market theory an added dimension.

9.5. Radical And Structured Labour Market Theory.

The idea of a segmented labour market was developed in an attempt to provide a 'radical' economic analysis. It is associated with two schools of thought either side of the Atlantic - led by Gordon (20.) in the USA and the Labour Studies Group (L.S.G.) (21.) at the University of Cambridge - and focuses on the historical and institutional underpinnings of labour market segmentation.

However, whilst both groups dispute the neo-classical model of the labour market they offer differing accounts of its operation. Thus, whilst Gordon and his colleagues explain segmentation in terms of a strategy for the control of labour which is critical to understanding the forces affecting earnings, the L.S.G. is concerned with segmentation as an explanation for the permanence and pervasiveness of low pay. As a result of these basic differences, the ways in which the two groups analyze labour market segmentation will be dealt with separately.

9.5(a.). Gordon et al.

The movement beyond the dual labour market analysis represents more than the simple replacement of its theorized primary and secondary sectors with a multiplicity of segments. Gordon puts forward six hypotheses about capitalist economies which underpin the 'radical' approach to labour market analysis. These are as follows:

1. All societies are characterized by a mode of production which reflects the social relationships between people arising out of their connection with the mode of production.

2. The social division of labour leads to the division of society into economic classes, membership of which constrains an individual's activities.

3. Owners of capital are driven to increase their share at the cost of human need - capital accumulation rules.

4. A set of social institutions exists, such as the wage system, which define and determine the nature and content of the social relationships between individuals.

5. The State is dominated by, and ultimately operates in the interests of a capitalist class.

6. There are contradictions within capitalism which are in conflict with the laws upon which it is based. These include, worker alienation and the existence of an individualistic ideology which induces workers to compete when the division of labour requires them to co-operate.

Working from the hypotheses outlined above, Gordon et al argue that the emergence of monopoly capitalism was accompanied by an increasingly homogeneous and proletarianized workforce, leading to an increase in labour unrest. To meet the threat of well organized restive workers, employers, it is argued, actively fostered labour market segmentation. To do so a rigidly graded hierarchy of jobs, entry into which was controlled by internal labour markets, was erected with the support of unions seeking 'single union' deals with employers.

In addition, concentration of the ownership of capital into the hands of a few huge conglomerates, called 'core' firms, is envisaged by Gordon and his supporters as permitting employers to control the levels of competition they are subject to, enabling them to;

> *"offer greater stability of employment which in turn allowed corporate managers to organize job tasks more systematically in order to permit more control and greater fragmentation of working groups" (22.).*

Surrounding 'core' firms are a far larger number of smaller, 'peripheral' firms These work in restricted markets and provide secondary jobs. Such firms survive because they are unprofitable for 'core' firms to acquire, but profitable as enterprises to which they firms can transfer business risks. Gordon writes that;

> *"sub-contracting to the periphery provides a low-cost alternative for the maintainance of excess productive capacity in slack periods; and core firms can avoid potential union problems and save on employee fringe benefits" (23.).*

The distinction drawn between 'core' and 'periphery' firms in Gordon's formulation of 'radical' labour market theory bears a striking resemblance to that dual labour market theorists make between 'primary' and 'secondary' sector firms. They appear to be, more or less, the same. However, there is an important difference for Gordon and those of his persuasion produce a theory of dualism which refers to units of capital, not to whole industries.

Moreover, 'radical' labour market theory presents the market's divisions as representative of a historical tendency; jobs cannot be endlessly categorized into an infinite number of segments. As a result, the jobs of many are either in intermediate positions or unaffected by segmentation. Ultimately, the hypothesis advanced by Gordon states that;

> *"the evolving structure of the labour process and labour markets (creates) increasingly differentiated labour segments" (24.).*

9.5(b.). Labour Studies Group (L.S.G.).

The L.S.G. are critical of the strong emphasis given by Gordon et al to actions and motivations of employers in explaining the development and structure of the labour market and his relative neglect of the role of worker organization. Members of the Group acknowledge the importance of attempts to control workers, but hold that the analysis of the market's operation can only be carried out in terms of a continuing struggle for control between workers and employers (25.). This entails consideration of the efforts to control workers at the level of the firm rather than seeking out a capitalist class intent on devising a long-term strategy of divide and rule. Indeed, the LSG suggests that stratification of employment is as much the outcome of efforts made by workers to secure decent conditions as it is of the efforts made by employers to split and control the work force.

As a result the LSG attempts to provide an account of the labour market's workings in which the role of worker organizations is given greater weight than has traditionally been the case. This has led to increased concern about the supply of labour and the attempts made to control it by such organizations, the inhibiting effect of the family wage on female labour, setting minimum ages which must be reached before particular types of work can be undertaken, pre-entry closed shops etc.

It is argued by advocates of LSG analysis that the protection worker organizations attempt to provide their members with is perpetually threatened by monopoly capitalism's creation of an increasingly specialized work force and displacement of skills which serves to increase the competition for jobs, especially in times of high unemployment, to reduce the bargaining power of labour.

Although the L.S.G's primary interest is in the role played by worker organizations in the structuring of the labour market it does not offer a simple uni-causal explanation of its divisions. Rubery and Wilkinson make it abundantly clear that labour market segmentation needs to be understood in a multi-causal way based on;

> *"the structure of technology, product markets, control over the labour process and labour supply conditions" (26.).*

The point made by the LSG is that the sharp distinction, as drawn by Piore, between the 'primary' and 'secondary' sectors is false as they are 'ideal types' of different industrial sectors. The Group's view is that, in reality, boundaries between these sectors are blurred and both have their share of monotonous, unskilled jobs. It is argued that it is not possible to reduce the labour market to a simple dichotomy arising out of the content of jobs or worker characteristics. The main distinction between the two sectors, it is suggested, is a strongly unionised workforce and the ability of a firm to pay high wages (27.).

In a study of five industries, Craig et al put forward two possible causes low pay and status. These are:

1. The intensity of competition for certain products limits the ability of the industry to pay good wages. The corollary of this would be the expectation of higher wages from large firms which dominate their markets as a result of that dominance, not because they have above average productivity.

2. Low labour market status of workers employed appears linked to low pay. Craig et al comment that although;

    > *"the number of good jobs in the economy is mainly determined by the development of the industrial and technological structure largely independent of labour supply, social processes are at work generating a supply of labour for secondary sector employment" (28.).*

> The social processes referred to are presented as structuring the supply of labour to meet the structured demand for labour. While the main reason for workers taking low paid work may be their need for wages and a shortage of high paid jobs, the places individuals occupy socially and in their families are regarded as influencing their aspirations and opportunities. It is a view reminiscent of Wooton's cited in the earlier discussion of neo-classical theory.

Whilst recognizing the problems faced by women, the ethnic minorities, young people and other groups socially disadvantaged on the labour market Craig et al optimistically suggest that the inequalities they suffer could;

> *"conceivably be removed by the appropriate policy" (29.).*

However, the social inequalities of the labour market have proved largely resistant to the numerous policies enacted to overcome them. In some instances it can be argued that labour market policies, particularly those relating to the plentiful government training schemes, implicitly accept and adopt human capital theory as their underlying rationale while the Equal Pay and Race Relations Acts are just two example of the many failed measures intended to remove discrimination from the labour market.

Powerful social institutions exist which impose seemingly inescapable roles on individuals which forcefully and directly affect their employment prospects. Perhaps, the best example of such an institution is that of the family that imposes on men and women different roles with regard to domestic labour which have dramatic implications for the places they occupy in the labour market.

Free of domestic labour, male workers tends to be preferred by employers. Female labour is hired at lower wages as domestic responsibilities limit the availability and flexibility - in terms of time and geography - of many women. The policy implications of this one example of institutional barriers to employment are profound for it seems that anti-discriminatory labour market policy alone is not enough unless combined with other measures concerning child care provision, the structure of the family, the roles of its members etc.

The point returned to is that the labour market is a social market. The supply of labour and the differing pay and conditions imposed on workers both reflect, and are deeply influenced by the institutional arrangements of society and the expectations had of its various sub-groups. Consequently, the social definition of young people in local authority residential 'care' emerges as vitally important in determining their job search experience and ultimate work allocation.

However, an understanding of the relationship between young people, the labour market and the types of work they eventually find rests, not only, on belief in the formula provided by general theories of the market, but also, on an understanding of the implications internal and local labour markets have for them. It is to these markets that attention is now turned.

9.6. Internal Labour Markets.

Strongly associated with dual labour market theory, the concept of the internal labour market is that of;

> *"an administrative unit, such as a manufacturing plant, within which the pricing and allocation of labour is governed by a set of administrative rules and procedures" (30.).*

Such a bureaucratic structure of internal markets are those of the primary/core sector and is clearly very different to the workings of the external market where labour decisions, vacancies, wage rates and training are normally attributed to, pre-eminently, economic motives. However, the two kinds of labour market do not exist in separate, spheres for, as Doeringer and Piore observe:

> *"These two markets are inter-connected... and movement between them occurs at certain job classifications which constitute 'ports of entry' and 'exit' to and from the internal labour market. The remainder of the jobs within the internal market are filled by the promotion or transfer of workers who have already gained entry.*

> *Consequently, these jobs are shielded from the 'direct' influence of competitive forces in the external market" (31.).*

According to this model, individual employment opportunities can be defined in relation to a young person's ability to gain entry to the internal market controlling his, or her, skill area. Gaining entry is the crucial step into secure employment which will combine training with the opportunity for future progression. Though the level of job security offered by firms varies it remains a clear distinguishing feature between internal and external labour markets.

For young people who obtain apprenticeships, the standard 'port of entry' into an internal craft market, access is direct and straightforward provided the period of indenture is successfully completed. In much the same way, the requisite educational qualifications allow access, at different levels, to different internal labour markets. However, according to Burgess for the less well qualified;

> *"entry to any form of internal market must depend on other factors. The 'qualification' that these young people can offer a prospective employer is their previous work in a related skill area. It is the quality and quantity of this experience-training gained from working in the external market that may matter most in the transition to internal adult markets" (32.).*

As was indicated in the discussion of dual labour market theory the starting point in an academically unqualified young person's working-life is usually provided by unskilled or semi-skilled manual work, characterized as secondary/peripheral sector employment. While this does not often lead to wider opportunities it can provide the basis of skills which enable some young people to transfer to primary/core sector firms by gaining entry to an appropriate internal labour market.

However, in recent years major structural changes have occurred in the economy which have significantly reduced the chances of less well qualified young people of gaining admission to internal labour markets. Many of the traditional 'entry' jobs e.g. office juniors, workers' mates, messengers etc., have disappeared making access much more difficult. As a result, a comparatively high concentration of young workers is found in certain labour intensive industries, notably distribution and construction, which have remained relatively open.

A second important structural factor is that school leavers are much more prone than is the labour force as a whole to work for small firms and the jobs provided by these are the least likely to offer training and the chance of promotion. They tend to be associated with the secondary/periphery sector, poor working conditions, and low wages. However, this image of small employers obscures the important part small firms play in preparing young people for entry into internal markets. Whilst seldom providing formal training small companies equip employees with the skills they need to do a particular job, skills which are often the same as those required by the internal market. This process has been described by Doeringer and Piore as:

> *"A rolling readjustment of tasks between experienced and inexperienced workmen... Very often on-the-job training is not recognized as a distinct process at all; it is simply assumed that a worker who has 'been around' for a while will know how to do certain things" (33.).*

It is through such informal training that young people without pertinent qualifications can acquire the experience needed for entry into an internal labour market of the primary/core sector.

9.7. Summary and Conclusions.

This Chapter has presented a few of the most influential theories which attempt to describe the workings of the labour market. It is a task which has not been carried out in great depth, its purpose merely being the derivation of a frame of reference in which to place, explain, and understand the experiences of young people in their search for work. However, the sparsity of theoretical material concerning the place young people occupy on the labour market has dictated that which has been referred to is primarily concerned with older workers.

Nevertheless, it is considered that the theoretical approaches which have been discussed go some way to achieving this Chapter's goal. This claim is based on three primary grounds:

1. The theories referred to are all general in nature, being applicable to all groups of workers.

2. Each of the theories outlined attempts to explain why some groups of workers, such as young people, may be disadvantaged on the labour market relative to other workers.

3. The discussion of internal and local labour markets is considered to have special significance for young people making the transition from school to working life.

From the preceding discussion it should be clear that the labour market is a complex entity, it is a crucible of dispute between a plethora of theorists who model the market in widely divergent ways. As a result, it is difficult to summarize its operation in a way which will win support from all and arrive at conclusions capable of gaining unquestioning acceptance. However, a number of points emerged in the course of debate which are applicable to the research study and which are related to the depiction of young people in local authority residential 'care' as sketched out in the themes from the literature. These are as follows:

1. The model of the labour market provided by neo-classical theory is one of undiluted competition between individuals which is supposed to ensure, in a Darwinian manner, that the best and most rewarding jobs go to those most capable of doing them. Whilst this does not bode well for all young people - reference has been made to the threat married women re-entering the labour market presents to their employment chances - it has particularly onerous implications for those in 'care'. If they adhere to their thematic stereotype these young people appear so sorely ill-equipped to survive in the highly competitive environment of the neo-classical labour market it is a wonder that any of them ever find anything more than the most menial employment. The problem unanswered by this theoretical approach is that they often do.

2. In many ways the conclusions arising out of human capital theory concerning the place of young people in 'care' on the labour market are the same as those flowing from neo-classical theory. The former reproduces the latter's highly competitive version of the market, but does go on to offer hope to these young people, if only they make the right self-investment decisions.

However, the thematic stylization of young people in 'care' makes this seem highly unlikely for it portrays them as having little, or no interest in education and the acquisition of skills. Whilst social workers, teachers, employers and others might try to counter this by providing them with appropriate educational opportunities to train and make the sort of self-investment that will make them more employable, the literature predicts that they will not do so.

Furthermore, research evidence showing that there is often a lack of planning on behalf of young people in 'care' indicates that for many of them the option of making the 'right' self-investment decision does not exist.

3. Dual labour market theory provides an explanation of how seemingly unemployable young people in 'care' find work in terms of the existence of a secondary sector which makes use of the unskilled labour they provide. There, in the margins of the economy, they can find work and earn the means to sustain themselves.

However, the picture produced is static, it produces an image of these young people as stuck in this sector. The problem yet to be overcome by dual market theorists is that a substantial number of these young people make the transition to the primary sector.

4. Radical market theory fails to provide an analysis of the labour market which gives more cause for hope about the employment opportunities available to young people in 'care'. The interests of young people have never been particularly well represented by the trade unions whilst their lack of

qualifications is regarded as presenting to employers that the best they can hope for is a place in the periphery of a segmented labour market.

5. Structured labour market theory provides a model of the labour market which gives an indication of how young people manage to move from employers located in the margins of the economy to others in its mainstream by stressing the informal training opportunities and work experiences offered in the 'secondary' sector. These enhance the employability the young workers, allowing some to gain access to, and pass through a 'port of entry' into the internal markets of primary/core firms.

   From this perspective the job changing habits of young people make sense as a way of maximizing the range of 'useful' work and training experiences available to them. However, if job changing on the parts of those in 'care' remains liable to be interpreted as being driven by emotional pathology, their use of job changing to develop vocational skills and to broaden their work experience might restrict, rather than expand, their chances of gaining entry into an internal market.

All theoretical approaches to the labour market (with the exception economically pure neo-classical theory) point to its fundamentally social nature. They make clear that the allocation of work rests on the inter-play of cultural and institutional forces which structure and stratify the workforce, placing some groups at a disadvantage to others in the search for work. The labour market theories discussed all appear to accord with the history of youth unemployment in their presentation of them as a disadvantaged group. It is the misfortune of those in 'care' that they appear to form a more disadvantaged subgroup of this already disadvantaged group.

Chapter 10.

The Health And Social Costs Of Unemployment.

10.1. Introduction.

Unemployment can be treated as an economic or political problem and much of the debate about this subject is carried out in these terms. However, the costs of unemployment cannot be measured in economic and political terms alone. It imposes high health and social costs on the unemployed which must also be accounted for. The purpose of this Chapter is the provision of such an account.

In doing so, two princip~~le~~al questions will be asked. First, what toll does unemployment take of the physical and mental health of the unemployed? Second, what are the social implications of their unemployment? An examination of each of these questions will be offered before this Chapter will be brought to a close with a brief summary of the main points made and a statement, by way of a conclusion, of the stigmatized sick and social roles unemployment imposes on the unemployed.

Unfortunately, the accomplishment of the tasks set is complicated by the division of the literature (1.) into two main, but dissimilar strands. There is that which treats psychological and social factors as the cause of unemployment and, in contrast, that which presents the same factors as being caused by unemployment. To overcome the potential pitfalls presented by this divide the concern of this Chapter is, first and foremost, with the effects of becoming unemployed on individuals who see themselves as workers, as people who would normally be working. In as much as an individual is a worker, in this restricted sense, the fact that he, or she is in, or not in 'care' is irrelevant.

10.2. The Consequences Of Unemployment On The Physical Health And Mental Health Of The Unemployed.

Whilst the focus here is to be on the damage unemployment can do to physical and mental health, sight must not be lost of the fact that work is not necessarily conducive to the preservation of either, usually because of the stress it imposes on employees. Argyle (2.) points to shift work, alienation, lack of job satisfaction and motivation, difficulties in communication, conflict between work groups, and the constant demand to adapt to technological change as stressors confronting workers on a daily basis, all of which have the capacity to undermine their physical and mental health. Even this fairly long list is incomplete for there is also the fear, or threat of redundancy, redeployment, unwanted changes in working conditions, etc. While such factors may create a more compliant and submissive labour force they do not lead to one which is healthier. In this respect, Fagin makes an interesting observation:

> *"In the United Kingdom in the last year the number of sickness certificates signed by general practitioners has shown the first decrease for decades, probably indicating fear among workers of reporting sick in financially insecure times. Some workers will, therefore, take longer to report illness, and others may be prepared to resign themselves to poor and unhealthy working conditions without using symptoms as an acceptable safety valve to express their dissatisfaction" (3.).*

10.3. Physical Health.

A positive correlation between unemployment and declining physical health is well established. Macro-statistical studies, involving large populations of employed and unemployed workers are worrying. These Popay summarizes when stating that;

> *"recent research tends to confirm that it (the positive correlation between unemployment the erosion of physical health) exists... Macro-statistical studies show that general mortality, cardiovascular mortality, alcohol consumption, the rate of cirrhosis... all increase in during economic slumps, and that unemployment is the single most*

> *important index as far as health in concerned" (4.) (my brackets).*

In addition, Fagin draws attention to a number of studies which identify a host of ailments, some of which might be psychosomatic, observed amongst unemployed cohorts following the closure of their work places. These include;

> *"long periods of breathlessness, weakness, insomnia, headaches, pains in the chest, toirticollis, lumbosacral pain, rheumatic aches, dizziness, memory loss, sexual inhibition, pain on intercourse, and alcoholism" (5.).*

An influential project (6.) carried out in Detroit, reporting on a hundred factory workers about to become unemployed found that they underwent a series of physiological changes as they passed through the stages of, a.) work, b.) receiving redundancy notices, c.) the closure of the work place, d.) short, and; e.) long-term unemployment. The study discovered significant increases in the serum uric acid and cholesterol levels of subjects, especially among those with little or no emotional support from their families; a potentially important factor for the unemployed from a 'care' background. These levels remained high while the workers remained out of a job, starting to decrease only after they had been unemployed for about two years.

In addition, the blood pressure readings of the ex-workers rose while their increased intake of coffee and tea increased their urinary output of catecholamines, norepinephrine and epinephrine, during the anticipatory period of the firm's closure when they were unable to relax at home. In the sample there was;

> *"an excess of sufferers from coronary heart disease, dyspepsia, joint swelling, hypertension and alopecia, compared with the control group of workers in similar employment... the men reported 'not feeling as well as usual' in the anticipatory phase... complaining of a general malaise as unemployment began to be established" (7.)*

However, despite seemingly undeniable causal links between unemployment and faltering physical health mystery surrounds the precise mechanics of this relationship making it extremely difficult to attribute correct meaning to the data gathered by investigations of this matter. For example, the Detroit study is not clear about which way the causal relationship between unemployment and decline in health worked. Did the poor health of the research's subjects interfere with their ability or desire to find alternative employment, or did continued unemployment raise their levels of physical complaints?

A strategy commonly adopted to solve this conundrum is to link unemployment with poverty which is associated with poor physical health. Alternatively, this linkage might also be explained in terms of unemployment and ill-health being connected with socio-economic status, poor education and housing conditions. However, the problem remains of trying to select the 'right' explanation is that;

> *"They are not mutually exclusive hypotheses... all are true to some degree. But we cannot be sure about the degree of truth of each hypothesis, nor can we be sure of the degree of association between unemployment and ill health" (8.).*

The confusion surrounding the inter-relationship between declining physical health and unemployment is reflected in the estimates of annual number deaths, in Britain, which can be attributed to unemployment. These vary considerably. Thus, while Brenner (9.) suggests that it is associated with tens of thousands of premature deaths, Gravelle (10.) is unconvinced and Scott-Samuel (11.) opts for a more conservative 3,000 a year.

Though the problem of trying to identify what is so noxious about unemployment continues to bedevil consideration of the impact it has on the health of the unemployed it is, probably, a spurious matter from the point of view of the unemployed and that of those who have to deal with the medical problems they present. The main concern of the unemployed who become ill will be that their condition is successfully treated, not its contemplation as something which may, or may not, be the cause, or consequence of their unemployment while those treating them must do so despite their inability to solve any underlying political and economic causes of their patients symptoms.

However, while the evidence connecting unemployment with poor physical health is equivocal, if highly indicative, that which associates it with a decline in 'mental well-being' is more impressive. It is to this that we now turn.

10.4. 'Mental Health', 'Mental Illness', 'Mental Distress' And 'Mental Well-Being'.

To discuss the implications unemployment has for the mental health of the unemployed is risk upsetting the sensibilities of, and getting caught in the cross-fire between those who adhere to a strict medical model of 'mental illness', seeing it as the product of deterioration in 'mental health' and others who challenge the validity of this model and champion the notion of 'mental distress'. In order to avoid getting sucked into this dispute the term 'mental well-being' will be used and is defined in a general way, referring to;

1. Individuals suffering from a range of disorders which are endogenous and have traditionally been classified as 'clinical' - psychosis, chronic depression, hypomania - and to;

2. other individuals who are 'mentally distressed'. The characteristic feature of 'distressed' individuals is the reactive nature of their symptoms which are understandable responses to distressing life events.

However, whilst it is intended to avoid becoming embroiled in the conflict between advocates of the 'mental illness' and 'mental distress' the latter's emphasis on the reactive nature of 'mental disorders' to life events over which 'distressed' individuals have no control makes it particularly relevant to the discussion which follows. It provides a way of understanding the emotional responses of individuals as a reaction to the social and economic context in which they find themselves. This is vividly highlighted by Brown and Harris in the "Social Origins of Depression" (12.) in which they offer a lucid account of the broad social forces which they insist must be brought into any account of why people get depressed. They argue convincingly that a particular set of 'life events' can provoke such feelings of hopelessness and 'distress' that 'reactive' depression may be induced.

Accordingly, the assumption made here is that unemployment constitutes a life event which is sufficiently unpleasant for some of the unemployed that when combined with its ripple effects - loss of status, financial insecurity, deprivation of role etc. - they 'react' by becoming 'mentally distressed'. It follows, that the strict application of a medical model of 'mental well-being', having at its heart the notion of 'illness', is considered misguided when considering the implications unemployment has for those without work.

However, objections to a medical model need to be tempered with recognition of the fact that many of those whose 'mental well-being' is assailed, whether for reasons of 'illness' or 'distress', have much in common. This Marsh emphasizes when discussing the aetiology of depression. She points out that regardless of its causation;

> *"there is certainly a recognizable group of symptoms which commonly occur together, and deserve some label; ...these bring such distress and suffering with them that they do have the effect of preventing the person from carrying out a particularly active or free life" (13.).*

Thus, the position arrived at is similar to that concerning the disinterest the unemployed are likely to take in the operation of the causal chain between unemployment and poor physical health. In the final analysis, whether it is decided to attribute something such as depression to 'mental-illness' or 'mental distress' makes little difference to sufferers. Their lack of 'well-being' is unaffected by the etiological labels attached to their conditions. It is enough to know, for the purposes of this study, that it is possible to show that a constellation of symptoms commonly occurs as a result of unemployment, allowing a syndrome to be identified whose existence is not dependent on the application of such labels.

10.5. The Link Between Unemployment And Poor 'Mental Well-Being'.

The link between unemployment and poor 'mental well-being' is not automatically damaging. For some, 'mental well-being', like physical health, can be enhanced by unemployment. Colledge and Bartholemew (14.) discovered this in their study of the long-term unemployed which revealed that the 'mental well-being' of 5% of their sample improved. However, they also reported that for all who find unemployment to be a positive experience there are many more who discover that it bears down, insufferably, on them. Smith points out that:

> *"In most surveys about a fifth of the unemployed report a deterioration in their mental health since becoming unemployed, and the longer they have been without work the more likely they are to report a deterioration" (15.).*

The same author goes on to state;

> *"The unemployed tend to be more anxious, depressed, unhappy, dissatisfied, and have lower confidence and self esteem and sleep worse than the employed. That many of the unemployed should be miserable is hardly surprising, but for many this misery... becomes bad enough for psychiatrists to consider them 'cases'" (16.).*

Smith's findings are supported by a study carried out by Finlay-Jones and Eckhardt (17.) of 401 unemployed 16 to 24 year olds living in Australia. They were each given general health questionnaires, the responses to which indicated that more than half their respondents could be classified, in the researchers' words, as "probable cases of psychiatric disorder" as a result of unemployment. Of a weighted sub-sample of 72 respondents who underwent psychiatric examinations, as part of the study, 47 were diagnosed as being 'cases'. Whilst it is difficult know if Finlay-Jones's and Eckhardt's investigation would to be repeated in the two Inner London Boroughs who took part in this study, Layton offers a synopsis of research, undertaken in a number of countries, which suggests that the same general themes would be detected. He observes;

> *"research from a number of countries... has addressed the question of whether loss, or inability to secure a job causes psychological deterioration... Most longitudinal studies have concerned themselves with school-leavers. Studies from the thirties investigating youth unemployment suggest that the developmental problems faced in adolescence compounded with the stress of unemployment making it a particularly turbulent and depressing experience, especially for males... Adverse effects, relating to intrapsychic decline, social and family tension were recorded, and it was generally felt that the psychological consequences of job loss by adults were evident in*

> *unemployed youth. This is an important point for it suggests that the main source of disturbance is the experience of unemployment rather than just the experience of job loss" (18.).*

This is a view Feather and O'Brien (19.) lend support to when reporting that investigations reveal that school-leavers who cannot find work suffer greater boredom, loneliness, depression, feelings of helplessness and anger with society. These lead to a lowering of their self-esteem which reduced their perceived competence, social activity and satisfaction with life. Thus,

> *"A number of researchers have shown an increase in... minor non-psychotic psychiatric morbidity, and in particular, personal neglect and social dysfunction" (20.).*

Arising out of the research is a clear picture of unemployment as a cause of poor 'mental well-being' in opposition to the presentation of unemployment being an out-come of 'mental frailty'. The two processes are not mutually exclusive, but recognition of the former begins to call into question the thematic attribution of the inability of young people in local authority residential 'care' to remain in steady employment to their, supposed, lack of an 'appropriate psychological adjustment' to the world of work.

An interesting measure of the impact unemployment has on 'mental well-being' is provided by the suicide rate. Throughout the late 1970's and early 1980's the dramatic increase in unemployment was accompanied by a rise in the suicide rate whose decline had assumed the status of an 'accepted fact' when it reached a plateau in the mid-1970's. Then in 1978, with unemployment officially at 1,500,000 annual suicides rose for the first time in years. Between 1979 and 1980 this tendency continued, rising by 2.9% a total of 4,3000 (21.).

The link between unemployment, and suicide and attempted suicide has been studied extensively. Platt (22.) provides an informative assessment of 156 such studies showing that the unemployed are consistently over represented among those who kill, or try to kill themselves. He points out that longitudinal studies indicate that there is more unemployment and job instability among those who kill or deliberately injure themselves, and that in almost all countries unemployment and the suicide and attempted suicide rates change together, in the same direction and at the same time. It is a finding which lends a gloomy emphasis to the belief that young people in 'care' find it unusually difficult to find employment because of their, supposed, instability.

Yet, proof of the influence unemployment exerts over suicide and attempted suicide rates is inconclusive as its increase may be more strongly correlated to divorce, number of children to support, pre-existing 'psychiatric' disorder and other factors. However, in the midst of so much uncertainty Smith claims that;

> *"it has been proved that unemployment can lead to a deterioration in measured mental health" (23.).*

This 'bullish' acclamation is based on the work of Banks and Jackson (24.) who undertook a long-term study of a cross section of 1000, 16 year old school-leavers living in Leeds. Just before leaving school, and at intervals thereafter they were asked to complete a general health questionnaire. Results obtained showed that those who became unemployed on leaving school had a higher probability of being deemed to be psychiatric 'cases' than did their counterparts who found work. As there had been no difference in respondents vulnerability when at school to 'mental distress' it cannot be argued that those who became unemployed did so because their 'mental well-being' was more fragile than that of respondents who had jobs.

The results of Bank's and Jackson's work draws attention to the powerfully, corrosive influence unemployment has for the 'mental well-being' of those setting-out on working life. In doing so the seeming fallacy of thematically attributing the unemployment of young people in 'care' to their allegedly disturbed emotional development is highlighted.

10.6. The Psychology Of Unemployment.

In psychological terms, the 'mental distress' associated with unemployment is a major life experience characterized by the necessity to make a number of transitions and, above all, the need to come to terms with loss. The suggestion is that if the attachment to the lost object i.e. the job, is great enough the feelings of loss created by unemployment will be so intense that the unemployed worker is hurled into a painful bereavement process as he, or she grieves for what is lost.

However, it is argued here that the severity of the loss is not mediated by attachment alone. A second factor, that of the need and desire for a job can, if unmet, also put into motion the same process of grieving. As a result, the angst suffered by school-leavers, who grieve for that which they have never had (i.e. a job), is posited as being just as great as that of individuals formerly employed.

The following summary is offered of those aspects of work whose loss is most missed by the unemployed. Its provides of a brief overview of some of the reasons why employment is considered essential to 'mental well-being', a matter described in greater detail by others (25.).

1. Work As A Source Of Identity: Work is used as an important social 'identification tag'. Individuals are classified in terms of class and social status in terms of their work. It influences and establishes hierarchies, networks of acquaintances and friendship groups, membership of which allows the worker to derive a sense of 'belonging'.

   Thus, work becomes a key feature of individual self-identity. When asked what they are people invariably respond by telling you what they do for a living. People tend to define themselves in terms of their employment.

   Work presents young people in 'care' with a vitally important opportunity to establish for themselves who they are and for others to identify them as being something other than a 'faceless' members of the 'care' population. At a time when they are seeking to establish their adult identities work provides them with a rare chance of meeting their urgent need to do so.

2. Work As A Source Of Relationships Outside Of The Family: Work takes pressure off the nuclear family by enabling its members to find an alternative set of acceptable social relationships, allowing other emotional outlets to be found. For many the workplace is their only source of friendship outside of the family.

   The absence, or frailty of family relationships and friendships on the parts of young people in 'care' means that work provided, perhaps, the only setting in which they have an opportunity to develop supportive relationships. For them, unemployment means the loss of a valuable opportunity to make friends and confronts them with the prospect of loneliness and isolation.

3. Work As A Source Of Obligatory Activity: Work creates a framework for regular, purposeful activity in daily life. Whilst the enforced aspect of work may be resented the structure it offers is often missed by the unemployed. Stein's and Carey's study of 'care' leavers demonstrates this with all those who took part in it and were without a job either complaining about the present or dreading the future. All these young people referred to the boredom and desperation of being unemployed which appeared to lead to depression and even guilt:

   > "*Hope I'm not on the dole. Well on the dole you get, what 23 quid, so I'm only losing two, but its not worth it though. Cos I don't wanna get on dole. I just like work and working. I'd get bored stiff, I'd get worse. If I don't have a job I just go funny. I won't stop in this house. I'll just flare up - go mad - just like that, straight away if I ha'n't a job. I couldn't stand being at home*" (26.).

4. The Phase Of Unemployed Identity: The remoulding of the self-images of the unemployed is completed. Former workers become disabled as they resign themselves to their situation. They conclude that their unemployment is inescapable and that there is, therefore, no point in attempting anything to escape their predicament and, thereby, ensuring that they remain jobless.

Gradually a non-occupational identity is established, with all its psychological trappings. The anxiety and some of the depression characteristic of the previous stage, lift, and the individual settles into a new way of life with different standards and expectations. Job hunting is now irregular, haphazard and casual, being done without any real hope of success. Days are spent in enforced idleness and there is a feeling of inertia and lack of energy. Much time is lost for the unemployed person - each day is the same and there are no weekdays or weekends. Time drags, passes slowly and is empty.

There is also a tendency to withdraw from social life and family activities. The television is often the main source of interest. It is kept on all day irrespective of what programmes are on.

The despairing adoption of an 'unemployed identity' is marked among those in 'care' who find that their effort to find work leads no where. Whilst this is identified by Carey and Stein as occurring with respect to members of their 'care' sample who failed to get a job, Morgan-Klein observed that by the end of her study of young people in 'care':

"Most of those who were unemployed or on temporary government schemes despaired of finding work: 36 young people had either given up hope (14) or said that they would take any job that came along (22)" (27.).

The kind of comments these young people made about their employment situations is represented by the following comments:

"I don't think there's a chance of gettin' a job... I could try and get another YOP scheme or whatever you call it. I don't know".

"There are so many people who have got qualifications that aren't getting jobs I don't see what chance folk with no qualifications have".

"I dinnae want to be unemployed but I haven't got much choice in the matter...I mean I go to the Job Centre... but there's bugger all there" (28).

The description offered of the phases of unemployment are stereotypes with their presentation as distinct entities overlooking the subtlety of the shading between them as one merges into the next. Not all those who are unemployed pass through all phases with the differences in the experiences of individuals depending on a number of factors. Previous employment record or experiences of unemployment, the way in which dismissal was announced or whether the loss of the job was one of a few or a result of a massive closure are all regarded as capable of conditioning the impact unemployment has on individuals regardless of their ages.

In some ways unemployment is a bigger blow to the young workers than it is to their adult counterparts. The young do not have available the financial cushion of redundancy payments whilst their dependency on local labour markets restricts the re-employment opportunities available to them. This, when combined with the demand faced by many young people in 'care' that they become financially independent may hurl some of them straight into the anxiety phase.

Thus, Fagin (29.) warns that school-leavers, especially non-achievers, are among the most prone to suffer the extremities of 'distress' unemployment is capable of inflicting and they may make repeated suicide attempts. At the age of 16 years these young people can feel as though they are on the metaphorical 'scrap heap' and join what has come to be called the 'lost generation'. Rowland points out:

> *"It seems beyond question that unemployment is generally bad for people and Freud well understood the importance of work in giving a sense of purpose, value, self-respect and esteem when he said - "work binds people to reality". There is real concern for those who because of unemployment, belong to the 'lost generation'" (30.).*

The point made here is that an individual's self-concept is, in large part, socially defined through the medium of employment. Therefore, the distress of the unemployed suffer is not something they generate in introspective isolation, but mirrors the way in which they are seen by society. With recognition of this fact, it is now time to consider the social costs of unemployment

10.7. The Social Costs Of Unemployment

In a society structured along lines dictated by its division of labour the place of the unemployed within it is tenuous. They populate a twilight zone intersecting the 'main stream' of everyday life only when acting as a pool of cheap labour, to be hired and fired as economic conditions demand, whilst also serving as a warning to the employed of what could happen to them if they do not 'tow the industrial line'. Here an attempt will be made to identify the social cost the unemployed are made to 'pay' for their joblessness in terms of the public's opinion of them.

10.8. Public Opinion: Defining The Term.

The proposition put is that the public's opinion of the unemployed is a matter of more than mere academic interest. On the contrary, it is contended that public opinion of them plays a pivotal role in shaping the experience of unemployment. It is a view which finds support in the work of Kelvin and Jarrett who describe the consequences of public opinion for the jobless as being twofold. They write:

> *"First, it (public opinion) defines the stereotype of the 'Unemployed': that stereotype influences how a given individual, known as 'unemployed' is perceived and treated, generally, as distinct from how he is perceived and treated by his close family and friends, who know him as a person. Secondly, public opinion has a significant effect on how the unemployed are treated by 'society', as represented by the state: for the provision which the state makes for the unemployed, both in its extent and in the conditions under which it is available, is very largely determined by public opinion" (my brackets) (31.).*

However, whilst the term 'public opinion' denotes a crucially important factor to be taken into account when attempting to determine the social costs of unemployment it is not proposed to undertake an ontological exploration of its meaning. It is sufficient that it be defined in operational terms which refer to the, seemingly incontrovertible, 'fact' that individual members of society believe that there is something 'out there' called 'public opinion' which makes demands of, and judges them.

Public opinion is viewed as an almost infinitely malleable term in the hands of those who are the arbiters of whatever public opinion is supposed to be. They can transform it from something which strives for conceptual validity into nothing more than a slogan which allows, for example, those in work to stigmatize the unemployed as scroungers and politicians to berate them with a self righteous zeal founded on the belief that society demands that all such people be hounded down and eliminated.

The definition provided of public opinion and its founding on the supposed existence of some social consensus reveals the way in which it merges with expression like; 'social attitudes', 'the community's view', 'the public interest' and other similar metaphors. Therefore, throughout the following discussion all will be treated as being synonymous.

10.9. What Do The Public Think?

The question asked is a difficult one to answer. While that which is supposed to be the public's opinion is endlessly churned out by a host of pressure groups, the media, politicians, etc., it is alarmingly difficult to come by a reliable expressions of it. Not surprisingly, Kelvin and Jarrett conclude that the writing on public opinion and unemployment is;

> *"much influenced by myth and folk-lore; it is rich in assumptions, particularly in assumptions by one set of people, say the press or politicians, about the assumptions of others, such as 'ordinary people'; but anything which might be called substantive empirical evidence is virtually non-existence" (32).*

In Britain, as far as I am aware, only one study has been completed which has attempted to gather, in any detail, the missing empirical evidence on 'public opinion' in relation to the unemployed. Undertaken by Shlackman, who carried out twelve group discussions and conducted thirty-two in depth interviews in an attempt to glean the public's opinion of the Supplementary Benefits system, it concluded:

> *"With the exception of the unemployed, there is a broad acceptance that the remaining groups (e.g. pensioners, single parent families) merit assistance and can maintain their living standards comparable to other people's. For the unemployed... living standards should only be maintained to a lower level for three main reasons:*
>
> *They tend to be regarded as 'responsible' for their unemployed state. It would provide the essential motivation for continuing to look for a job. More help should be directed to low-paid workers.*
>
> *People's views on the treatment of the unemployed represent a compromise between their desire for humane treatment of the genuine individual and their instinct that the non-genuine should be discriminated against" (33.).*

Shlackman's study appears to lay bare the seemingly unequivocal support public opinion gives to less eligibility with respect to the unemployed. Deserving benefit claimants are identified in the form of pensioners whose worthiness counterpoints the suspicion attached to the unemployed. They are suspected as probably to blame for their lack of a job; they are undeserving.

Moreover, even if individuals are demonstrably not guilty for causing their unemployment, it is thought that they should not be provided with more than minimal financial support to ensure they look for work. The suspicion is that unless this is done, the unemployed will never make the effort to get another job. It seems, they are innately 'suspect' individuals who must be compelled to work.

The dearth of research evidence on what 'ordinary' people actually think and feel about the unemployed is, to some extent, off-set by the consoling fact that 'public opinion' is only very tenuously related to the opinions of individual members of the public. It is not an amalgam of the opinions of a numerical majority, but of those sections of society most motivated and influential on the issue in question (34.). In this sense, Blumer points out three characteristics of public opinion which are particularly important to this discussion.

> *"First, it is rarely concerned with matters of fact, it is mostly concerned with programmes for action... Second,... public opinion is rarely concerned with what is, it is mostly concerned with what*

> *should be: in effect, it is a response to perceived discrepancies between expectations (or aspirations) and reality... Thirdly, 'public opinion' has long been endowed with a certain moral authority; so demands for action can be justified in the name of the 'public opinion', and actions attributed to it can be presented as legitimate" (35.).*

The richest sources of evidence on public opinion of the unemployed are the ways in which the unemployed are treated in the media, the extent to which society makes provision for them and the rules and regulations it imposes with respect to access to it. The material available from these sources is enormous: encompassing television and radio programmes, the press, the rules and regulations of local government and central government etc., - it constitutes a literature of its own.

A useful overview and analysis of a very important aspect of all this, namely the Scrounging Controversy of the late 1970's is provided by Deacon (36.) which is worth discussing in more detail.

10.10. The Scrounging Controversy Of The Late 1970's.

Using numerous quotations on the problems of 'scroungers' and the need to eliminate them, taken from the media, government sources and politicians generally Deacon attributes 'scrounger-phobia', as he calls it, to an overall decline in living standards, which eroded the net income levels between the employed, especially the low paid, and the unemployed claiming state benefit.

Although Deacon does not use the term, his implicit model is that of social comparison theory. That is, 'scrounger-phobia' can be traced to the sense of injustice felt by workers who perceived the income differentials between themselves and the unemployed as being too narrow. The irony is that it was the unemployed who were blamed for this, not low paying employers who used benefit levels to determine how little they could get away with paying workers. It is a situation which suggests that the 'scrounger controversy' cannot simply be attributed to the media and politicians. To some ungauged extent they did no more than reflect the feelings of ordinary workers. These were both fuelled, and were fuelled by the government, the media and other 'formers' of public opinion. Referring to the results of a study of social trends undertaken by the Social Science Research Council (37.), Deacon points to the ability of workers to take the lead in this mutually reinforcing process. He reports that;

> *"'make people work' and 'stop social security abuses' was accorded a higher priority than crime, strikes, taxation, immigration, or world peace - even though the national newspapers were carrying few stories of abuse at the time of the survey" (38.).*

However, there is nothing new about the hostility encountered by the unemployed in society. Going back to the 1920's, Deacon remarks that;

> *"some three million claimants were refused benefit on the grounds that they were not genuinely seeking work, although at no time in these years did anyone seriously suggest that the work which they were supposed to be seeking actually existed" (39.).*

Though the 1970's and 1980's did not witness this extent of refusal of benefit, as has been seen, this underlying pattern has not changed. Even before actual refusal the unemployed are put on lower benefit rates to provide them with the 'necessary' incentive to look for work, even in areas of the country where there is no work to be found.

The apparent irrationality of this situation is perplexing. In almost any other imaginable situation insistence on the pursuit of the demonstrably unlikely would be regarded as unreasonable and punishing those who fail to obtain the unobtainable would be seen as unjust. Yet such standards of reasonableness are suspended with respect to the unemployed, allowing the persistence of a perverse tradition which demands that the unemployed continue to look for work when there is none to be had and the stringent use of regulations to ensure that their failure to do so is penalized. The withdrawal of income support to workers under the age of 19 years is an example of this practice which is particularly relevant to young people in 'care'.

It cannot be said that the State - the basic approach taken to the unemployed appears to have long been above party politics - is out of touch with the 'people' regarding its treatment of the unemployed. Indeed, letters poured into the Sun's offices following its publication of an article in November 1976 asking for 'real' evidence of benefits 'scroungers', causing Deacon to conclude:

> "*There are an astonishing number of people prepared to denounce their friends and inlaws as scroungers, which seem to show that slander - like murder - is a family crime*" *(40.).*

Although the 'scrounger controversy' has been discussed as it were a singular event it was merely a resurgence of a pattern of discrimination against the unemployed which had many earlier manifestations and which has since reappeared. This reflects an historical process of coercion which can be traced back to, at least, the Ordinance of Labourers 1349, which has seamlessly been woven into the centuries and come to determine the social fate of the unemployed. The underpinning to this pattern is often attributed to the moral justification provided by, and the demands of the so-called Protestant Work Ethic.

10.11. The Protestant Work Ethic.

The Protestant Work Ethic refers to a set of values and beliefs which inform opinions on, for example, the unemployed and benefit 'scrounging'. Put forward by Webber (41.) the validity of the concept has long been in question. Nevertheless, it and its secular heir, the Work Ethic, have been repeatedly invoked to explain attitudes to work, unemployment, and the unemployed. Hayes and Nutman consider that:

> "*there is no doubt in the relationship between Protestantism and the importance attributed to work. The Protestant Ethic lives on in a secularized form, insofar as the prevalent cultural norms attribute status and dignity to the worker, who is seen as a fully fledged and contributing member of society, and denies the same things to non-workers*" *(42.).*

The 'cultural norm' of a Protestant Work Ethic has been widely assumed and treated as self-evident. As a result, whilst occasionally studies (43.) may be found which attempt to investigate, empirically, whether or not it actually exists it is more usually the subject of scholarly, abstract debates (44.). For many, it is simply a taken for granted 'fact' and accepted without question, a situation its ritualistic incantation by the media, politicians, trade unionists, industrialists, journalists, and anyone else who has ever heard of it reinforces. Not surprisingly Jenkins and Sherman consider that:

> *"The Work Ethic is so deeply ingrained in British and other industrialized societies that work has acquired a value in itself, even though it is widely regarded as unpleasant" (45.).*

In effect, the Protestant Work Ethic is no longer just an idea discussed by academics, it has become part and parcel of public opinion. Its sheer repetition by those who write and talk about public opinion and who regularly try to explain that opinion in terms of the Work Ethic ensures its dissemination and made it into a self-fulfilling prophesy; it has become the generally accepted way of looking at the unemployed.

However, grave doubts must surround the existence of a cultural norm called the Work Ethic, Protestant or otherwise. It is even more doubtful if there was ever such a norm. Yet, it is its assumed to have deep historical roots and it is from this assumption that it derives much of its continuing power. The claims which the Ethic makes to antiquity are hotly disputed by Kelvin who asserts:

> *"In fact, the Protestant Work Ethic is a classic example of a myth: it is not a wholly false account of the past, but a highly selective and distorted one, whose function is not to describe and explain the past itself, but to inspire the present" (46.).*

The point to be grasped is that the concept of an 'ethic' refers to a value system individuals, groups, and society have internalized, so that actions based upon it may be regarded as acts of choice, they are not forced by external circumstances. Bearing in mind then that the great bulk of society has been supposedly permeated, for centuries, with the Protestant Work Ethic these appear to be the basic facts:

1. The belief that society's Work Ethic is rooted in the rise of a Protestant middle class during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which was inspired by a sense of the religious significance of their work, and of frugality in their personal lives is based on the failure to recognize the most essential command of the Protestant Work Ethic which would not have tolerated, as industrial capitalism demands, that productivity be increased for reasons of profit.

2. The notion that the generality of workers are imbued with a Work Ethic does not stand up to examination. Kelvin and Jarrett (47.) points out that for at least the last five hundred years there has been a steady and consistent stream of evidence testifying to late coming at work, taking long breaks when at work, downing tools at the first opportunity etc. Nothing really changes. For example, in Birmingham in the 1860's:

   > *"An enormous amount of time is lost, not only by want of punctuality in coming into work in the morning and the beginning again after meals, but still more by the general observation of 'St. Monday'... One employer has on Monday only 40 or 50 out of 300 or 400" (48.).*

   The fifteenth century version (1495) reads:

   > *"Divers artificers and labourers waste much part of the day in late coming to work, early departing there from, long sitting at their breakfast, at their dinner and... long sleeping in the afternoon" (49.).*

3. From the mid-eighteenth century workers were, typically, not church going. The growth of towns greatly reduced the social pressure to attend church; a census of attendance taken in 1851, covering all denominations showed that in the large towns fewer than one person in ten regularly did so (50.). Thus, the idea that a substantial part of the working class, at any time, laboured with a sense of religious calling is arrant nonsense: The vast majority have always done so simply to make a living.

4. For the 'masters' of workers the predominant ideal among them was not the Protestant Work Ethic, but that of the gentleman. Jones (51.) points out that with the coming of manufacturing industry entrepreneurs sought to become landed. The fact is that in Britain, especially in England, 'trade' has never quite achieved respectability.

Thus, from an historical perspective the Protestant Work Ethic emerges as little more than an invention of the twentieth century. The ethic which has predominated is that of the Wealth Ethic. Wealth is the basis of economic independence and work is but a means to that end. Provided that individuals have enough money to be independent there is no moral obligation that they work. Within this Ethic the problem of the unemployed is not that they are 'idle', but that they are 'poor'. This difference matters and the myth of the Protestant Work Ethic has obscured it.

In the final analysis, explanations in terms of an ethic rest on the distinction between 'good' and 'bad': explanations based on poverty rest on the distinction between the 'haves' and 'have-nots'. In responding to the needs of the latter a society which pictures itself as moral best maintain this image of itself if its actions are determined by a conditioning ethic, not by its meanness. Society, then, has a vested interest in maintaining the myth of the Protestant Work Ethic which allows the distinction between the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' to be perpetuated.

However, it is an Ethic which ultimately transforms the able bodied unemployed into a deviant sub-group within a society overwhelmingly motivated to work. They can then be discriminated against and treated less favourably than those not able to work. As a result, less eligibility is given a boost, and the unemployed are increasingly pushed into the margins of society while the social definition applied to unemployed young people in 'care' expands to incorporate the features of that applied to the able bodied unemployed.

10.12. Summary.

This Chapter has attempted to outline the cost unemployment imposes on the unemployed in terms of the damage it is capable of doing to; a.) their physical and mental 'well-being', and b.) place in society.

Whilst it was admitted that for some unemployment can lead to improved physical health and 'mental well-being', it has been argued that this is outweighed by the threat it presents to both and that a job loss can be linked to the onset of physical and psychological symptoms. These can be so severe that death may occur.

Nevertheless, the relationship between unemployment and declining physical health is vexed by an inability to pin down why it is that unemployment should be so 'unhealthy'. Less assailed by this problem the evidence tying unemployment to the erosion of 'mental well-being'.

Examination of the social costs of unemployment was limited to how joblessness effects the way those without work are viewed in terms of 'public opinion' and was illustrated with regard to the 'scrounger controversy' of the late 1970's. This was presented as a manifestation of a Protestant Work Ethic which was subjected to a brief critical examination in an attempt to identify some of the reasons why the unemployed have historically been obliged to pay a high social price for their unemployment.

10.13. Conclusions: The Stigma Of Unemployment: The Sick And Unemployed Roles.

The primary matter of interest that emerged out of the foregoing discussion is the social stigma attached to unemployment. The cost it imposes on the physical health and 'mental well-being' of those without work demonstrate this by obliging them to fulfil a sick role, or an unemployed ('scrounger') role, or both; the performance of either making the unemployed ever more socially marginalized individuals.

The long-term unemployed who have been diagnosed as 'sick' are often subjected to pressure from the Department of Social Security (DSS) to claim disability benefit instead of income support. If claimants consent to this switch they swap the status of an 'unemployed', for that of a 'sick person'. In so doing, they exchange the unemployed role for the sick role which Parsons (52.) describes as being characterized by:

1. The sick person being exempted from certain social obligations and commitments.

2. The inability of the sick person to wilfully recover from his, or her condition or be held responsible for it.

3. The sick person's regard of the sick role as undesirable and a willingness to get well and, thereby, assuming responsibility for seeking and accepting treatment.

4. The status of a person as sick being dependent on him/her becoming a patient in need of competent technical help.

It should be clear from the above that the sick role casts its players as totally dependent individuals. They hardly seem to exist in their own right, but as passive burdens carried by a 'caring' society.

However, the unemployed role is more invidious than that of the sick, it revolves around a number of preconceptions and assumptions which make clear the 'undeserving' nature of it and those who find themselves in it. Thus:

1. The unemployed person is not exempt from social obligations and commitments, and is expected to fulfil them irrespective of financial or emotional considerations.

2. The unemployed person can get a job and is usually held responsible for not having one.

3. The unemployed person must regard unemployment as undesirable and temporary, and is obliged to find employment regardless of suitability and wages.

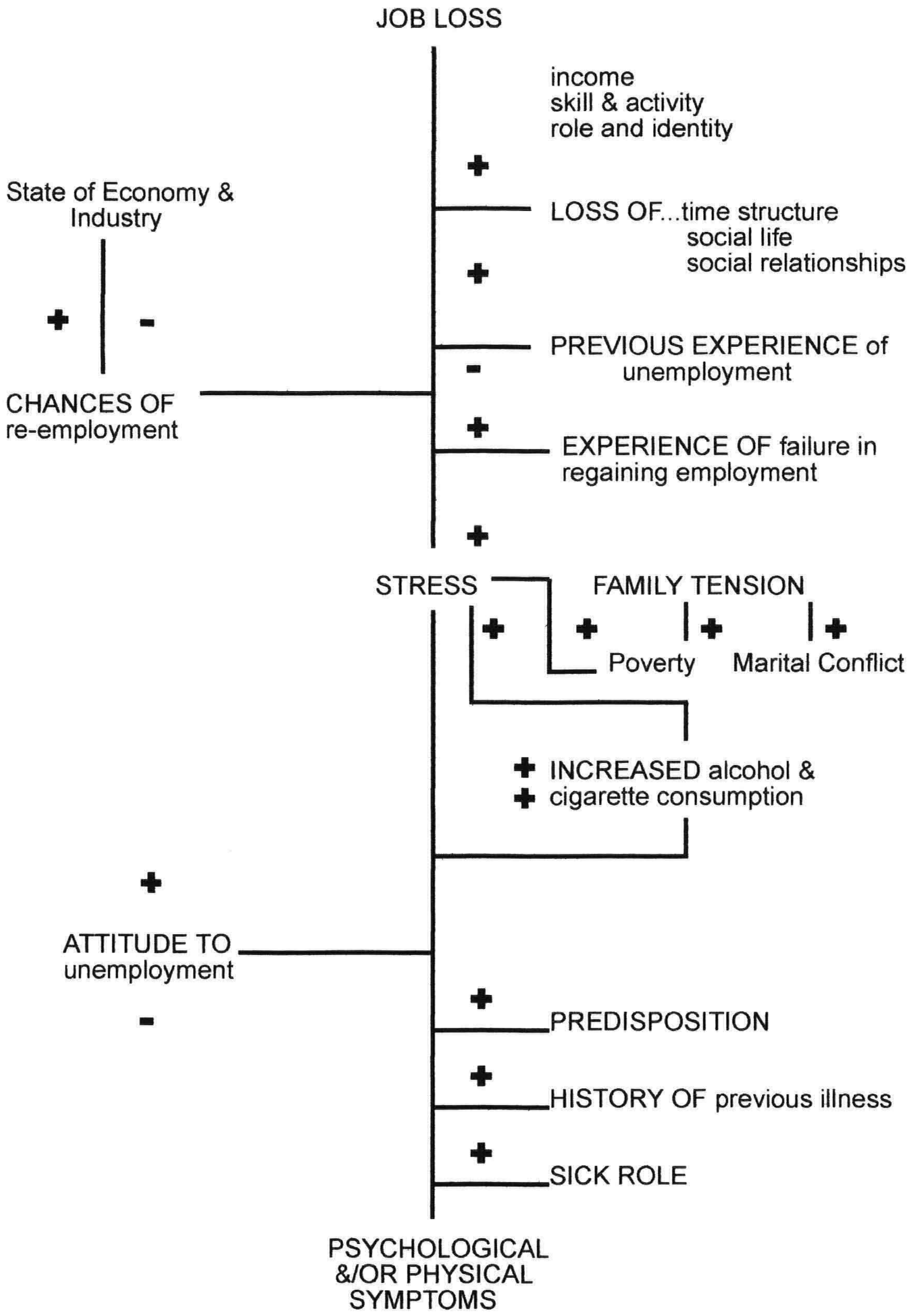
4. An unemployed person who fails to find a job in a 'reasonable' period is 'suspect'.

5. A permanently unemployed status can only be granted if there is adequate evidence of unemployability, such as chronic illness or total demoralization leading to mental 'illness'.

Although Britain has had unacceptably high levels of unemployment for years, there is no sign that the stigma attached to being unemployed is decreasing. The perniciousness of this situation arises out of the credence, as members of society, the unemployed are liable to give to the stigmatizing social definition of them. As a result, they feel the shame of unemployment with added intensity, contributing to the stress it creates and underlining the classless state of those without work.

As far as young people in local authority residential 'care' are concerned the stigma attached to unemployment can place them amid yet another vicious circle. If the social definition of them limits their job opportunities they become unusually vulnerable to unemployment which will oblige them to take on social roles which add to a debasing social definition of them, which limits further their job opportunities, and so on.

Possible Pathways From Unemployment To Ill-Health



\+ contributes to increase
\- contributes to decrease
Source: I. Fagin (53.)

PART 2.

RESEARCH STRATEGY AND METHODOLOGY.

Chapter 11.

Introduction.

11.1. Research Strategy And Methodology.

This introduction commences with a brief outline of the differing uses the two often confused terms research 'strategy' and research 'methodology' will be put to in all that follows.

The characteristic feature of research strategies is their overarching natures. They are primarily concerned with the marshalling and disposition of the investigator's efforts in an attempt to ensure that research goals are attained. In essence, research strategy is about research design.

Research methodologies are to be found on another, more specific plane. Unlike strategies, these are not goal orientated but are the testing proceedures to be applied in a clear and systematic way when measuring the limits of a theory's 'validity'.

Nevertheless, while the terms research 'strategy' and 'methodology' may differ they also intermingle. The latter is contingent on the former which, in turn, largely consists of patterning the string of methodological techniques incorporated into a research design.

However, while the difference between 'strategy' and 'methodology' can be quickly summarized the development of an adequate and appropriate research design and its associated testing proceedures can be a long and tortuous process. This is attributable to a critical general problem which asks: How can 'valid' meanings be drawn from data gathered in the course of the research study? In other words, what methods of analysis can be used which are practical, communicable and non-self-deluding - in short, scientific in the best sense of the word? It is a problem this introduction will outline before providing a brief outline of the structure and purpose of this part of the thesis.

= Literature review

= <u>Methodology</u>

= Findings

11.2. The General Problem.

Whilst it has previously been stated that this study is in large part a qualitative undertaking, the demands of generating data of this type are great. These are listed by Miles and Huberman (1.) who note that:

1. Collecting qualitative data is labour intensive lasting many months, if not years. Field notes pile up to threaten the researcher with data overload.

2. Qualitative research is, typically, no longer the province of the lone researcher immersed in a local setting. It is often part of a multisite, multimethod effort (2.), combining qualitative and quantitative investigations which must be carried out by a team of workers whose methods of data collection and analysis must be executed in a formalized, comparable way.

3. The immense bulk of data produced by qualitative studies makes it unlikely that a sample of more than a few dozen cases can be managed. So there is a serious question of sampling involved. Are the cases examined a reasonable sample of a larger universe? That is, how far is it possible to generalise from qualitatively derived findings?

Yet, the most fundamental questions about qualitative research lies beyond these serious matters. It is described by Miles who writes:

> *"The most serious and central difficulty in the use of qualitative data is that methods of analysis are not well formulated. For quantitative data there are clear conventions the researcher can use. But the analyst faced with a bank of qualitative data has very few guidelines for protection against self-delusion, let alone the presentation of unreliable or invalid conclusions to scientific or policy making audiences. How can we be sure that an 'earthy' 'undeniable', 'serendipitous' finding is not in fact wrong?" (3.).*

Put another way, it seems there are few agreed cannons for qualitative data analysis capable of providing agreed upon 'ground rules' for drawing and verifying conclusions arrived at by this method of inquiry. This is of concern to this study for even where 'evidence' is presented in terms of numbers these are largely derived from words in the form of replies respondents gave to questions, the views they express, the comments they make etc.

Furthermore, as already discussed, some investigators (4.) have hesitated to focus on issues of analysis on the grounds that the unequivocal determination of the 'validity' of findings is impossible. For some phenomenlogically orientated researchers there is no social 'reality' 'out there' to be accounted for and, therefore, no need to evolve methodological rules (5.). In this view, social processes are ephemeral, fluid phenomena with no existence independent of the social actor's way of describing and defining them.

As a result, Miles and Huberman conclude that:

> *"the field of qualitative research badly needs explicit, systematic methods for drawing conclusions, and for testing them carefully - methods that can be used for replication by other researchers, just as correlation and significance tests can be by quantitative researchers" (6.).*

Therefore, this part of the thesis is not simply about how the task of data collection was persued, it is more importantly concerned with how the research design attempted to counter the problems referred to. It is about the tactics used to attain the necessary degree of methodological rigour capable of maximizing the 'validity' of the study's findings.

However, before outlining these tactics the framework of, what I call, 'necessary' principles in which the research took place must be elucidated. These played a vital part in the conduct of the study, being the means of maintaining its integrity by minimizing the risk of a loose inductive verificationist shift in its conduct. Once done, this introduction will then be brought to a close with an outline of the structure of this part of the thesis.

11.3. Some Necessary Principles: No Theory Can Be Proved True: The Need For A Falsificationist Approach.

It has been made clear that there are no such things as unblemished absolute 'truths'; all 'truths' are relative. Thus, no theory can ever be proved 'true' or 'false'. Failure to falsify a theory does not indicate that it is 'true', some other more powerful explanation may yet be deduced.

However, the inability of researchers to prove their own theories, and those of others, does not mean that there is no purpose in testing them. Ford observes:

> *"Just as certain folk-beliefs are 'well tried and tested' so are many scientific theories and the specific predictions they engender. These scientific FAIRY TALES, like the folk beliefs, can engender quite reasonable bases for guessing what is going to 'happen' in the real world" (7.).*

The point is, the more tests a theory has withstood the better basis it affords for making predictions about events in the 'real' world. Accordingly, the business of research is about searching for, and testing the limited 'truths' we impose on our world and exists as an adjunct to that which we call 'common sense'.

Indeed, theories we call 'true' are deemed to be so because they offer a seductive combination of utility and resonance with 'common-sense', making them useful and plausible. They are useful because, from them can be derived predictions about patterns and relationships which ought to obtain in the 'real' world and plausible because they have not yet been shown to conflict with any observations made of 'reality' (8.).

However, unless research design and testing procedures are united in a way which reflects a care for the 'truth', investigations will drift into verificationism, becoming exercises in self-deception. To counter this tendency a Popperian Falsificationist approach (9.) was adopted towards the conduct of this study. As a result, the study and its findings were opened up to external inspection. This demanded that the following core principles be woven into its structure. These are described by Ford who sees them as placing certain obligations on researchers:

> *"THE PRINCIPLE OF REPLICABILITY: Choose indicators which are, as far as possible, replicable by other researchers" (10.).*
>
> *"THE PRINCIPLE OF TRIANGULATION: Wherever possible choose multiple indicators for each variable" (11.).*
>
> *"THE PRINCIPLE OF DATA RELIABILITY: It must be reasonable to assume that each repetition of the application of the same, or supposedly equivalent, instruments to the same units will yield similar measurements" (12.).*
>
> *"THE PRINCIPLE OF DATA VALIDITY: Data are VALID when and only when, they have been stipulated in advance of measurement" (13.).*

The principle of data reliability is one of the imperatives implied by the principle of replication. If researchers are to put their hypotheses to genuine test then they ought to be able to assure themselves and others that the 'evidence' gathered is more than the product of their idiosyncrasies. Researchers must, therefore, record as much as possible about the details of their measuring operations so that other researchers may repeat them. If that repetition yields different results then the data must be assumed to be unreliable.

Triangulation provides a further method of falsifying findings by supplying a means of comparing different indicators of the same variable to open up the possibility of discovering that they do not correlate with one another. This would suggest that one or more of them are not epistemic correlates of the variable in question (14.).

The problem of validity resolves itself into a query about the adequacy of data stipulation. This is unavoidable as data is always chosen by fiat, according to the parameters of the theory under test and, ultimately, in accord with the whole paradigm from which it is derived. Which sorts of instruments will provide 'valid' data is, then a question which must be faced in advance of measurement. Unlike 'reliability', 'validity' can never be checked against anything other than the sequence of decisions upon which it hangs.

Other important, but more peripheral principles adhered to in the course of the research study will be outlined as they arise in what follows.

11.4. Structure Of Part 2.

Chapters 12 will addresss issues of research design and methodology, focusing its attention on the formalization of the study's implicit theory as an analytical theory, or model. Chapter 13 will then outline the hypotheses embedded in this theory before this Part of the thesis is concluded with Chapter 14's discussion of their operationalization.

Chapter 12.

From An Implicit To An Analytical Theory.

12.1. Introduction: The Problem With An Implicit Theory.

A simple theory has been offered which attempts to explain why young people in local authority residential 'care' appear to find it more difficult than their 'non-care' counterparts to find work. It is a theory which says that to be in 'care' places those who are at a comparative disadvantage on the labour market. In other words, the way in which young people in 'care' are socially defined limits the employment opportunities and life chances available to them. In setting out the research context the various facets of this definition and implications of each were described.

Unfortunately, the theory provided is beset with problems. It is purely implicit. It crudely groups together a set of generalizations in a vague, often ambiguous manner to provide no more than what Hemple calls an;

> "*explanatory sketch*" (1).

As a result, it is difficult to tell whether implicit theories provide logically valid meanings or are misleading. The ever present danger with such theories is that hidden assumptions may lurk within them causing 'false' conclusions to be reached.

Ultimately, belief in the study's implicit theory, as in all such theories, is an act of faith. As a result, the immediate task consists of reworking and replacing this theory with another form of theory capable of being tested and open to falsification. This is the task of theory formalization and it is to this that attention is now turned.

12.2. Formalizing Theory.

As Ford (2.) points out it is possible to formalize the study's implicit theory in one of two ways.

For logico-deductivists, to explain a phenomenon or event is to render it an explanandum and successfully deduce it from the explanans. This is the method of deductive nomological explanation which demands that a successfully deduced theory is a valid one involving no 'logical mistakes'. From this perspective, proper explanation and real theory are the same thing. As a result, explanatory theories are the most satisfactory of all theories for, as their name suggests, they actually explain (note the absence of interrogative apostrophes); their hypotheses are unequivocally causal.

Second, the implicit theory can be translated into an analytical theory. However, analytical, unlike explanatory theories do not explain. They are models of 'reality' constructed from the assumptions concealed within implicit theories. As a result, the hypotheses contained within analytical theories are not causal making it impossible to comprehensively test them as they are immune to falsification. Even if every hypotheses of an 'analytical' model was falsified;

> *"in the course of testing rituals, it would still be possible for you to defend the plausibility of your basic theoretical approach. And, more importantly, it means that failure to falsify your hypothesis says little about the validity of the model itself" (4.).*

Nevertheless, analytical theories possess a crucially important advantage over their explanatory counter-parts, having a far greater practicality. It is an advantage flowing from the limitations adherence to deductive nomological explanation place on the application of explanatory theories. The demand that they be capable of generating categorically causal hypotheses moves them to the edge of unattainability, making them scientific rarities.

Thus, it is for reasons of sheer practicality that the study's implicit theory was formalized as an analytical theory which may more properly be thought of as an analytical model. Although such a model is a less precise structure of ideas than an explanatory theories it does not demand the impossible - that the study's implicit theory be formalized as;

> *"a logical pattern of intrinsically connected judgements about causal relationships between variables, where at least some of those variables are specifiable as actual or potential appearances" (5.).*

However, the attraction of analytical theories does not just rest on their practicality. Their ability to reveal those buried assumptions which previously formed a discreet explanatory framework woven into implicit theories is valuable. When formalized analytically, implicit theories are opened up to inspection and the adequacy of the explanations they offer made amenable to testing.

12.3. The Implicit Theory As An Analytical Theory.

If the models of 'reality' analytical theories provide are to be capable of exposing implicit theories to scrutiny, certain structural criteria must be met. Models must consist of an independent variable - a cause - which is connected through a series of intervening variables - causal links - to one or more dependent variables - effects. In addition, as models are similes or metaphors of reality they must;

1. display a one-to-one relationship between the interesting features of the phenomenon to be explained; and,

2. mirror the interesting relationships in that which is modeled (6.).

The analytical theory used in the research study is described by Figure 12.1. It is a visual formulation of the implicit theory's solution to the question addressed by the research, a device which attempts:

> *"to provide a conceptual framework within which the multi-dimensional qualities of the problem (of unemployment among school leavers in the care of the participating Boroughs) can be*

understood in relation to the social system" (my brackets) (7.).

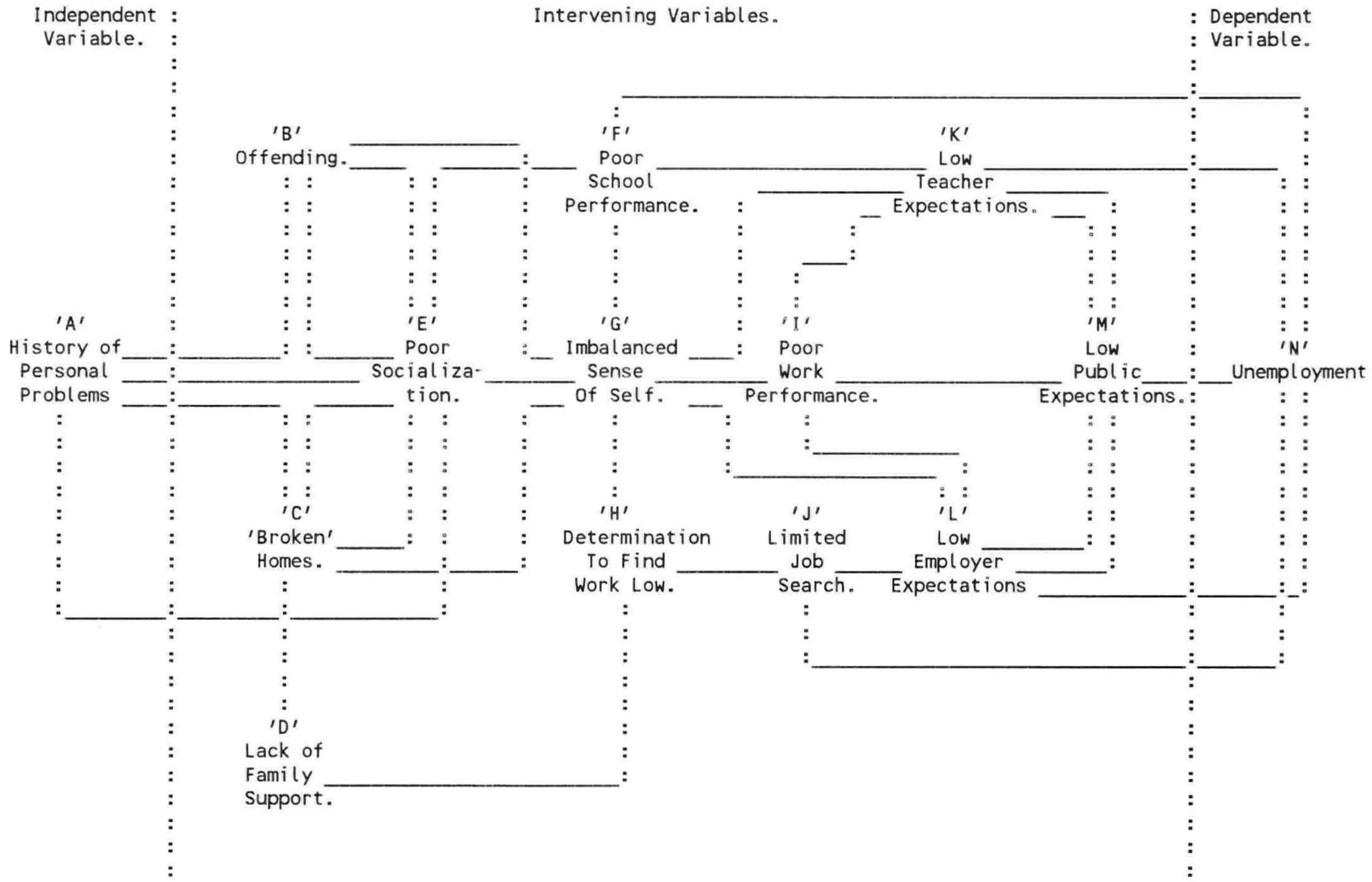
The analytical theory will be discussed at greater length when its hypotheses are listed and their operationalization analyzed. However, at this point it ought to be noted that its emphasis on personal factors reflects an ideological belief enshrined in the child 'care' law (8.) and in numerous social work tomes, particularly those which champion the, so called psycho-dynamic approach (9.), which considers personal 'inadequacy', 'emotional maladjustment', 'depravity', etc. to be the primary causes of 'care'.

12.4. A Word Of Warning: The Form Of The Analytical Model To Be Used.

Figure 12.1. makes it clear that the study's analytical theory is only concerned with examining experimentally convenient narrow sections of 'reality' the boundaries of which are described by its constituent variables. As a result, it seems to be insulated from its environment to leave its explanatory prowess unsoiled by events surrounding it.

This appearance is, however, false. As a depiction of the 'real' world the boundaries of the study's analytical theory are inevitably porous. They are inextricably part of an overarching 'reality' in which everything can be seen to be, in some way, the 'cause' and 'effect' of everything else. Thus the labelling of the theory's variables as independent, or intervening, or dependent is fanciful. As a result, while it may be of use in exposing theoretical assumptions it can tolerate little extrapolation.

Figure 12.1. The Implicit Theory as an Analytical Theory.



Chapter 13.

The Hypotheses.

13.1. Listing the Hypotheses.

Every pictorial link in Figure 12.1. can be regarded a representing a hypothesized relationship. An exhaustive list of the the hypotheses, some of which are more obvious than others, comprises the propositions listed below.

1. Hypothesis A to B: Young people in 'care' have significantly more 'serious' histories of personal problems than their local 'non-care' contemporaries. As a result, they are more likely to offend.

2. Hypothesis A to C: The 'problematic' personal histories of young people in 'care' means they find it difficult to form 'successful' family relationships.

3. Hypothesis B to E: The high rate of offending by young people in residential 'care' results in them being less well socialized than other school leavers. On the other hand;

4. Hypothesis E to B: the poor socialization of young people in 'care' causes them to develop an unusually high propensity to offend.

5. Hypothesis C to E: Young people in local authority residential 'care' tend to come from families characterized by poor relationships between their members, undermining the socialization of these young people.

6. Hypothesis E to A: The deficient socialization of young people in 'care' feeds-back, adding to the weight of their original set of personal problems.

7. Hypothesis E to C: The inadequate socialization of young people in 'care' increases the problems their families have in functioning 'effectively' and

maintaining unity between their members.

8. Hypothesis E to G: As 'improperly' socialized individuals young people in 'care' are unable to respond, in a culturally approved fashion to demands placed on them. Therefore, they develop an imbalanced, gloomy sense of self and come only to know, and expect failure.

The popular theoretical perspective of 'meritocracy' adds to the severity of this problem. Its depiction of an hierarchical system which enables individuals to rise to positions commensurate with their abilities provides an ethical apologia for the multiple disadvantages young people in 'care' confront on the labour market by attributing these to their personal failings. In so doing the low self-esteems and poor self-expectations of these young people are cemented and the social definition imposed on them is reinforced (1.).

9. Hypothesis G to B: The self-depreciating estimates young people in local authority residential 'care' make of themselves is contributed to by their histories of offending which;

10. Hypothesis B to G: confirm the lowly expectations they have of themselves. These are driven down further by;

11. Hypothesis G to C: their failed family relationships.

12. Hypothesis E to F: The 'inadequate' socialization of young people in 'care' causes them to do less well at school than their 'non-care' peers, confirming;

13. Hypothesis F to G: their pessimistic self-expectations, which;

14. Hypothesis G to F: reacts back upon their school performance, making it still worse than that of young people not in 'care'.

15. Hypothesis G to H: The limited expectations young people in 'care' have of

themselves means they have less incentive to find work than do other school leavers, reducing their determination to do so. Moreover;

16. Hypothesis C to D: as these young people tend to have difficulty in forming satisfactory family relationships they lack support from their families which;

17. Hypothesis D to H: also reduces their determination to find work (2.).

18. Hypothesis H to J: The relatively low determination of young people in 'care' to find work is reflected in their job search being more limited than that carried out by other school leavers.

19. Hypothesis J to L: The limited job search of young people in 'care' encourages employers to regard them as 'work-shy', deterring;

20. Hypothesis L to J: them from implementing a more expansive job search.

21. Hypothesis G to L: The disparaging views young people in 'care' have of themselves contributes to the low expectations employers have of them, reinforcing;

22. Hypothesis L to G: their pejorative self-assessments which;

23. Hypothesis G to I: undermines their work performance as they expect to 'fail'. This rebounds to;

24. Hypothesis I to G: reduce, still further, the self-expectations of young people in 'care'.

25. Hypothesis I to N: The 'poor' work performance of young people in 'care' causes them to suffer a disproportionately high unemployment rate, as does their;

26. Hypothesis J to N: relatively limited job search, and;

27. Hypothesis F to N: their poor school performance. This establishes;

28. Hypothesis K to N: a direct link between teachers and;

29. Hypothesis L to N: employers' expectations of these young people and their high rate of unemployment.

30. Hypothesis M to K: As members of the public, teachers expectations of young people in 'care' reflect popular expectations of these young people, as do;

31. Hypothesis M to L: the expectations of employers.

32. Hypothesis K to M: In addition, as members of the public, teachers and;

33. Hypothesis L to M: employers contribute to popular expectations of these young people.

34. Hypothesis M to N: The influence public expectations of young people in 'care' exercises over, and the degree to which they reflect the expectations of teachers and employers indicates that low public expectations may restrict the employment opportunities available to these young people.

13.2. Abridging the List of Hypotheses.

Having assembled a comprehensive list of the hypotheses embedded in Figure 12.1. several can now be deleted. These were not subject to testing in the course of the research study for a number of reasons.

Hypothesis No. 6 is disregarded for while the relatively 'poor' socialization of young people in local authority residential 'care' may add to the 'unusual' severity of their personal problems this relationship is not readily observable. There is no

clear cut relationship between 'adequacy' of socialization and personal problems, merely a possible association indirectly inferred through indicators offering equivocal testimony as to its existence. For example, the supposed 'inadequacy' of these young people's socialization may mean they encounter greater difficulties than others of their age in finding work making them more susceptible to the array of problems provoked by unemployment. As the study was not designed to test such indicators hypothesis No. 6 was redundant.

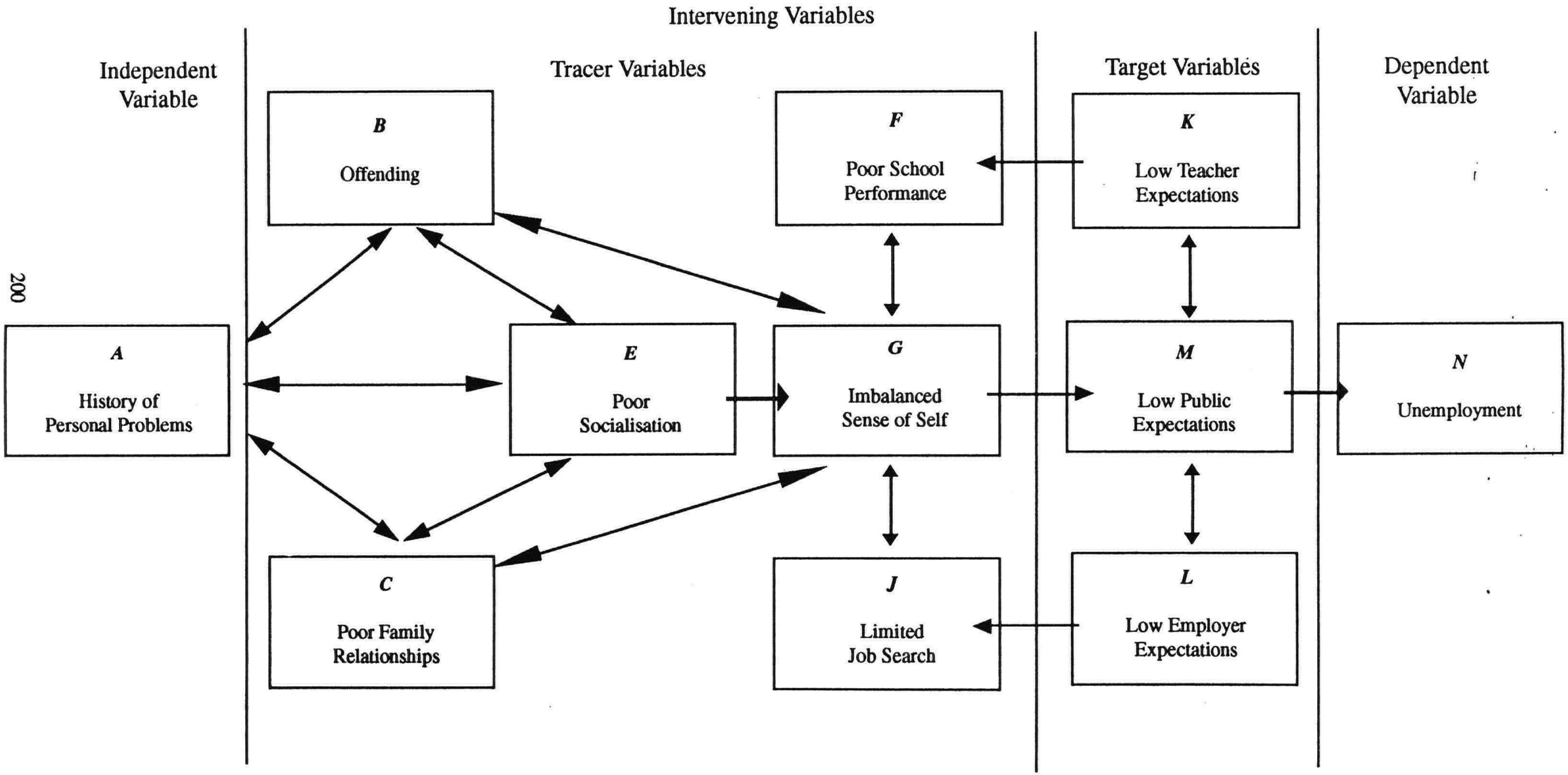
Neither was hypothesis No. 16 tested on the grounds that it was unnecessary to do so as young people do not normally come into local authority residential 'care' unless their families have been deemed unable to, or incapable of looking after them 'satisfactorily'.

Hypotheses No's. 15, 17, 18, 19 and 20 are also omitted from testing for reasons of experimental convenience. All are related to the determination of young people in 'care' to find work. It was felt, this could be treated as being reflected by the effort they put into their job search. In addition, hypothesis No. 19 makes assumptions about how employers regard these young people which are more appropriately addressed by other hypotheses.

Furthermore, hypothesis No. 23 is also deleted from the list of hypotheses to be tested as it is difficult to devise an indicator which allows the supposed link between low self-esteem and poor self-expectations, on the one hand, and 'poor' work performance, on the other hand, to be assessed. It is a relationship Casson (3.), Burgess (4.) and Sawdon, Pelican and Tucker (5.) all refer to and unanimously conclude that issues of 'self' are not the primary determinants of work performance and point to type of employment and job satisfaction as being more important in this regard. As their conclusions are accepted hypotheses No's. 24 and 25 are disposed of.

The abridgement of the list of hypotheses permits the construction of the more compact version of the analytical model presented in Figure 13.1 with the final, abridged, list of hypotheses consisting of the following propositions:

1. A to B.
2. A to C.
3. B to E.
4. E to B.
5. C to E.
6. E to C.
7. E to G.
8. G to B.
9. B to G.
10. G to C.
11. E to F.
12. F to G.
13. G to F.
14. G to L.
15. L to G.
16. J to N.
17. F to N.
18. K to N.
19. L to N.
20. M to K.
21. M to L.
22. K to M.
23. L to M.
24. M to N.


Intervening Variables
Independent Variable
Tracer Variables
Target Variables
Dependent Variable
B
Offending
F
Poor School Performance
K
Low Teacher Expectations
A
History of Personal Problems
E
Poor Socialisation
G
Imbalanced Sense of Self
M
Low Public Expectations
N
Unemployment
C
Poor Family Relationships
J
Limited Job Search
L
Low Employer Expectations

13.3 Clarifying the model: prioritising hypotheses for test

The redrawn diagram on page 200 shows the points of conflict between the perspective of this thesis and the "accumulated disadvantage model" that is held by the key definers of the young people. The argument of this thesis is that it is this model, and the stereotypes which flow from it, which have the most impact on the dependent variable: the employment chances. In order to test these alternatives conclusively it would be necessary to do a longitudinal follow-up study in which the job searches and their outcomes are related not only to the young people themselves but to the actual individuals (teachers, potential employers and members of the public) who have interacted with them, and coparticipated in their developing definition they hold of themselves. However such a study could not be ethical as guarantees of anonymity could not be given and unanticipated effects on their actual lifechances could not be controlled.

A much more satisfactory approach is to treat the young people as **tracers** and to look at the perceptions held of this group by the relevant defining **target** groups in their own local areas.

Clearly the numbers involved will necessarily be too small to permit a full multi-variate analysis of the model on page 193. Such an analysis would not anyway be very useful as the "accumulated disadvantage model" is to be treated as an ideal type of the perceptions held by the public and the key defining groups; and therefore the precise sequencing of the hypotheses with regard to variables A through to G is of little consequence. It is more useful to look at each of these variables individually and see how the stereotype fares when compared with the operationalisation on the tracer groups.

Crude comparisons between 'care' and 'non-care' groups have not been made. Instead in each case the stereotypical conceptions have been examined by 'care' status (variable D) while simultaneously controlling the three major confounding variables ethnicity, gender and borough of residence.

Any factors which affect these groups of young people differentially must be controlled. If this is not done they threaten to confound the comparison between two groups of young people who should be, essentially, the same except for their 'care' status. If this claim cannot be sustained it becomes impossible to discern whether or not the employment prospects of young people in Hinckley's and Ingleby's 'care' were affected by their being in 'care'. If this cannot be done the principle goal of the research study is negated.

When considering what extraneous variables must be controlled the discussions in earlier chapters point to the differential impact of labour market racism as something which must be brought under control in the course of measurement. This is imperative, particularly, if Morton's stereotype of young people coming to the end of their time in 'care' as being increasingly drawn from the ethnic minorities is accepted. She writes:

> *"they are often late entrants - coming in their late teens, usually family relationships have become impossible. They are often black and so likely to have extra difficulties in getting jobs and housing ... some girls become pregnant or already have children" (6).*

Racism inflicts itself on its victims regardless of their 'care' status; its implications for 'care' and 'non-care' populations are not the same. With young people from the ethnic minorities being over-represented in the 'care' population its impact on that population is greater than it is on the 'non-care' population of which they form a smaller part. Thus, racism's appearance as an extraneous variable, which tends to restrict the job opportunities of those in 'care' rather more than those who are not, confirms the need for its control.

To control the confounding effects of this variable the 'care' samples were matched with local 'non-care' samples having the same racial make-up. As a result, the confounding effects of racism should have been neutralised.

A second extraneous variable in need of control concerns the gender of respondents. The need to consider this is indicated by Sawdon, Pelican and Tucker (7) whose investigation of youth unemployment found that the job search experience of males and females differed. This extraneous variable was also controlled in the course of the research study by selection with each 'care' sample having the same gender composition as the corresponding 'non-care' samples.

One further variable which could confound the research findings but which could not be controlled in the tabular analysis concerns the gross distortion of the youth labour markets by the proliferation of 'job creation' schemes at the time when the study was conducted. These absorbed many school leavers who would otherwise have been unemployed and gave a totally false impression of the seriousness of youth unemployment in each of the Boroughs.

Consequently, the analysis of the comparative labour market experience of those in, and not in 'care' demands that the impact of 'job creation' schemes be treated as an extraneous factor in need of control as they provide forms of 'employment' independent of the labour market which do not conform to the usual demand that job applicants compete against one another for vacancies. Therefore members of any sample type working on a 'job creation' scheme were not regarded as employed owing to the study's interest in the comparative positions of young people in, and not in 'care' on the labour market.

Chapter 14.

Operationalization.

14.1. Introduction.

Throughout this thesis theory testing refers to the systematic application of procedures to see if theoretically prohibited events occur in the 'real' world. But, how can it be known whether they do happen? How would their occurrence be recognized? How can hypothesized variables be represented by observable equivalents in the 'real' world? The existence of theories in the realm of imagination and the world they comment upon in that of 'reality' means these questions cannot be avoided and their solution lies in the construction of a methodological bridge spanning the gap between the two domains. Operationalization is the process by which such a bridge is constructed and entails representing the hypothetical in terms of 'real' world observations; it concerns the translation of the hypothesized into statements of what ought to be seen in 'reality'.

The purpose of this Chapter is to describe how the task of operationalization was approached in the course of the research study and will involve discussion of the reduction of complex variables, the assembly of an inventory of indicators to be measured, issues of sampling and instrument design. Thereafter, attention will be turned to the matter of data validity.

14.2. The Reduction Of Complex Variables: Socialization And Self.

Prior to testing attention must be paid to the multiplicity of ideas which may be encapsulated within a single variable. Some of those contained in Figure 13.1. are more complex than others, containing several levels of abstraction of thought. These can be considered as being more like concepts than simple variables and need to be reduced to their component parts before indicators (the 'real' world equivalents of hypothesized variables) can be attached to them and measurement commenced.

Within the analytical model, intervening variables 'E' and 'G' which refer, respectively, to the concepts of socialization and 'self' are treated in this way.

14.2(a.). Socialization.

The complexity of the concept of socialization is reflected in its rather garrulous definition by Gouldner. He writes:

> *"The embodied and socialized individual is the most empirically obvious human system and the most complex and highly integrated of all human systems... in his embodiment, the biological, psychological, social and cultural all cojoin. They are bound together in him far more tightly than are the elements of any other system... Embodied socialized man... is the nexus and the bond of all human levels and systems, the modulity in which, and through which, all their energies are concentrated and discharged" (1.).*

McNiell puts things more simply. For him socialization is;

> *"about how the individual learns to behave in a socially acceptable way" (2.).*

Having defined socialization McNiell goes on to break it down into three components:

1. As a process of learning values; i.e. what is considered good or bad or desirable or undesirable.

2. As a process of learning norms; i.e. those social conventions and rules which govern behaviour.

3. As a process of learning a role; i.e. what the appropriate behaviour is in a given situation.

This formulation seems to provide a useful framework for the purpose of operationalization.

14.2(b.). Self.

The concept of 'self' is closely related to that of socialization as the development of each hinges on the interactions an individual has with his, or her social environment. However, whereas socialization is about a learning process, the self is a cognitive construct identified with the individual. The self is the individual's subjective perception of him/herself. Thus, Rycroft defines the self as;

> *"the subject as he experiences himself" (3.).*

The different aspects of the self are regarded by Gouldner as affected by different forms of social interaction and as confronted with the dual task of locating and enhancing its goodness and potency. He writes:

> *"The self may... experience self-esteem when it conforms with the expectations of others and with group values; it thus wins approval and experiences itself as good. But self-esteem is not the same as self-regard which arises from a sense of self-potency... when the self manifests a capacity to express autonomy from others and their demands" (4.).*

Therefore, the concept of self may be reduced to variables relating to, a.) individuals' perceptions of their own ability to meet the demands placed upon them; b.) worth as a person, and; c.) capacity to exert control over their lives.

14.3. Towards An Inventory Of Indicators To Be Measured.

What observations can be considered as indicators - the 'real' world equivalents - of the experimental variable? This selection is not easy, for while they need to represent the variables for which they stand, there is no logical relationship between the two. Empirical appearances do not denote unobservable abstract notions, they are merely deemed to do so (5.).

It is the 'unknowability' of that which is measured through the medium of indicators which makes their selection so difficult. Because, the relationship between the components of a theory and indicators selected as their empirical signifiers are necessarily imputed the value of measurements made is always the potential subject of contention. Its a problem that appears to have no solution.

Nevertherless, the uncertainties of measurement can be minimized and the ’validity’ of findings enhanced if the opportunity for falsifying them is maximized. Therefore, this research study adhered to the previously discussed principles of replicability and triangulation. This led to the construction of the following inventory of indicators:

Concept	**Experimental Variable**	**Indicators**
A.	Personal History.	A1. Parental Occupation. A2. Households Structure. A3. Changes Of Address. A4. Mental & Physical Health Of Respondents & Members Of Their Immediate Family. A5. History Of Social Work. Involvement.
B.	Offending.	B1. Number Of Arrests. B2. Number Of Convictions B3. Time Elapsed Since Last Arrest Or Conviction.
C.	Family Relationships.	C1. Parents Living Together Or Apart. C2. Level Of Contact With Parents. C3. Relationship Between Parents As Assessed By Respondents. C4. Respondents' Relationships With Parents. C5. Respondents' Sibling Relationships. C6. Respondents' Relationships With Grandparents.
E.	Socialization.	E1. Respondents' Relationships With Parents. E2. Respondents' Relationships With Teachers. E3. Respondents' Histories Of Offending.
F.	School Performance.	F1. Examinations Passed. F2. Attendance Record. F3. Attitudes Towards School.
G.	Self.	G1. Respondents' Pereception Of Their Abilities. G2. Respondents' Self-Value.

		G3. Respondents' Self-Image.
J.	Job Search.	J1. Primary Sources Of Information On Job Vacancies.
		J2. Number Of Jobs Applied For.
		J3. Geographical Extent Of Job Search.
K.	Teachers' Expectations.	K1. Culpability Of Children Under 13 Years For Their Being In 'Care'.
		K2. Culpability Of Young People For Their Being In 'Care'.
		K3. 'Care' Setting In Which Young People Are Most Often Placed.
		K4. Residential 'Care's' Place In The Child 'Care' System.
		K5. Perception Of Residentail 'Care' As Having A Penal Function.
		K6. Comparative School Attendance Of Young People In & Not In 'Care'.
		K7. Comparative Number Of Disciplinary Problems Caused by Young People In & Not In 'Care'.
		K8. Number of Academic Qualifications Gained Young People In & Not In 'Care'.
		K9. Relationships Of Young People In, & Not In 'Care' With Teachers.
		K10. Relationships Of Young People In & Not In 'Care' With Schoolmates.
L.	Employers' Expectations.	L1. Comparative Attitude & Willingness To Work Of Young People In & Not In 'Care'.
		L2. Comparative Ability Of Young People In 'Care' & Not In 'Care' To Meet Demands Of Employers That Workers Be Able To Read, Write & Be Numerate.
		L3. Comparative Ability Of Young People In & Not In 'Care' To Meet The Physical Demands Of Work.
		L4. Comparative Verbal Skills Of Young People In & Not In 'Care'.
		L5. Comparative Maturity & Emotional Stability Of

		Young People In & Not In 'Care'.
		L6. Comparative Relationships Of Young People In & Not 'Care' With Supervisors.
		L7. Comparative Relationships Of Young People In & Not In 'Care' With Workmates.
		L8. Comparative Employment Risk Presented By Young People In & Not In 'Care'.
M.	Public Expectations.	M1. Awareness Of The Existence Of Residential 'Care'.
		M2. Main Reasons Perceived For Children Under 13 Years Old Being In 'Care'.
		M3. Main Reasons Perceived For Teenagers Being In 'Care'.
		M4. 'Care' Setting In Which Children Under 13 Years Old Are Most Often Placed.
		M5. 'Care' Setting In Which Teenagers Are Most Often Placed.
		M6. Comparative School Performance Of Teenagers In & Not In 'Care'.
		M7. Comparative Employment Risk Presented By Teenagers In & Not In 'Care'.
		M8. Knowledge Of Teenagers In 'Care'.
N.	Unemployment.	N1. Respondents Unemployed At The Time Of The First Interview.
		N2. Respondents Unemployed At The Time Of The Second Interview.
		N3. Respondents Unemployed At The Time Of The Third Interview.

14.4. Sampling.

Before the indicators listed in the inventory can be measured, sampling must take place. This process involves the representation of the universes to be measured on a small scale. Samples may be thought of as substitutes for the theoretically defined universes which tell where indicators are to be measured and, thereby, the relationships between variables tested.

Although a complex exercise, the necessity for the research study to make use of sampling procedures is indicated by Miles and Huberman who write:

> *"It soon becomes clear that choices must be made. Unless you are willing to devote most of your professional life to a single study you have to settle for less" (6.).*

It is necessary to be explicit about that to be studied (the impact the social definition of young people in 'care' has on their employment chances) and why sampling decisions taken were considered to provide the best way of examining it (see below). In this way, it was hoped to avoid the pitfalls of indiscriminately collating far more information than could be analyzed and taking detours down blind alleys.

At this point we need to reconsider the problems posed by extraneous confounding variables. When assembling the study's sample groups the influence of such variables which could be anticipated were nullified by statistical means. Those which could not be anticipated remain to be dealt with. To do so, the basic structural characteristics of the research samples having already been established, a random sampling strategy was used to deal with these unanticipated threats to the study's validity. Implicit in this is the admission that I, as the researcher, do not know my theoretical universe well enough to duplicate it precisely in the sample groups used. Hence, I attempted to randomize the effects of my ignorance about extraneous unanticipated confounding variables.

However, randomization does not mean that the 'care' and 'non-care' samples were arrived at by accident for a random sample must:

> *"be so drawn that the researcher has no good reason to believe a bias will result. In other words, the units of the universe must be so arranged that the selection process gives equiprobability of selection to every unit of that universe" (7.).*

The production of the four sample groups also demanded that they be 'representative'. This matter is of immense concern to all researchers as Willer observes when stating:

> *"the literature on the subject (research) is almost obsessed with the need for representative samples" (8.).*

The central point is a simple one. Samples must be representative of the universes they stand for if they are to avoid bias and the production of unreliable inductive generalizations.

Yet, a representative sample is not, ironically, so much concerned with 'representativeness' as with 'unrepresentativeness'. In 'reality' innumerable factors impinge on the universes subject to examination. Thus:

> *"we can never be sure that our samples are genuinely representative, but we can do our best to avoid unrepresentative ones" (9.).*

In the view of Goode and Hatt this is achieved by the;

> *"careful definition of the universes and the observations, and the significant relationship between them... Once this coincidence of definitions is established, the problem of putting the sampling plan into effect can be faced" (10.).*

However, whilst the experimental observations to be made and the significant relationships between them have already been defined the precise natures of the experimental universes have not. To remedy this shortcoming the study's use of a random sampling strategy, for technical reasons, prohibits the provision of their definitions in a purely theoretical manner. This is because random sampling constructs samples by the chance inclusion of 'real' units of the experimental universe.

Therefore, if a universe is to be randomly sampled it must be defined concretely. Only when the boundaries of the universe to be sampled are clearly delineated can random selection take place.

Fortunately, the experimental universes at the centre of this study required little ordering as they were neatly pre-arranged, making random selection from them, relatively, easy. The Hinkley and Ingleby 'care' universes were defined by merely consulting the records of the Boroughs' respective Social Service Departments and noting the names of those young people who met all the following criteria:

1. They had been in 'care' at least one year.

2. They were placed residentially.

3. The residential establishments in which they were placed lay within the boundaries of the borough vested with their 'care'.

4. These residential establishments were owned and run by the boroughs vested with providing 'care'.

5. The young people had to attend 'in-borough' schools, and;

6. be leaving school at age sixteen years during the course of the academic year 1986/87.

The Hinkley and Ingleby 'non-care' universes were defined by surveying the rolls of the schools attended by members of the 'care' samples and having deleted their names identifying those other pupils who met criteria 6, above.

Having, defined the experimental universes sampling could proceed. However, the method of sampling from the 'care' and 'non-care' universes necessarily differed, as a result of the efforts made to control anticipated extraneous confounding variables which demanded that structural parity between these sample types be obtained.

Thus, whilst the 'care' samples might have been chosen by merely pulling the names of their members names, as it were, 'out of a hat', construction of the 'non-care' sample involved a mix of random and quota sampling techniques. In this way it proved possible to manipulate the gender and racial structure of the 'non-care' samples so that they mimicked those of the local 'care' sample with which they were matched.

However, another problem immediately arises. How big, or small, should the samples be? The answer to this is intimately connected to that of sample adequacy for;

> *"a sample can only be considered adequate when it is of sufficient size to allow confidence in the stability of its characteristics" (11.).*

In other words, a sample must be large enough to provide sufficient information to make generalizing from observation of it tenable. If it is too small those who try to extrapolate from it will, in effect, be 'jumping to conclusions'.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to be precise about what is the best size of the samples used to test the analytical model. Ideally, all members of the two experimental universes would be drawn into their respective samples - experimental universes and their samples would become the same things. Unfortunately, the size of samples created in this way would be so large that research would become a prohibititively expensive and cumbersome activity. The solution to problems of this type lies in having smaller samples which, as has been seen, run the risk of lacking adequacy.

Therefore, optimum sample size is the result of a compromise made between available research resources and the demands of adequacy. Consequently, any decision with respect to sample size contains a large element of pragmatism making its stipulation in advance of available research resources being made known, difficult.

However, the study by Sawdon, Pelican and Tucker (12.) who use a group of fifty young people to analyze youth unemployment in Inner London appears to offer an exemplar for what might be considered an 'acceptable' sample size for the type of study described in this thesis. Yet, for reasons of practicality it was decided that their sample size could not be too closely adhered to for whereas they made use of only one sample this study made use of four. This would have confronted a single researcher with the task of having to deal with an unwieldy two hundred respondents while neither Hinkley nor Ingleby had fifty young people in 'care' who met the criteria set for membership of the 'care' samples.

In fact, at the time of the research, the two Boroughs had between them only fifty-one young people in 'care' eligible for membership of the 'care' samples. Whilst this number may appear fairly low it meant all of them could be incorporated into these samples making each a complete census of their experimental universe.

The decision taken to construct 'non-care' samples the same size as the 'care' samples reflects the inability of this researcher to cope with a larger total number whilst it was considered that the fact that their combined membership exceeded that of Sawdon's, Pelican's and Tucker's group went a considerable way to overcoming the short-fall in the size of the individual 'non-care' samples.

Although Appendix 4. contains further information on the samples used it is re-emphasized that the young people who took part in the study acted only as its 'tracers'. Their experiences on the labour market were treated as capable of disclosing the extent to which the study's 'target' groups - teachers, employers and the public - subscribed to the social definition of young people in 'care' and the implications of this for their employment prospects. It is the 'target' groups and the definition they impose on these young people which is of primary interest to this study.

14.5. Design Of Instruments: 'Data Validity'.

Once the samples to be used in the research programme have been drawn the question of 'data validity' has to be faced. This is a perennial research problem for that which is termed 'data' is not 'real', it has no inherent meaning other than those which researchers impute. 'Data' is an illusion brought into being by the questions researchers ask to which it appears to answer. Consequently the problem of 'data vailidity' is an important one. It asks: What sorts of measuring instruments will yield data which can be held to be valid?

The form 'valid data' takes is circumscribed by a series of research choices taken before measurement commences. These include, not only, the adoption of a theoretical framework in which the appearances to be measured are understood, but also the selection of those appearances as indicators of the empirical authenticity of the theorized hypothesis. Thus, 'data' must be clearly specified in advance of measurement, according to the dimensions outlined in the design of a particular piece of research for:

> " *Valid data are records of purposeful measurements of specific variations in chosen indicators" (13.).*

Therefore, the problem of 'data validity' resolves itself into query about 'data' stipulation. As a result, the study made use of a data stipulation matrix - see Figure 14.1. - which specified, prior to measurement, the range of information defined as relevant to testing the hypotheses contained in the analytical model.

14.6.

The Data Specification Matrix.

The matrix (Figure 14.1.) is constructed by considering two aspects of data stipulation:

1. The definition of the unit datum, and;

2. the assumptions made about the location of those recording the data with respect to the data universe from which it is drawn.

Cutting across these planes is a third consisting of the operative assumptions made by data collectors about their locations with respect to the initial data universes. Each of these three planes will be considered in turn.

Figure 14.1. Data Specification Matrix.

	TANGIBLE (Things)			PERSONAL (People)			BEHAVIOURAL (Acts)			PROCESSUAL (Meanings)		
	R.S.	L.S.	U.S.	R.S.	L.S.	U.S.	R.S.	L.S.	U.S.	R.S.	L.S.	U.S.
EXTERNAL	F1/2.						A5.					
INTERNAL												
INTRUSIVE	///////	////////	////////		A2. L1/2/3. L4/5.		A3. B1/2/3. C2. E3. J1/2/3. M8. N1/2/3.	A1/4. C1. G3. K1/2/3. K6/7/8. L8. M2/3/6. M7.			C3/4/5/6. E1/2. F3. G1/2. K4/5/9. K10. L6/7. M1/4/5.	
OBTRUSIVE	///////	////////	////////	********	********							

Key.
R.S. - Rigidly Structured Data.
L.S. - Loosely Structured Data.
U.S. - Unstructured Data.
//// - Logical Null-Classes.
**** - Empirical Null-Classes.

14.6(a.). The Initial Level Of Analysis.

The data specification matrix makes clear data collected in the course of the research study was classified as falling into four different levels of initial level of analysis:

1. Where the units are defined as 'things' the initial level of analysis is termed 'tangible'.

2. Where the individual units are defined as people' the initial level of analysis is termed 'personal'.

3. Where the individual units are defined as 'acts' the initial level of analysis is termed 'behavioural'.

4. Where the individual units are defined as expressions of 'meaning' the level of analysis is termed 'processual'.

14.6(b.). The Initial Degree Of Scaling.

Figure 14.1. shows that the research study broke data down into three initial degrees of scaling. At one extreme are those types of data found in a precoded form, already arranged into quantitative scales when first seen by the researcher. This sort of data is called 'rigidly structured'. At the other extreme are those types of data which are not intrinsically patterned. This sort of data is called 'unstructured'. Then there is an intermediate type of data which is found initially in clear cut categories, but which is not unequivocally precoded. This sort of data is called 'loosely structured'.

14.6(c.). Operative Assumptions About Location Of The Data Collectors In The Data Universe.

The location of data collectors, with respect to the data universe, may be assume to be either;

1. External, or;
2. Internal, or;
3. Intrusive, or;
4. Obtrusive.

Where 'external' to the data universe the assumption made is that the data collector is, figuratively, able to stand outside that being measured which is unaware and unaffected by the process of measurement.

On the other hand, if data collectors are assumed to be 'internal' to the data universe the assumption made is that they form part of the universe being measured, and are themselves taken as 'natural' on the first order level.

However, data collectors may also be 'intrusive'. That is to say that while they might attempt to position themselves 'externally' to the data universes being measured their 'intrusion' into first order 'reality' means they are themselves sources of unknown confounding variations in the 'reality'. As the scattering of variables to be measured across the data specification matrix described in Figure 14.1 indicates one of the assumptions governing this research undertaking is that the data collector invariably intruded into the data universes. Therefore, when discussing the design of instruments reference will not be made to the location of the data collector who should be regarded as intrusive unless it is otherwise stated.

Finally, data collectors may be 'obtrusive'. Here, there is an awareness of the relationship between first and second order meanings and an effort made to 'obtrude' into the 'reality' of the universes being measured. Data stipulated in this way is recorded, not through first or second order categorizations, but via an ongoing bargaining between first and second order perspectives.

14.7. Design Of Instruments: Indicators A1 To A5.

Indicators A1 to A5 provided the study with a means of measuring the factors Beveridge (14.) identified as fundamental threats to the 'well-being' of individuals and which he termed the 'Five Giants on the Road to Reconstruction': Want, Disease, Ignorance, Squalor and Idleness. His view of the 'Five Giants' was enshrined in the establishment of a post-war consensus (15.) which directed social policy toward the abolition of these 'Giants'. Therefore, they can reasonably be presented as the factors which are most widely accepted as the causes of the personal problems an individual might suffer.

A1. (Parental Occupation): Measurement of A1. provides the study with a means of assessing the relative prosperity and social standing of respondents families. As this is also indicative of their parents educational attainment it predicts the value they are likely to place on education and the extent to which they encourage their children's efforts at school.

Data yielded by measurement of this indicator is stipulated as 'behavioural', relating to the 'act' of working and is loosely structured as it proved necessary to impose a typology on the range of occupations undertaken by respondents parents which adhered to a nominal scale (i.e. a scale lacking unequivocal ordering, equal intervals and an unambiguous zero).

A2. (Household Structure): The second approach taken to the gauging of the prosperity of sample member's families concerned the measurement of their household structures. As this required respondents to specify the type of household (i.e. single or two parent) they came from data, though meaningful, will not be intrinsically patterned by quantitaive evaluations. Instead it will consist of mutually exclusive classes of family type which will not be ranked with regard to each other. Therefore, data will be loosely structured in the form of a nominal scale.

A3. (Changes Of Address): Measurement of changes of address will be rigidly structured as a ratio scale (i.e. a scale having unequivocal ordering, equal intervals and an unambiguous zero) and as it concerns the 'act' of moving house data with regard to it will be found at the 'behavioural' level of analysis.

A4. (Mental And Physical Health Of Respondents And Their Immediate Families): A third indicator of 'well-being' is supplied by A3. This is interested in the magnitude, frequency and nature of illnesses suffered by respondents and, or their immediate families. If particularly severe bouts of illness are evidenced these may be regarded as sources of stress capable of producing a range of emotional problems in young people.

The initial level of analysis of indicator A3. is 'behavioural' concerning the 'act' of being ill and the corresponding degree of scaling is 'loose' as responses take the form of a nominal scale.

A5. (History Of Social Work Involvement): Indicator A4. signifies the extent to which sample members and their families had suffered from, and been able to deal with the personal problems which had confronted them. In addition, the level of past social work involvement can also be viewed as being indicative of the extent to which the users of social work services have become stigmatized and defined as 'problems' (see Chapter 25.).

To ascertain respondents previous histories, if any, of social work involvement the extensive records of Hinkley's and Ingleby's Social Services Departments were consulted. This allowed the data collector to remain external to the data universe .

Moreover, measurement of A5. focused on the 'act' of social workers obtruding into the lives of respondents meaning that the data obtained was at a 'behavioural' level of initial level analysis.

As measurements made of A5 were calibrated in terms of the recorded numbers and lengths of social work interventions with respect to the members of the households from which respondents came data was rigidly structured in terms of a ratio scale.

14.8. Design Of Instruments: Indicators B1 To B3.

Indicators B1 to B3 attempt to establish the relative histories of offending of 'care' and 'non-care' sample members. This is an important undertaking as it is necessary to test the view, identified in part one's review of the literature, that a defining characteristic of young people in 'care' is their comparatively high propensity to offend. Indeed, under the Children and Young Persons Act 1969 (16.) criminality was one of the two basic reasons for bringing young people into 'care' while, as will be shown later, the introduction of the Children Act 1989 has failed to isolate the child 'care', from the criminal justice system.

However, the assumption made about the unusual proclivity towards offending by young people in 'care' is dangerous, because:

1. Prior to the 14th October 1989 (the day the Children Act 1989 came into force) Care Orders were overwhelmingly made for 'welfare', not penal, reasons.

2. The use of the Official Caution has diverted many young people away from the courts allowing them never to come to the attention of local social service departments.

The above points make it apparent that while many young people in 'care' will have no history of offending others who are not in 'care' will.

B1. (Number Of Arrests): This indicator concerns the 'act' of being arrested. Therefore, the initial level of analysis is 'behavioural'.

Furthermore, by confining the study's interest to number of arrests measurement of B1. is purely quantitative undertaking and data supplied with respect to it will be rigidly structured in the form of a ratio scale.

B2. (Number Of Convictions): Whereas the number of arrests undergone by individuals has nothing to do with their guilt their number of convictions should have. However, whilst the focus of B2.'s interest differs from that of B1. the former also supplies data which is 'behavioural' and rigidly structured as a ratio scale.

B3. (Time Elapsed Since Last Arrest Or Conviction): This indicator provides a measurement of the currency of sample members offending. The initial level of data analysis is 'behavioural' with measurements being rigidly structured.

14.9. Design Of Instruments: Indicators C1. To C6.

The provisions of the Children Act 1989, which has replaced all previous child 'care' legislation (with the exception of that concerning adoption) means that family 'breakdown' is now the main reason for local authorities taking over the 'care' of children and young people. The Act stresses that children and young people should only be placed in 'care' where they have no family members to look after them, or where they can't be trusted to do so safely. Indicators C1. to C5. attempt to provide qualitative and quantitative measures of the family relationships of respondents. When measuring these indicators sole attention was paid to the responses of these young people. It was how they 'felt' about their family relationships which was of importance, not how others might 'objectively' claim to see these as they 'really' are.

C1. (Parents Living Together Or Apart): Data with respect to this indicator provides information about the structures of respondents' families and is classified at the 'behavioural' level of analysis as it concerns the 'act' of parents living together or apart.

As information about this matter was provided in the form of a nominal scale e.g. 'together', 'apart', 'other', data will be loosely structured.

C2. (Level Of Contact With Parents): This measure of intra-family relationships has an initial level of analysis which is 'behavioural', concerning the 'act' of having contact with parents. Data with regard to it will be rigidly structured being partly pre-coded as, at least, an ordinal scale (a scale having unequivocal ordering, but lacking equal interval and an unambiguous zero).

C3. (Relationship Between Parents As Assessed By Respondents): This essentially qualitative indicator attempted to measure how 'good' or 'bad' the young people taking part in the study 'felt' the relationship between their parents was. In other words, it is about the qualitative expressions of 'meaning' respondents attribute to these relationships making the initial level of analysis 'processual'.

The qualitative nature of C3. dictates that information yielded by it, though presumably meaningful, will not be intrinsically patterned by quantitative evaluations. Consequently, data will be loosely scaled, conforming to an ordinal scale which ranks the qualitative evaluations (i.e. 'very good', 'good', 'bad', 'very bad') respondents made of their parents relationships.

C4. (Respondents' Relationship With Parents): Comments similar to those made with respect to indicator C3., above, apply with respect to measurement of C4. Its initial level of analysis is 'processual', data will be loosely structured and be ordered as an ordinal scale.

C5. (Respondents' Sibling Relationships): As for C3. and C4.

C6. (Respondents' Relationship With Grandparents): It was considered important that the study attempted to measure the quality and importance of the relationship between respondents and their grandparents, in order to gauge; a) the support available to the immediate families of the young people from their extended families, and; b.) to detect significant cultural and ethnic variations in this. The initial level of data analysis, structure of data and its scaling the same as for C3. to C5.

14.10. Design Of Instruments: Indicators E1 To E3.

Indicators E1. to E3. provide measurements of the degree to which members of the 'care' and 'non-care' samples can be considered successfully socialized.

If it is accepted that socialization is "about how the individual learns to behave in a socially acceptable way" (17.) and is the product of social learning indicators must be used which are capable of predicting respondents receptiveness to the socializing influence of important socializing groups. In addition, an indication also has to be supplied of whether, or not, the behaviour of the young people who took part in the research study was socially acceptable.

When devising a questionnaire to elicit the information sought by indicators E1., E2. and E3. the attempt was made to avoid the trap of distorting measurements by framing it in a way which reflected the personal views of its compiler. This gave recognition to the point that socialization is not a neutral concept, it has an innate ideological twist to do with the justice of why a society should find some things acceptable and others not.

With the above points in mind indicators E1. to E3. were specified in the following ways:

E1. (Respondents' Relationships With Parents): As for indicator C4.

E2. (Respondents' Relationships With Teachers): Implicit in the measurement of this indicator, as it is for E1., is existence of a positive correlation between a good relationship between respondents and their teachers and the ability of teachers to imprint on these young people socially acceptable values, norms and roles.

Therefore, E2. is a qualitative indicator, gauging how 'good' or 'bad' respondents felt their relationships with their teachers were. Thus, data will not present in a precoded form, but as a series of evaluations of loosely structured measures, taking the form of an ordinal scale which offers a comparative ranking of respondents' relationships with teachers. The initial level of analysis is 'processual'.

E3. (Respondents' Histories Of Offending): As for indicators B1. to B3.

14.11. Design Of Instruments: Indicators F1. To F3.

Indicators F1. to F3. provide a means of assessing the school performance of all sample members. Measurement of this variable is considered particularly important because of its relationship with those of socialization, 'self', and the expectations of teachers. In addition, the highly competitive state of the youth labour market meant that information about the educational performance of respondents was an important predictor of their employment chances.

F1. (Examinations Passed): Information with respect to this indicator was gleaned from the records of the schools attended by respondents, allowing the data collector to remain external to the data universe. Data is specified as having an initial level of analysis which is 'tangible', as being rigidly structured as a ratio scale.

F2. (Attendance Records): As for F1.

F3. (Respondents' Attitudes Towards School): As this indicator focused on the expressions of 'meaning' respondents gave to school the initial level of analysis was 'processual', while data consisted of qualitative evaluations will be loosely structured in the form of an ordinal scale.

14.12. Design Of Instruments: Indicators G1. To G3.

Indicators G1. to G3. attempt to measure the 'self-concepts' of respondents. When previously discussed, this concept was defined as "the subject as he experiences himself" (18.) and broken down into the perceptions individuals have of, a.) their ability to meet demands placed on them; b.) of their personal worth, and; c.) capacity to exert control over their lives. In the course of the research study an attempt was made to gather information about each of these points and to identify any imbalance between the component parts of respondents self-concept.

G1. (Respondents' Perceptions Of Their Abilities): This indicator offers an insight into the balance between respondents feelings of self-esteem and self-potency which is achieved by comparing their career expectations and aspirations. The focus of inquiry was on what jobs respondents 'expected', and 'hoped' to get and the identification of any mismatch between their expectations and hopes. Consequently, the initial level of analysis of information provided by G1. was 'processual' whilst the nominal scaling of information produced data which was loosely structured.

G2. (Respondents' Self-Value): Use of this indicator attempts to gauge the self-esteem of respondents. As previous measurements of experimental variables B. C. and E. contained the required information G2. attempted to tease out of these earlier measures what it was they connoted about the self-esteems of young people in, and not in 'care'. Therefore, data arising out of this indicator's use has the same initial level of analysis and degree of scaling as for G1.

G3. (Respondents' Self-Image): This indicator enables the degree to which respondents had an image of themselves as autonomous, potent individuals by measuring their capacity to take 'thought-out', planned decisions when deciding to leave school. Therefore, as data provided by G3. concerns the 'act' of taking a decision its initial level of analysis is 'behavioural'. Unfortunately, this data does not present itself in a neatly precoded form, but is loosely structured as a nominal scale.

14.13. Design Of Instruments: Indicators J1. To J3.

J1. (Sources Of Information On Vacancies): Measurement of this indicator centres on the 'act' of finding out about job vacancies making the initial level data of analysis 'behavioural'. Questionnaire design ensures that this data is provided in an ordinal, rigidly scaled form.

J2. (Number Of Jobs Applied For): As for J1.

J3. (Geographical Extent Of Job Search): As for J1 and J2.

14.14. Design Of Instruments: Indicators K1. To K10.

Use of indicators K1. to K10. reflect the multi-dimensional attempt the research study made to measure the expectations teachers had of young people in 'care'. The information provided by each of the indicators is particularly important as it is derived from one of the study's 'target' respondents' groups whose expectations are treated as suggestive of the definition they and society apply to these young people.

K1. (Culpability Of Children Under 13 Years For Their Being In 'Care'): This indicator is concerned with responsibility for the 'acts' which resulted in a child being placed in 'care'. Therefore, the initial level of analysis is 'behavioural'. As data is presented in the form of judgemental opinions it will be loosely structured as a nominal scale.

K2. (Culpability Of Young People For Their Being In 'Care'): As for K1.

K3. ('Care' Setting In Which Young People Are Most Often Placed): The object of analysis is the 'act' of placement in 'care' making the initial level of analysis 'behavioural'. Measurements of this indicator will beloosely structured as a nominal scale i.e. foster parents, residential home, parents, other.

K4. (Residential 'Care's' Place In The Child 'Care' System): Views on the place of residential 'care' in the child 'care' system are regarded as tantamount to comments on the child 'care' 'process' making the initial level of data analysis 'processual'. This information will not be unequivocally precoded being loosely structured as a nominal scale.

K5. (Perception Of Residential 'Care' As Having A Penal Function): As for K4.

K6. (Comparative School Attendance Of Young People In And Not In 'Care'): Interest here is in the 'act' of attending school making the initial level of data analysis 'behavioural'. As this data offer a comparative ranking of the perceived school attendance of young people in, and not in 'care' it takes the form of a loosely structured ordinal scale.

K7. (Comparative Number Of Disciplinary Problems Caused By Young People In And Not In 'Care'): As for K6.

K8. (Number Of Academic Qualifications Gained By Young People In 'Care' Compared With The Number Gained By Young People Not In 'Care'): The individual units of analysis measured by this indicator are defined as the 'act' of gaining academic qualifications, making the initial level of analysis 'behavioural' However, as data generated conforms to an ordinal scale it will be loosely structured.

K9. (Relationships Of Young People In And Not In 'Care' With Teachers): This indicator concerns the 'meaning' teachers give to their relationships with different pupil groups making the initial level of analysis 'processual'. The qualitative nature of the evaluations teachers provide ensures that data will be loosely structured in the form of an ordinal scale.

K10. (Relationships Of Young People In And Not In 'Care' With Schoolmates): As for K9.

14.15. Design Of Instruments: Indicators L1 to L8.

Indicators L1. to L.8. attempt to measure important considerations for employers, the study's second 'target' respondent group, when vetting school-leavers who approached them for work. A telephone administered questionnaire was opted for as the best means of gathering required data due to; a.) the logistical problems encountered in trying to interview all those targeted for questioning; b.) the reluctance of employers to provide appointments to enable an interviewer, and; c.) the suspected low response rate to postal questionnaires. While this approach inevitably meant that the data collector was consistently intrusive the 83% response rate the questionnaire elicited from employers allowed a fair degree of confidence to be invested in its findings.

L1. (Comparative Attitude Towards, And Willingness To Work Of Young People In And Not In 'Care'): As this indicator measured what employers believed to be the orientation of young people in, and not in 'care' towards work, the units of analysis are 'people'. Thus, the initial level of analysis is 'personal'. Data with respect to this measure is loosely structured, but is supplied in the form of an ordinal scale as it required respondents to rank (i.e. 'better', 'worse', 'same') the comparative attitudes to, and willingness to work of young people in, and not in 'care'.

L2. (Comparative Ability of Young People In And Not In 'Care' To Meet Demand of Employers That Workers Be Able To Read, Write And Are Numerate): The individual units measured by this indicator are the basic educational skills possessed by young people in 'care'. Consequently, the initial level of analysis is 'personal' with data being scaled as for L1.

L3. (Comparative Ability Of Young People In And Not In 'Care' To Meet The Physical Demands Of Work): The initial level of data analysis with regard to this indicator remains 'personal'. As measures of the comparative physical abilities of young people in, and not in 'care' take the form of qualitative assessments by employers which are not quantitatively patterned data is scaled ordinally and is loosely structured.

L4. (Comparative Veral Skills Of Youing People In And Not In 'Care'): As for L3.

L5. (Comparative Maturity And Emotional Stability Of Young People In And Not In 'Care'): Responses to this indicator arise out of the qualitative assessments employers made about the contrasting levels of personal development achieved by young people in, and not in 'care'. As they are the individual units of analysis the initial level of analysis is 'personal'. Data will be loosely structured according to a ordinal scale (i.e. 'better', 'worse', 'same').

L6. (Comparative Relationships Of Young People In And Not In 'Care' With Supervisors): As for K9., an indicator which L6. runs parallel to.

L7. (Comparative Relationships Of Young People In And Not In 'Care' With Workmates): As for K10, an indicator which L7. runs parallel to.

L8. (Comparative Employment Risk Presented By Young People In And Not In 'Care'): An employment risk concerns the likelihood of specific members of a work force behaving or performing in a way which run counter to the business interests of their employer. As risks concern troublesome 'acts' the initial level of analysis is behavioural. As employer's responses to this indicator will be qualitative and data will be loosely structured in the form of an ordinal scale which ranks the employment risk young people in 'care' are felt to present compared with that of their 'non-care' counterparts.

14.16. Design Of Instruments: Indicators M1. To M8.

As the study's third 'target' respondent group, measures taken of the public's expectations of young people in 'care' provide a valuable insight into the social definition applied to them.

M1. (Awareness Of The Existence Of Residential 'Care'): As the object of analysis is public awareness of residential 'care' the initial level of analysis is 'personal' In addition, data produced by this indicator will be loosley scaled taking the form of a simple dichotomy (i.e. 'yes', 'no').

M2. (Main Reasons Perceived For Children Under 13 Years Old Being In 'Care'): This indicator focuses on the 'acts' which members of the public feel cause children to come into 'care' making the initial level of data analysis 'behavioural'. However, data will be loosely scaled as will not be quantitatively patterned it will be loosely scaled.

M3. (Main Reasons Perceived For Teenagers Being In 'Care'): As for M2.

M4. ('Care' Setting In Which Children Under 13 Years Old Are Most Often Placed): This indicator attempts to measure the public's perception of how the 'care' system processes children by eliciting from respondents their views on the type of placements they feel children in 'care' are most often found. Therefore, the initial level of analysis is 'processual' and data will be loosely structured, being a nominal scale referring to different categories of 'care' placement.

M5. ('Care' Setting In Which Teenagers Are Most Often Placed): As for M4.

M6. (Comparative School Performance Of Teenagers In And Not In 'Care'): As for K8, an indicator which M6. runs parallel to.

M7. (Comparative Employment Risk Presented By Teenagers In And Not In 'Care'): As for L8., an indicator which M7. runs parallel to.

M8. (Knowledge Of Teenagers In 'Care'): Interest here is in the number of contacts respondents reported themselves as having had with young people in 'care' making the intial level of analysis 'behavioural'. Data will be rigidly structured being supplied in the form of numerical estimates.

14.17. Design Of Instruments: Indicators N1. To N3.

N1. (Respondents Unemployed At The Time Of The First Interview): Measurement of this indicator concerns the 'act' of being unemployed making the initial level ofanalysis 'behavioural' while data was rigidly structured being unequivocally quantitative.

N2. (Respondents Unemployed At The Time Of The Second Interview): As for N1.

N3. (Respondents Unemployed At The Time Of The Third Interview): As for N1. and N2.

PART 3

RESEARCH FINDINGS.

Introduction

This Part of the thesis is subdivided into two explanatory sections which present and analyse data arising from the measurement of the study's experimental variables (see Appendix 7 for the questionnaires used). The first of these sections consists of a series of chapters that compare research findings, with regard to a variety of comparative measures, taken of the study's 'care' and 'non-care' samples (the 'tracer' groups). In the course of this undertaking some of the differences and similarities between these young people emerged providing an indication of the validity of the social definition of those in 'care'.

However, the quantity of data collected from, and about the 'tracer' groups means that information overload threatens. To reduce this threat a summarative technique will be used when presenting the study's results. It is a technique that restricts comment to the comparative reliability of 'care' status, borough of residence, gender and racial presentation as predictors with respect to each measure taken. As the study's primary interest is in how 'care' status influences the job prospects of young people most attention will be paid to the first of these predictors.

Furthermore, research data will be displayed in the form of two types of summarative Tables, containing figures rounded up, or down to the nearest whole percentage point. These Tables, with a few exceptions, will provide a breakdown of research findings in terms of a.) respondents' 'care' status, borough of residence and gender, and; b.) their 'care' status, borough of residence and racial presentation. Unfortunately, it proved impossible to combine these Tables as this would have resulted in sub-samples, defined in terms of gender and racial presentation, e.g. Black-female, Black-male, White-female, White-male, too small to allow any confidence to be placed in conclusions arising from the results they provided.

The second section of this part of the thesis analyses data arising out of measurements taken of teacher's, employer's and the public's expectations of young people in 'care'. These respondents are the study's 'target' respondent groups and as influential definers of young people in 'care' it is their views which are of greatest interest.

Yet, the reader will observe that although the young people who participated in the research study acted only as its 'tracers' much more space will, incongruously, be devoted to the presentation of information gleaned from them than from the 'target' groups. The explanation for this, seeming, anomaly lies in the necessity to establish whether, or not, young people in 'care' are as different from their 'non-care' counterparts as the social definition of the former implies. In so doing, a necessary pre-condition is met if we are to accomplish the task of identifying the extent to which these young people are the victims of a derogatory myth perpetuated by the social definition or are its deserving recipients. Until, and unless this is done it is impossible to determine whether it was 'fact' or 'fantasy' which shaped the views the 'target' groups expressed about young people in 'care'.

PART 3.1.
RESEARCH FINDINGS: THE TRACER GROUPS

Chapter 15.

History Of Personal Problems: Variable A.

15.1. Indicator A1: Parental Occupation.

15.1(a.). Introduction.

Prior to measurement of this indicator it had to be decided;

a.) which parental occupation would be recorded if both the parents of a respondent worked and, where they were separated;

b.) whether, or not, to register the occupation of the parent absent from the family home.

The decisions taken with respect to these questions was that the study should confine itself to gathering data about the occupations of the major wage earning parent resident at the home address of each respondent. This approach was adopted on the following grounds:

1. The occupations of parents residing at the home addresses of respondents were considered more likely to influence their living conditions, career aspirations and attitudes towards work than were the occupations of 'absent' parents.

2. The occupations of the main wage earning parents determine the social status accorded to respondents' and their families for, as has been argued, the labour market is a social market.

However, the decision to confine interest in parental occupations to the forms of employment held by major wage earning parents imposed costs on the study. The greatest of these concern its failure to record the types of work undertaken by the mothers of many respondents. This failing reflected the gender based wage inequalities arising out of the concentration of women in low pay, low status occupations.

Information on parental occupations was derived from respondents' statements about their parents work. These statements were translated into a number of occupational categories by the application of the following definitions:

1. **Professional/Managerial Occupations:** Non-manual occupations to which a discreet body of knowledge is attached, gained through training, and applied in practice and, or occupations involving the use of people and other resources to achieve corporate goals. Occupations of these types are normally associated with the primary sector and require a proven record of good academic performance to be accessed.

2. **Other Non-Manual Occupations:** These occupations are varied needing from moderate to no training to undertake. Where training is required it tends to be provided 'on the job' and is limited to enabling workers to fulfill their immediate tasks. Occupations of this type are found in the primary and secondary labour market sectors.

3. **Skilled Manual Occupations:** Occupations requiring the application of practical skills obtained through a period of training which can be used to accomplish a broad range of tasks to which they are applicable. Access to skilled manual occupations is usually determined by a record of good academic performance and is, generally, only available in the primary sector labour market.

4. **Semi-Skilled Manual Occupations:** These occupations have a limited skill content sufficient to the conduct of an employee's immediate task. Training, again, tends to be 'on the job'. Occupations of this type are found in the primary and secondary sector labour markets.

5. **Unskilled Manual Occupations:** These are occupations having no skill content and offer no informal or formal training. Workers have a purely instrumental function and their labour adds little to the value of the final product. Academic performance rarely governs access to these occupations which predominate in the secondary sector labour market.

6. **Unemployed:** Not working but available for work.

7. **Economically Inactive:** "People who are neither in employment nor unemployed... This group includes all people aged under 16 together with those who were, for example, looking after a home or retired" (1.).

8. **Absent/No Information:** Whereabouts of parents not known, or no knowledge of parents occupation or respondent refuses to give information with respect to parental occupation.

15.1(b.). Parental Occupations: 'Care' Status.

Tables 15.1. and 15.2. shows that while the parents of 'care', and 'non-care' respondents were equally represented in unskilled occupations the only employment category in which the former predominated was 'other non-manual'. Their dominance was, otherwise, confined to categories having a negative, or neutral association with employment e.g. 'unemployed', 'economically inactive' and 'absent/no information'. In all, 45% of 'care' respondents parents fell into these categories compared with 22% of 'non-care' respondents. As a result, it seems that in a society historically wedded to a wealth ethic young people in 'care' are more likely than their 'non-care' counterparts to be judged as coming from 'bad' families.

However, this conclusion is not sustainable when the differing household structures of the 'care' and 'non-care' samples are taken into consideration. 'Care' respondents came more often from single parent households than did their 'non-care' counterparts and the heads of these households were concentrated in the 'unemployed' and 'economically inactive' occupational categories. This cannot be glibly attributed to single parents being 'work shy' as they confront barriers to their employment erected by a society which has consistently failed to provide the day 'care' facilities they need if they are to work. Many 'care' respondents were adamant that their parents wanted to work, but could not because they had children to look after. The words of four of these young people made this clear:

> *"Course my mum wants to work, you can' live on benefits. But how can she? I've got young brothers at home and they need her. Who else is going to look after them?"*
>
> (Hinkely 'Care' Respondent).

> *"I know she (respondent's mother) was hoping she could get a job as soon as my sister started school. She tried, but what with school hours, holidays and everything she's had to give up the idea. Now she's waiting until my sister gets older before trying to work again".*
>
> (My Brackets) (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).

> *"Before I came into this place I used to look after the others at home while mum worked. It got on my nerves but it meant she got some debts paid. She's had to give up her job since I came into care as there's no one else to look after my brothers and sisters and she can't afford to pay anyone".*
>
> (Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).

> *"My gran helps out but she's old and can't cope with my mum's other kids all the time . That's her job - ain't no one else going to do it for her".*
>
> (Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).

The above comments demonstrate that whilst single parents, like all 'good citizens', may subscribe to a wealth ethic their social status suffers and their families become seen as 'bad' because they cannot serve that ethic by working. On this point Foucault's (2.) views on social architecture provide an interesting insight, indicating that the status and material conditions of the unemployed and economically inactive are depressed, not to punish them, but to safeguard the wealth ethic by making clear to others what is in store for them if they too fail to maintain themselves in employment.

Table 15.1. Parental Occupation: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Gender.

CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION	'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
	HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)
Professional/Managerial.								1(14%)
Other Non-Manual.	4(25%)	3(21%)	4(29%)	1(14%)	5(31%)	3(21%)	2(14%)	1(14%)
Skilled Manual.	2(13%)	1(7%)		1(14%)	3(19%)	1(7%)		2(29%)
Semi-Skilled Manual.	1(6%)	1(7%)		1(14%)	3(19%)	2(14%)	5(36%)	3(43%)
Unskilled Manual.	2(13%)	3(21%)	4(29%)		1(6%)	4(29%)	4(29%)	
Unemployed.	4(25%)	4(29%)	3(21%)	2(29%)	3(19%)	3(21%)	3(21%)	
Economically Inactive.	2(13%)	2(14%)	2(14%)	1(14%)	1(6%)	1(7%)		
Absent/No Information.	1(6%)		1(7%)	1(14%)				
Totals	16(101%)	14(99%)	14(100%)	7(99%)	16(100%)	14(99%)	14(100%)	7(100%)

Table 15.2. Parental Occupation: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Racial Presentation.

CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION	'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
	HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)
Professional/Managerial.								1(10%)
Other Non-Manual.	3(21%)	4(25%)	2(18%)	3(30%)	3(21%)	5(31%)	2(18%)	1(10%)
Skilled Manual.		3(19%)		1(10%)	1(7%)	3(19%)		2(20%)
Semi-Skilled Manual.		2(13%)	1(9%)		2(14%)	3(19%)	5(45%)	3(30%)
Unskilled Manual.	3(21%)	2(13%)	2(18%)	2(20%)	4(29%)	1(6%)	2(18%)	2(20%)
Unemployed.	5(36%)	3(19%)	3(27%)	2(20%)	4(29%)	2(13%)	2(18%)	1(10%)
Economically Inactive.	2(14%)	2(13%)	2(18%)	1(10%)		2(13%)		
Absent/No Information.	1(7%)		1(9%)	1(10%)				
Totals	14(99%)	16(102%)	11(99%)	10(100%)	14(100%)	16(101%)	11(99%)	10(100%)

Therefore, as unemployment may be something which is, effectively, forced on respondents' parents who head single parent households grounds exist deleting their occupational status from examination of Tables 15.1. and 15.2. The effects of doing so is startling with the differential between the proportions of 'care' and 'non-care' respondents with parents who were unemployed or economically inactive closing from 23% to 10%.

However, the Table also shows that while 78% of 'non-care' respondents had wage earning parents only 55% of 'care' respondents did so. This imbalance not only reflected the unusually severe difficulties single parents face on the labour market, but also their inability to follow up as many job opportunities as parents with partners. As 'non-care' respondents came more frequently from households having two parents than did their 'care' counterparts they either had more parents available for work and, or one parent able to free the other for employment by taking on additional domestic responsibilities. The following comments provide examples of these points:

> *"When Lesney's (a toy factory) closed my dad was put of work. He still is, but mum's got a job in Hinkley Hospital's kitchens which is a big help. Its money after all".*
>
> (My Brackets) (Hinkley 'Non-Care' Respondent).
>
> *"My mum's just had a baby and cause dad works for the Council he was able to get time off work. He's gone back now leaving mum at home to look after things during the day".*
>
> (Ingleby 'Non-Care' Respondent).

Whilst a single parent with dependent children may be unable to work, a parent with a co-operative partner may be able to do so allowing couples to be better insulated against unemployment than those who are alone. Consideration of these factors indicates that research statistics almost certainly provide a comparison of the parental occupations of those in, and not in 'care' which does not do justice to the parents of the latter.

15.1(c.). Parental Occupation: Borough Of Residence.

The importance of local factors in determining the occupations of respondents' the parents is indicated by Tables 15.1. and 15.2. These show, for example, that a larger proportion of parents in Hinkley, than in Ingleby were employed in both the 'other non-manual' and 'skilled manual' categories while Ingleby's parents predominated in 'unskilled' occupations.

Moreover, the Tables also point to a series of interesting inter-borough differentials between the various sample groups. Of these the most striking is with regard to 'semi-skilled manual' occupations which shows that the 2% differential between the proportions of 'care' respondents parents so employed widened to a gap of 21% between the differing proportions of Hinkley's and Ingleby's 'non-care' respondents' parents who were also in this form of employment.

These and other local differences indicate the importance of local labour markets in determining parental occupations. Thus, the high level of unemployment in Hinkley, relative to that in Ingleby, meant that the parents of 'care' and 'non-care' sample members in the former Borough could be expected to have higher levels of unemployment than their Ingleby counterparts.

Furthermore, the number of jobless people in Hinkley conferred on it a larger pool, than in Ingleby, of individuals who could be classified as 'economically inactive' as they became long-term unemployed. A fact reflected in the proportion of parents described as such in the Tables.

Yet, whilst the economic recession triggered a contraction of employment opportunities in Hinkley and Ingleby Tables 15.1. and 15.2. reflect the lingering influence of the historic patterns of employment in both Boroughs. The remnants of Hinkley's furniture industry appeared to account, in part, for the proportion of parental occupations falling into the 'skilled-manual' category. On the other hand, Ingleby's traditional light manufacturing and construction sectors continued to shape local employment patterns with a dense concentration of its respondents' parents in the 'semi-skilled manual' category.

In short, the Tables extend the previous debate of local labour markets, which was confined to the importance they hold for young workers, by indicating that they also have for the employment patterns of older workers (3.). Analysis of parental occupations in terms of respondents' 'care' status and their borough of residence combine to make clear that the conditions which prevail on these markets are the products of the structure, state and histories of Hinkley's and Ingleby's economies and the distribution of different types of households structures in each. Compared to these factors respondent 'care' status as a predictor of parental occupation appeared to be of minor importance.

15.1(d.). Parental Occupation: Gender - Hinkley.

Table 15.1. shows that the series of differentials in the proportions of all Hinkley's females and all its males falling into all occupational categories ranged from 16% ('unskilled manual') to 2% ('economically inactive'). The parents of the Borough's females were more frequently employed in the relatively high status 'other non-manual' and 'skilled manual' occupations than were the parents of male respondents who predominated in all remaining low status occupational categories and among the unemployed. Only marginal differences were found to exist between the genders with respect to all other types of occupation.

To some extent these occupational differences reflected the fluctuating demands of Hinkley's local labour market which, at the time of the study, was distorted by the temporary need to recruit 'unskilled manual' workers to help with the construction of a large, new general hospital and de-commissioning of those it replaced. The parents of several respondents were employed on these projects. For example:

> *"Dad's always worked on the building, but he's out of work a lot cause it tends to be casual. He's working on the new hospital with a team of brickies now though and thinks the job should go on for another year at least".*
>
> (Hinkley Male 'Non-Care' Respondent).

> *"Me dad has got a job helping build the new hospital - its not flash, just labouring but it earns money".*
>
> (Hinkley Male 'Care' Respondent).

> *"Its been tough at home for the last few months as my father hasn't been able to get a decent job - it caused a lot of rows between him and mum but he's just got one helping close down the old German Hospital. Things should be easier now".*
>
> (Hinkley Male 'Non-Care' Respondent).

A problem encountered in the analysis of Table 15.1. concerns the range of occupations which are classed as 'other non-manual'. These include word processing operator, restaurant work, clerical, shop assistant etc. It was an occupational category which concealed a diversity of jobs that differed in status, pay and career and training opportunities. As a result, the predominance of female respondents' parents in this category was not particularly telling. What needs to be looked at are the actual jobs they had. When the data gathered is examined in this way it reveals, a.) 'other non-manual' employment makes use of female labour; b.) the parents of respondents so employed tended to hold junior positions, and; c.) retail trades (39%), office work (32%) and services (29%) absorbed the 'non-manual' parents of respondents.

However, whilst the occupational status advantage Hinkley's females appeared to enjoy over their male counterparts, might have been more apparent than real, that they also derive from a similar imbalance with respect to skilled work was not. Regarded by the majority of respondents as the most desirable form of work employment its attainment was the ambition of many male respondents.

> *"I want a trade when I leave school, always have but I don't know how I'll get one".*
>
> (Hinkley Male 'Non-Care' Respondent).

> *"I want a good job, an apprenticeship, something which will set me up for life".*

(Hinkley Male 'Care' Respondent).

> *"I've been looking for a plumber's apprenticeship and written to all the big building firms. You need a skill these days if your gonna get a job and stay in work".*

(Hinkley Male 'Non-Care' Respondent).

> *"I'm looking forward to leaving school cause I'm going to work hard and get myself a decent job in which I can become skilled at something and have a good life. I know an electrician who can do anything and work for himself, I'd like to be able to do that".*

(Hinkley Male 'Care' Respondent).

An interesting feature of the study was its exposure of the differing attractions 'skilled manual' occupations held for females as opposed to males and the distribution of forms of this type of work among their parents. Only male respondents aspired to 'skilled manual' work and only male parents held this form of employment. This is interpreted as reflecting social norms and conditioning which have historically 'fenced off' such work as a male preserve. The education system has long reflected this for while female respondents did domestic science, to ready them for their roles as wives and mothers, males were taught metalwork and woodwork to prepare them for employment as, hopefully, skilled manual workers.

However, the most important point to emerge from analysis of Table 15.1. is the comparatively small occupational differences between the parents of females in, and not in 'care' and between those of males in, and not in 'care'. In short, it is possible to summarize the parental occupations of males and females in 'care' as being, broadly, similar to those of their 'non-care' counterparts.

15.1(e.). Parental Occupation: Gender - Ingleby.

Examination of Table 15.1. reveals that the spread of parental occupations in Ingleby, in terms of respondent gender was different to that found in Hinkley. Comparison between the Boroughs shows that in Ingleby, a). the occupational differentials between the parents of male and female respondents varied more dramatically (ranging from 29% - 'unskilled manual' - to 0% - 'economically inactive'), than in Hinkley; b). the parents of males monopolize high status 'skilled manual' occupations, with; c.) the parents of female respondents predominating in the 'unskilled manual' and 'unemployed' categories.

The occupational differences registered in Table 15.1. are attributable to a number of factors. Although a smaller proportion of Ingleby's female and male respondents' parents worked in 'other non-manual' occupations than in Hinkley and the range of such jobs they held was smaller, Ingleby's close proximity to, and transport connections with the City meant these jobs offered better pay and prospects than those of similarly employed parents in Hinkley. Banking, insurance, clerical and secretarial work all figuring significantly as specific forms of employment undertaken by Ingleby's parents who fell into the 'other non-manual' category.

Another interesting fact to emerge from analysis of Table 15.1. concerns the range of occupations classed as 'unskilled manual'. Whereas in Hinkley this category was dominated by the parents of male respondents in Ingleby it was the exclusive preserve of females' parents. There is no ready explanation for this disparity; it is only partly accounted for by the larger number of female, than male respondents (see Tables 15.3. and 15.4.) coming from households in which mothers were the primary wage earners and the use the light industrial sector made of women as cheap labour to do assembly work.

The 'skilled manual' category of Table 15.1. is a mirror image of that for 'unskilled manual'; the latter is unpopulated by the parents of Ingleby's males while the former contains none of those of the Borough's females. This is difficult to account for except in terms of, a). chance; b). male respondents coming with greater frequency than their female counterparts from households in which fathers were the primary wage earners, and; c). the predominance of males among the 'skilled manual' workforce.

As in Hinkley, the attainment of 'skilled manual' work was the ambition of many of Ingleby's respondents. Thus, a series of comments were received from them which were respondents similar to those obtained in Hinkley.

> *"Getting a trade is something my parents have always told me. I used to think they were crazy but there is a lot of unemployment and I think they're right. Its what I want to do".*
>
> (Ingleby Male 'Non-Care' Respondent).

> *"I'm hoping my dad can get me a printing apprenticeship. He's in the print and been a big influence on me".*
>
> (Ingleby Male 'Non- Care' Respondent).

> *"When I leave school I have to look after myself and I don't want a rubbish job. I want something with a future, a trade is what I want".*
>
> (Ingleby Male 'Care' Respondent).

> *"I've been interested in cars since I was a kid and know a bit about them so I want to be a mechanic when I start work. Its hard to find anyone who will train you though".*
>
> (Ingleby Male 'Care' Respondent).

In Ingleby, as in Hinkley, 'skilled manual' occupations held differing attractions for female and male respondents. Once again only male respondents actively aspired to gain this type of employment which only the male parents of the Borough's respondents held. The attribution of the same phenomenon in Hinkley to social norms and conditioning are considered to also hold true for Ingleby.

However, the most important point to emerge from analysis of Table 15.1. are the comparatively small occupational differences it reveals between the parents of females in, and not in 'care' and between those of males in, and not in 'care'. The study found insufficient evidence, in either Hinkley or Ingleby to substantiate the claim that the parents of males and females in 'care' have occupational backgrounds profoundly different from the parents of their 'non-care' gender counterparts.

15.1(f.). Parental Occupation: Racial Presentation - Hinkley.

Table 15.2. shows that in Hinkley racial presentation was a more reliable predictor of parental occupation than was respondents' 'care' status. Across all ocupational categories an average difference of 7% was found in the proportions of Hinkley Black 'care' and 'non-care' respondents and of 3% between those of White respondents. In contrast, when 'care' status is held constant and comparisons are made along lines of racial presentation an average difference of 9% is found in the occupational distribution of the parents of 'care' respondents of differing racial presentations and 8% with regard to those of 'care' respondents' parents.

The differences the research uncovered in the occupations of parents of differing racial presentation consistently pointed to the labour market disadvantage suffered by Black workers. The parents of Hinkley Black respondents had almost twice the unemployment of White parents who predominated in all occupational categories, save in the unattractive 'unskilled manual'. While the proportion of parents of White respondents in the 'economically inactive' category was larger than the proportion of Black respondents' parents who also fell into it this did not significantly reduce the comparative occupational advantage the former's parents enjoyed as White workers.

Table 15.3. Household Structure: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Gender.

CATEGORIES OF HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURES	'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
	HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)
Two Parent Household With	5(31%)	2(14%)	2(14%)	4(57%)	9(56%)	8(57%)	11(79%)	7(100%)
Single Parent Household	11(69%)	12(86%)	12(86%)	3(43%)	7(44%)	6(43%)	3(21%)	
Totals	16(100%)	14(100%)	14(100%)	7(100%)	16(100%)	14(100%)	14(100%)	7(100%)

Table 15.4. Household Structure: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Racial Presentation.

CATEGORIES OF HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURES	'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
	HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)
Two Parent Household With	4(29%)	3(19%)	3(27%)	3(30%)	6(43%)	11(69%)	10(91%)	8(80%)
Single Parent Household	10(71%)	13(81%)	8(73%)	7(70%)	8(57%)	5(31%)	1(9%)	2(20%)
Totals	14(100%)	16(100%)	11(100%)	10(100%)	14(100%)	16(100%)	11(100%)	10(100%)

Young Black people in Hinkley responded to their parents experiences on the labour market with a mixture of anger, sympathy and scorn. The following examples are typical:

> *"Don't know why he bothers. They just use him. He's been working for that firm for years and ain't got nowhere. I wouldn't put up with it. He's crazy, I'd have gone years ago".*
>
> (Hinkley Black 'Non-Care' Respondent).
>
> *"She's an idiot man - been going down to that crumby factory for years, and for what? I suppose she always tried her best for me, but I'm gonna do better".*
>
> (Hinkley Black 'Care' Respondent).

There is no easy explanation of the racial differences found in occupations of respondents' parents. However, three factors appear prominent:

1. The conduct of the research study was accompanied by the virtual collapse of Hinkley's economy and national recession. This increased the already high unemployment rate in the area putting at greatest risk workers doing unskilled manual work within the secondary sector. It was in this sector that many parents of Black respondents worked.

2. Previous discussion of the Labour Force Survey highlighted the importance of labour market racism as an explanation, often the only possible explanation, for the abnormally high level of unemployment found among the ethnic minorities.

3. In Britain there is no constitutional guarantee of the rights of the individual. Instead a policy of outlawing discrimination against specific groups in society has been pursued. However, such equal opportunities legislation is hardly likely to eliminate inequality in unemployment because of the strength of segmented labour markets. As a result Hitner et al found in a study of seventy-four private sector companies that;

> *"the most damaging indictment of the elaborate equal opportunities policy is that since 1975, there is virtually no evidence to suggest that the policy has had any effect on the employment and promotion prospects of ethnic minorities" (4.).*

15.1(g.). Parental Occupation: Racial Presentation - Ingleby.

The figures contained in Table 15.2. indicate that the relationship between the racial presentation and 'care' status of Ingleby's respondents conformed to a different pattern than that found in Hinkley. For example, the average difference across all occupational categories between the parents of Ingleby's White 'care' and 'non-care' respondents was 13%, nearly triple that found in Hinkley.

When respondent 'care' status is held constant and parental occupations are compared along racial lines an average difference of 8% is found in the occupational distribution of the parents of 'non-care' respondents of differing racial presentation. This difference narrows to 6% with regard to the parental occupations of 'care' respondents.

The conclusion to be drawn from the results reported above is that respondent 'care' status is a more reliable predictor, than racial presentation of Ingleby's respondents parents' occupations. Whilst this contrasts with the situation in Hinkley the differences between the Boroughs are more apparent than 'real'. In both Authorities the parents of Black respondents were concentrated in the low status 'unskilled manual', 'unemployed', 'economically inactive' and 'absent/no information occupational categories while their White counterparts predominated in occupations of greater cudos and higher earnings.

As a result, it was hardly surprising to find that Ingleby's respondents from the ethnic minorities echoed the thoughts of similar respondents in Hinkley when stating:

> *"Look my dad has been working at that factory for years. Its real*

> *boring - right. I mean all he does is check boxes, but he is still a good worker but he never gets promotion; only Whites do".*
>
> (Ingleby Black 'Non-Care' Respondent).
>
> *"They think that we (Black people) fools, we gonna work for nothing like our parents. We no fools".*
>
> (My Brackets) (Ingleby Black 'Care' Respondent).

The three factors recited in the previous section as underpinning the employment disadvantage suffered by the parents of Hinkley's Black respondents are also thought to handicap the parents of Ingleby's Black respondents. Nevertheless, the latter group of parents appeared to achieve more occupational success than did the former. Whereas only 57% of Black respondents in Hinkley had parents working, in Ingleby this figure stood at 63%. In addition, a smaller proportion of these parents in Ingleby had been declared, 'economically inactive' than in Hinkley where Black workers were more likely to become stuck in 'unskilled manual' jobs than their counterparts in Ingleby.

15.2. Indicator A2: Household Structures.

15.2(a.). Introduction.

Analysis of respondents' households was confined to the identification of their structures, omitting from the study specification of the ownership the young peoples' family homes. This omission is justified on the following grounds:

1. At the time of the study the differential between mortgage repayments and council rents in both authorities was slight.

2. Whilst many private householders claim to own the property in which they live their ownership is often equivocal and often not scheduled to take place

for many years, at the end of a long mortgage repayment period. Consequently, the position of, so called, 'owner' occupiers throughout the period of their mortgages is analogous to that of council tenants. Both, effectively, rent the properties in which they live, the former doing so in the shape of mortgage repayments.

3. The distinction between council tenants and 'owner' occupiers has been increasingly blurred by the government's 'right to buy' policy. This has transformed council tenants into potential home owners.

Therefore, the issue of home ownership is considered to be of little use in determining the material circumstances of respondents and their families. Analysis of the household structure was deemed a more reliable indicator of this as it identifies the potential earning power, and drains on the incomes of their occupants. Before moving on to examine the measures taken of respondents' household structures the following points are made:

1. The households to be reported on are the family homes of 'care' and 'non-care' respondents. These are defined, for 'care' respondents, as the households in which they lived prior to coming into 'care' and, for 'non-care' respondents, as their place of residence when the research study was conducted.

2. All respondents households contained a dependent child, or children i.e. a child or children below school leaving age.

15.2(b.). Households: 'Care' Status.

Discussion of parental occupations in terms of respondents' 'care' status (see 15.1(b.)) referred to the differing structures of 'care' and 'non-care' respondents' households. It is a difference demonstrated by Tables 15.3. and 15.4. which shows that only 25% of 'care', compared to 69% of 'non-care' respondents came from two parent households.

However, whilst the research identified a positive correlation between being in 'care' and coming from a single parent household no direct line of causation was established. It cannot be said that the children of such households are pre-ordained to come into 'care'. Whilst there are more economic and social pressures on one parent families only a very small proportion of them have children who come into 'care'. Nevertheless, the regularity with which 'care' respondents came from single parent households raised some interesting questions regarding the social definition of these young people. For example:

1. To what extent does the definition attached to young people in 'care' form part of a wider social defence of the traditional family unit and its associated moral norms by providing a deterrence against a). having children outside of marriage, and; b). having no partner to assist with the cost of their upbringing?

2. Does the social definition of young people in 'care' reflect an attempt made to punish them for the perceived 'sins' of their parents?

3. How are society's views of the family structures of young people in 'care' perpetuated?

The above questions will be dealt with later in this thesis when discussing the issue of stigma. At this time it is sufficient to reiterate a point made earlier: A society which observes a wealth ethic and fails to provide adequate day 'care' facilities for parents is inevitably prejudiced against the unemployed and pushes to the lower reaches of the social 'pecking order' single parents. Their joblessness is enforced by the failure provide the necessary conditions for them to work whilst the value of their domestic labour is ignored.

15.2(c.). Household Structure: Borough Of Residence.

Analysis of Tables 15.3. and 15.4. lends support to the conclusions arising out of the discussion of the relationship between 'care' status and household structure.

They show that Hinkley's and Ingleby's 'care' respondents were more likely than 'non-care' respondents to come from single parent households than were their local 'non-care' peers.

Moreover, in each category of household structure the differential between the proportions of local 'care' and 'non-care' samples varied more in terms of respondent 'care' status than in borough of residence i.e., the proportions of respondents having specific household structures differed more between respondents from the same borough, but of different 'care' status, than it did between same status 'care' samples from each of the participating boroughs.

15.2(d.). Household Structure: Gender - Hinkley.

When the household structure of Hinkley's respondents is examined in terms of their gender the now established pattern is repeated with 'care' respondents being more likely to come from single parent families than were their 'non-care' gender counterparts.

Nevertheless, Table 15.3. shows that the differentials between the proportions of the female 'care' and 'non-care' samples in each of the household structure categories was far less than it was for males. For example, the gap of 26% between the proportion of females in, and not in 'care' having two parent household structures widened to 43% for males. This degree of divergence remained the same, but ran in the opposite direction when the genders of Hinkley's 'care', and 'non-care' respondents from single parent families is considered.

In addition, the Table reveals that while the scattering of 'non-care' females across the household categories was the same as for 'non-care' males the distribution of females and males in 'care' differed considerably. Females in Hinkley's 'care' were found to be 2.21 times more likely than their male 'care' counterparts to come from two parent households. These males were, in turn, 1.24 times more likely than females in Hinkley's 'care' to come from single parent households. Whilst, there is no readily available explanation for this gender differential previous remarks (see

15.2.(b.)) concerning social discrimination against single parent family structures indicate that males in the Borough's 'care' had more impoverished homes circumstances than local 'care' females.

Yet, while differences may have been identified in household structures of 'care' and 'non-care' respondents research findings also warn against over-emphasizing them. Males and females in Hinkley's 'care' may have often come from single parent families, but so did 44% of its 'non-care' respondents. Thus, when the household structure of Hinkley's 'care' and 'non-care' samples are looked at in terms of gender the points of difference identified should not be allowed to conceal the many areas of similarity, or of overlap between these young people. This observation modifies rather than nullifies the conclusion to section 15.2(d.).

15.2(e.). Household Structure: Gender - Ingleby.

As in Hinkley, a larger proportion of Ingleby's 'care' males and females came from single parent households than did 'non-care' respondents of the same gender. Comparison of the household structures of local males and females in, and not in its 'care' were mirror images of each other. While 65% more 'non-care', than 'care' females came from two parent households the position was reversed with respect to those coming from one parent households. Similarly, while 43% more 'non-care', than 'care' males also came from two parent households the same differential, but in the opposite direction was found with regard to those from single parent households.

However, the identification of narrower differentials between the household structures of the male, as opposed to female members of the Ingleby samples contrasts with the Hinkley findings. Thus, a warning is sounded about disregarding the importance of local factors when trying to summarize the difference between young people in, and not in 'care', and of making naive 'blanket' statements.

15.2(f.). Household Structure: Racial Presentation - Hinkley.

Table 15.4. shows, once again, that young people in 'care' more often come from single parent households than did those not in 'care' and refutes the contention that Black families represent a threat to traditional 'family values'. To this end the Table shows that:

1. A larger proportion of White, than Black 'care' respondents came from homes having a single parent.

2. As a concommitant of 1. above, a larger proportion of Black, than White 'care' sample members came from two parent households.

In addition, it should be noted that considerable differences were identified between the household structures of the 'care' and 'non-care' respondents of the same racial presentation. For example, 14% more of Hinkley's Black 'non-care', than Black 'care' respondents came from two parent households whilst the same difference flowed in the opposite direction with respect to those from single parent households. These differences were even more marked for White respondents. With 19% of White 'care' and 69% of White 'non-care' respondents identified as coming from two parent households the proportions of those who did so differed by 50%. This was repeated, in favour of those in 'care', when membership of one parent households is analyzed in terms of racial presentation. Thus household structure is a less reliable indicator of 'care' status for Hinkley's Black, than for its White respondents.

15.2(g.). Household Structure: Racial Presentation - Ingleby.

When the family structures of Ingleby's 'care' and 'non-care' respondents are examined in terms of racial presentation, the previously observed and unbroken pattern of young people in 'care' more frequently coming from households having single parent structures than do young people not in 'care', is contradicted. Table 15.4. shows that of Ingleby's Black respondents those in 'care' were less likely to come from a single parent household than those who were not. Whilst the nature of household structure may continue to suggest something of the material circumstances of respondents families any attempt to link this to 'care' status must be dismissed.

Nevertheless, a differential 50% (equivalent to 5 respondents) separated the differing proportions of Ingleby's White 'care' and 'non-care' respondents who came from two parent households. The same divide is found between them when the varying proportions of these groups coming from single parent households is compared.

However, Table 15.4. also shows interesting differences exist in the household structures of Black and White respondents. For example;

1. White respondents in, and not in Ingleby's 'care' are more likely to come from two parent households than the Borough's of either 'care' status. As a result;

2. Black respondents in, and not in Ingleby's 'care' are more likely to come from one parent households than local White 'care' and 'non-care' respondents.

3. From points 1. and 2. above, it appears that in Ingleby racial presentation is a more reliable predictor of the household structures of respondents' than 'care' status.

Nevertheless, the point ultimately returned to is the similarity of young people in, and not in 'care'. There is a generous area of overlap between all Black and White respondents for while their distributions across the household categories may differ all are represented in each of these categories.

15.3. Indicator A3: Changes Of Address.

15.3(a.). Introduction.

Respondents were asked to specify the number of times they had changed address in the two years leading up to the study with young people in 'care' encouraged to include the changes of placement they had experienced in this time. In asking for this information it became possible to test the proposition that life in 'care' is unstable, imposing on its subjects an unusually disruptive existence.

15.3(b.). Changes Of Address: 'Care' Status And Borough Of Residence.

Analysis of parental occupations and household structures has shown that, in terms of these variables how difficult it is to definitively state how young people in 'care' and not in 'care' differ. Differences identified have tended to be marginal in comparison with the similarities between the two groups. However, more pronounced differences emerged when the number of times they changed addresses was counted.

Tables 15.5. to 15.6. indicate that 'care' respondents changed address much more frequently than those not in 'care', irrespective of local, gender and racial factors. While 67% of Hinkley's, and 90% of Ingleby's 'non-care' respondents had not done so in the previous two years 83% and 86%, of the Boroughs' respective 'care' samples had. In addition, research findings also point out that of those young people who had changed address those in 'care' were apt to do so more frequently than their 'non-care' counterparts.

Although, a differential of just 3% separated the varying proportions of Hinkley's and Ingleby's 'care' respondents who did not change address this was a much more frequent activity on the part of the former. Research findings show that respondents in Hinkley's 'care' recorded 54 changes compared with the 30 for their Ingleby counterparts.

Table 15.5. Changes Of Adress In The Last Two Years: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Gender.

NUMBER OF CHANGES IN THE LAST TWO YEARS	'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
	HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)
0.	4(25%)	1(7%)	2(14%)	1(14%)	11(69%)	9(64%)	12(86%)	7(100%)
1.	5(31%)	4(29%)	7(50%)	3(42%)	3(19%)	4(29%)	2(14%)	
2.	4(25%)	4(29%)	2(14%)	2(29%)	2(13%)	1(7%)		
3.	3(19%)	3(21%)	3(22%)	1(14%)				
4.		1(7%)						
5.								
6.								
7.		1(7%)						
Totals	16(100%)	14(100%)	14(100%)	7(99%)	16(101%)	14(100%)	14(100%)	7(100%)

Table 15.6. Changes Of Address In The Last Two Years: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Racial Presentation.

NUMBER OF CHANGES IN THE LAST TWO YEARS	'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
	HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)
0.	3(21%)	2(13%)	2(18%)	1(10%)	8(57%)	12(75%)	10(91%)	9(90%)
1.	4(29%)	5(31%)	4(36%)	6(60%)	4(29%)	3(19%)	1(9%)	1(10%)
2.	3(21%)	5(31%)	2(18%)	2(20%)	2(14%)	1(7%)		
3.	2(14%)	4(25%)	3(27%)	1(10%)				
4.	1(7%)							
5.								
6.								
7.	1(7%)							
Totals	14(99%)	16(100%)	11(99%)	10(100%)	14(100%)	16(101%)	10(100%)	11(100%)

The instability associated with the repeated changes of address undergone by young people in 'care' can, largely, be attributed to the ways in which Hinkley and Ingleby ran their residential 'care' regimes. They appeared to have built into them the necessity to change address with new 'care' entrants routinely assigned to short-stay units for 'assessment' before moving them on to medium/long stay establishments with a later move to an 'independent living' unit being a distinct possibility. Not surprisingly several 'care' respondents appeared to resent the nomadic existence imposed on them:

> *"I've been all over the place, from this place to that. Since coming into care I don't know where I'm gonna be next. Nobody asks me, they just tell me and I have to pack me bags".*
>
> (Hinkley 'Care' Sample Member).

15.3(c.). Changes Of Address: Gender And Racial Presentation.

As Tables 15.5. and 15.6. show that there was no interaction between gender and racial presentation and changes of address these variables could not be used as predictors of the likelihood of respondents having moved home.

15.4. Indicator A4: The Mental And Physical Health Of Respondents' And Their Immediate Families.

15.4(b.). Introduction.

When discussing the design of instruments it was made clear that the measurement of this indicator focused on the magnitude, frequency and nature of the illnesses suffered by respondents and their immediate families. When doing so the following definitions were applied:

1. The 'magnitude' of illnesses refers to them as being serious or minor.

Respondents were asked to make this distinction and only those they considered serious were recorded. Whilst this approach may have lead to inaccuracies in research findings with some respondents over reporting, and others under reporting episodes of serious illnesses it reflected the belief that the young people's perceptions of their state of health was important in determining how well they coped with the stress associated with being ill.

2. The 'frequency' of illnesses refers to conditions suffered as being acute or chronic. Acute conditions are described as short-term while those which are chronic are defined as long-term. Respondents made this distinction with respect to illnesses suffered.

3. The 'nature' of illnesses suffered refers to the distinction research findings made between physical and mental illness. A strict medical model of illness was not adhered to in the course of the study with the concept of 'mental distress' being woven into the use made of the term 'mental illness'.

Tables 15.7. and 15.8. display the data collected, by means of interviewer administered questionnaire, with regard to the mental and physical health of respondents.

15.4(b.). Respondents' Health Histories: 'Care' Status.

Research findings indicated that the study's respondents were a healthy group of young people with a slightly larger proportion of those not in, than in 'care' stating that had suffered, or were suffering from some form of serious illness. However, all respondents who made reports to this effect appeared to view their illnesses, as little more than inconveniences as the following comments indicate:

> *"Its an inherited thing effecting the use I have of my legs. Of course I don't like it, but I've had to learn to live with it".*
>
> (Hinkley 'Non-Care' Respondent - chronic physical).

Table 15.7. Respondents' Health Histories: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Gender.

HEALTH HISTORIES	'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
	HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGELBY (n=21)	
	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)
History of Acute Illness:								
a. Physical.							1(7%)	
b. Mental.								
History of Chronic Illness:								
a. Physical.				1(14%)	1(6%)	1(7%)		
b. Mental.		1(7%)						
No History of Serious Illness.	16(100%)	13(93%)	14(100%)	6(86%)	15(94%)	13(93%)	13(93%)	7(100%)
Totals	16(100%)	14(100%)	14(100%)	7(100%)	16(100%)	14(100%)	14(100%)	7(100%)

Table 15.8. Respondents' Health Histories: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Racial Presentation.

HEALTH HISTORIES	'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
	HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGELBY (n=21)	
	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)
History of Acute Illness:								
a. Physical.							1(9%)	
b. Mental.								
History of Chronic Illness:								
a. Physical.				1(10%)	1(7%)	1(6%)		
b. Mental.	1(7%)							
No History of Serious Illness.	13(93%)	16(100%)	11(100%)	9(90%)	13(93%)	15(94%)	10(91%)	10(100%)
Totals	14(100%)	16(100%)	11(100%)	10(100%)	14(100%)	16(100%)	11(100%)	10(100%)

> *"Sickle cell does worry me but I'm careful, I lead a good life. I wish my parents would gear down and not worry so much, I'm not going to disintergrate".*
>
> (Hinkley 'Non-Care' Respondent - chronic physical).

> *"I'm epileptic, have been since I was a little kid. I've got no problems with it cause its controlled by drugs".*
>
> (Ingleby 'Care' Respondent - chronic physical).

> *"I was crossing the road when bang this car hits me and busted me arm, collar bone and leg along with almost every bone in my body. Didn't feel a thing - the worse thing has been not being able to play football".*
>
> (Ingleby 'Non-Care' Respondent - acute physical).

The dominant fact to emerge from the research was that well in excess of 90% of all respondent groups reported that they had no history of serious ill-health. As a good level of physical fitness is one of the advantages of youth this finding was expected.

More surprising was the very low level of mental illness suffered by members of the 'care' samples. This flew in the face of much of the literature discussed in Part 1. which stressed the 'emotional instability' and 'inappropriate psychological adjustment' of young people in 'care'. As a result, the stereotypical image of young people in 'care' as being unusually prone to mental illness, as being emotionally 'troubled' begins to be called into question.

15.4(c.) Health Histories Of Respondents Immediate Families: 'Care' Status.

The slight difference (8%: 0%) in the health histories of 'care' and 'non-care' respondents was not considered sufficient to warrant further examination.

15.4(d.). Respondents' Health Histories: Borough Of Residence.

Examination of research findings on a borough-to-borough basis makes clear that there were no detectable local factors at work making the health histories of each Authority's 'care' and 'non-care' respondents more alike than those of young people of the same 'care' status residing in the neighbouring authority.

15.4(e.). Health Histories Of Respondents And Their Immediate Families: Borough Of Residence Gender And Racial Presentation.

No significant differences were found in the health histories of respondents or their families by borough of residence, gender or racial presentation.

15.5. Indicator A5: Past Social Work Involvement.

The relationship between past social work involvement and 'care' status is shown in Table 15.9. Measurement of indicators so far discussed point to a general similarity between 'care' and 'non-care' respondents. Thus, it seems reasonable to conclude that their material conditions - as measured by indicators A1., A2., and A3.- and physical/emotional circumstances - as measured by indicator A4. - are roughly the same.

However, if it is assumed that social work intervention in the lives of families reflects their inability to cope with the many problems associated with low incomes, poor housing, constant changes of address and poor health the seeming parity between young people in, and not in 'care' is immediately called into question by the research. Table 15.9. shows that a massive difference was found in the level of social work involvement experienced by the families of 'care' and 'non-care' respondents. The Table makes clear that, with the exception of one 'non-care' respondent only the families of 'care' respondents ever had contact with social services. Why such a distinction should exist is not clear, but any permutation of the following may be postulated as reasons:

Table 15.9. History Of Social Work Involvement: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence.

HISTORY OF SOCIAL WORK INVOLVEMENT	'CARE' (n=51)		'NON-CARE' (n=51)	
	HINKLEY (n=30)	INGELBY (n=21)	HINKLEY (n=30)	INGELBY (n=21)
Respondents Not Known Social Services.	30(100%)	21(100%)	1(3%)	0(0%)
Respondents Not Known To Social Services.	0(0%)	0(0%)	29(97%)	21(100%)
Total Number Of Contacts With Social Services.	144	78	1	0
Average Number Of Contacts With Social Services.	3.80	3.71	0.03	0
Average Length (Years) Of Each Contact With Social Services.	2.33	1.79	0.16	0

1. **Inadequacy:** Whilst young people in 'care' and their families may not face a more onerous set of social and personal problems than their 'non-care' counterparts they may create, amplify and fail to solve these problems due to personal 'inadequacy'.

2. **Delinquency:** Young people in 'care' and their relatives are more delinquent, more deviant than other citizens and, therefore, prone to adopt life-styles which pose them with a range social and personal difficulties. These are the price they pay for their delinquency.

3. **Intensity:** While the quantity and types of problems confronted by young people in, and not in 'care' are essentially the same those faced by the former are of a greater intensity and require social work intervention if they are to be dealt with.

However, all the above postulates are hopelessly faulted. Though some of the young people in 'care' who participated in the study and their parents were described by social work staff as 'inadequate' this term was never defined. As a result the charge of 'inadequacy'is easy to level and impossible to defend against.

Moreover, once absorbed into the child 'care' system the process of labelling young people in 'care' as 'inadequate' is facilitated by the series of unreasonable demands placed on them. The demand that they be able to 'care' for themselves on leaving school and move into fully independent living soon thereafter was a challenge which loomed before all 'care' respondents, a challenge few 16 year olds are asked to face and expected to meet.

The words of the young people in 'care' interviewed in the course of the study gave the best idea of their personal 'adequacy'. These indicated that they were thinking sensibly about their futures. The anxiety about the problems confronting them appeared appropriate to their age and similar to those of their 'non-care' peers:

> *"I ain't never done great at school, but I will be different when I get to work. I don't need a fantastic job, just something I can do like*

> *painting and decorating so I can show how good I am and which offers some training".*
>
> (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).
>
> *"I'm worried about leaving care. I have this council flat which I'm due to move into and my social worker is helping me furnish it. I've got an older sister living nearby and she's helping to. I will give it a good go, I'll be alright cause I think I have thought of everything".*
>
> (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).
>
> *"Since coming into care I have had to grow up fast. If you don't you'll miss out as you have to rely on yourself to defend your own interests in places (establishments) like this".*
>
> (My Brackets) (Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).
>
> *"I've been giving a lot of thought to what I want to do when I start work. Its not easy though as I'm not sure. Perhaps, I'll stay on and try and get enough qualifications to get a really good job".*
>
> (Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).

The proposition young people in 'care' and their families, are unusually 'delinquent' also seems not to hold. Whilst the act of being received into 'care' may create the impression that the young person and his, or her family are in some way 'delinquent' this rarely precipitates 'care'. Whilst it was possible to obtain a Care Order for criminal reasons under the Children and Young Persons Act 1969 this was rarely done with only 4 of the study's 'care' respondents following this route into 'care' (a route removed by the Children Act 1989). In addition the parents of young people in Hinkley's and Ingleby's 'care', as was indicated by indicator A1., appeared to be just as industrious as those of 'non-care' respondents.

However, the argument that it is the intensity, rather than the peculiarity, of the problems suffered by young people in 'care' which causes them to come to the notice of social services appears to have some merit. Thus, underlying the similarity found between 'care' and 'non-care' respondents is a degree of divergence. This meant that:

1. Most of the parents of both sample types were employed but those of young people in 'care' earned lower incomes.

2. The demands placed on the heads of 'care' sample members' households were greater than those of 'non-care' sample members in terms of child 'care' responsibilities and support available to them.

3. Ill-health suffered by the relatives of young people in 'care', though about as prevalent as for the relatives of those not in 'care' tended to be more chronic in nature.

Whatever the reason for the disparity in the differing levels of contact young people in, and not in 'care' have with social services assessment of this needs to be tempered with knowledge of the rate at which the latter also came to the notice of other agencies. An informal, but revealing assessment of school attendance problems carried out as a product of the research programme and showed that 67% the Hinkley and 50% of the Ingleby 'non-care' samples had come to the notice of the Education Welfare Service while no 'care' respondents in either Borough had done so since entering 'care'.

Chapter 16.

Offending: Variable B.

16.1. Introduction.

Earlier analysis of the literature and the pilot study (see Appendix 1.) confirmed that a core feature of the social definition of young people in 'care' is its depiction of them as offenders. To test this proposition the research study compared 'care' and 'non-care' respondents' histories of offending. The means by which this was done has already been outlined in Chapters 13 and 14 and so shall not be gone through here.

However, it is worth re-emphasizing that earlier discussion of the inter-relationship between experimental variables noted that the social definition of young people in 'care' depicts their offending as both a cause and consequence of their personal problems. If true, the 'rough' similarity found in the personal problems suffered by young people in, and not in 'care', measured in terms of indicators A1 to A4, implies that the relative propensities of these two groups to offend should not differ significantly.

Nevertheless, this is a conclusion to be guarded against for the following reasons:

1. There is no mechanism which automatically links personal problems to offending. Not all individuals with personal problems offend and not all offenders have personal problems.

2. The legislation in force at the time when the research study was undertaken provided many routes into 'care', but not all of these necessarily said anything about individuals' records of offending. For example, the rarity of respondents in 'care' for criminal reasons, cannot be unquestioningly attributed to their low rate of offending, as the frequency with which they were made was reduced by the virtual embargo placed on placing young people in 'care' for such reasons by the sentencing policies adopted in the

Juvenile Courts of Hinkley and Ingleby.

3. Not being in 'care' cannot be regarded as a reliable indicator of the level of offending among 'non-care' respondents. Young people may offend and not be taken into 'care'. Chapter 13 made clear that there are other disposals available to the authorities. As a result, it is possible to obtain 'care', and 'non-care' samples and find, contrary to the expectations generated by the social definition of young people in 'care', that all offenders are concentrated in the latter sample.

As a result of the complexities involved in measuring the offending of respondents a three dimensional approach was taken to this task which broke down this experimental variable into three indicators: B1. (number of arrests); B2. (numbers of convictions), and; B3. (date of last arrest or conviction, whichever was the most recent). Measurements of these indicators provided, respectively, indices of;

1. How frequently respondents found themselves in 'trouble' with the law.

2. How often respondents had actually offended.

3. How recently respondents' suspected or actual law breaking 'behaviour' took place.

16.2. Indicator B1: Number Of Arrests.

16.2(a.). Number Of Arrests: 'Care' Status.

The research findings appear to support the proposition that young people in 'care' have an abnormally high propensity to offend. Tables 16.1. and 16.2. show that with 46 arrests recorded for 'care', and 13 for 'non-care' respondents the former had an arrest rate 3.53 times higher than others of their age. From this it seems, at best, that the police were much more 'interested' in 'care', than 'non-care' respondents. When questioned about the reasons for their numerous arrests 'care' respondents often attribute this to victimization. As a result, far from admitting to offending, they invariably gave the impression of feeling offended against:

> *"There is drug dealing going on, on my estate and I was suspected. I don't know why and the police wouldn't tell me even though I was held overnight. I got views on the police".*
>
> (My Brackets) (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).

> *"You get known don't you. Once you are you better move cause them pigs gonna not let go, they gonna call at ya house and take ya way for anything that happen - regardless".*
>
> (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).

> *"I like to go round with my mates and just cause we're loud we get pulled (arrested)".*
>
> (My Brackets) (Ingleby Care Respondents).

> *"Yeh, Iv'e been a bit out of order in my time, but I ain't done nothing illegal but just I'm telling this guy who I worked for down the market who is trying to do me out of some of my pay to get stuffed I get nicked. When the police found out I was in care they were real interested".*
>
> (Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).

The young people cited above spoke for the great majority of the 'care' respondents who had been arrested; suspicion and dislike of the police was widespread within this group. Some of the young people felt that the police had 'marked' them as targets for repeated arrests but felt powerless to change this situation; one respondent seemed to speak for many when he stated:

> *"They (the police) don't like me and I don't like them. The more they don't like me the more I don't like them. I can't put a foot right as far as they are concerned and they will often call in at the home I'm in and question me about one thing or another. I think the only thing I could do to get them off my back is move, I'm scared that if I don't I'll get fitted-up and sent down".*
>
> (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).

Table 16.1. Number Of Arrests: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Gender.

NUMBER OF ARRESTS	'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
	HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)
0.	11(69%)	6(43%)	12(86%)	4(57%)	13(81%)	10(71%)	13(93%)	6(86%)
1.	4(25%)	1(7%)	1(7%)	3(43%)	2(13%)	2(14%)	1(7%)	1(14%)
2.	1(6%)	2(14%)	1(7%)		1(6%)	1(7%)		
3.		1(7%)				1(7%)		
4.								
5.		2(14%)						
6.		1(7%)						
7.								
8.								
9.								
10.		1(7%)						
Totals	16(100%)	14(99%)	14(100%)	7(100%)	16(100%)	14(99%)	14(100%)	7(100%)

Table 16.2. Number Of Arrests: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Racial Presentation.

NUMBER OF ARRESTS	'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
	HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)
0.	8(69%)	9(56%)	9(82%)	7(70%)	10(71%)	13(81%)	11(100%)	8(80%)
1.	1(25%)	4(25%)	2(18%)	2(20%)	3(21%)	1(6%)		2(20%)
2.	1(6%)	2(13%)		1(10%)	1(7%)	1(6%)		
3.	1(7%)					1(6%)		
4.								
5.	1(7%)	1(6%)						
6.	1(7%)							
7.								
8.								
9.								
10.	1(7%)							
Totals	14(99%)	16(100%)	11(100%)	10(100%)	14(99%)	16(99%)	11(100%)	10(100%)

16.2(b.). Number Of Arrests: Borough Of Residence.

Tables 16.1. and 16.2. show that Hinkley's 'care' respondents suffered 29 more arrests than the Borough's 'non-care' respondents while young people in Ingleby's 'care' recorded only 4 more arrests than the 'non-care' sample to which they were matched. Thus, 'care' status was a better predictor of respondents liability to arrest in Hinkley than in Ingleby.

16.2(c.). Number Of Arrests: Gender - Hinkley.

The distribution of arrests, by respondent gender warns against assuming that an undeniable positive correlation exists between being in 'care' and increased liability to arrest. Table 16.1. reveals that while only 7 'non-care', as opposed to 13 'care' respondents from Hinkley had undergone arrest this discrepancy was, largely, attributable to the concentration of individuals who reported having been arrested in the local male 'care' sample. In all, they had been arrested 34 times while females in the Borough's 'care' recorded just 6 arrests. As a result the frequencies with which males and females in Hinkley's 'care' had been arrested had very little in common with each other. The number of arrests suffered by these females more closely ressembled the 7 reported for males, and 4 for females not in the Borough's 'care'. It appears that in Hinkley;

1. the gender of 'care' respondents exerted a strong influence over liability to arrest, so that;

2. gender was more influential in determining number of arrests than 'care' status.

16.2(d.). Number Of Arrests: Gender - Ingelby.

Table 16.1. shows that males and females in Ingelby's 'care' suffered more arrests than the 'non-care' gender counterparts with;

1. twice the number of 'care' females arrested than 'non-care' females, and;

2. three times as many 'care' males arrested than 'non-care' males.

However, whilst more males and females in Ingelby's 'care' had been arrested than their 'non-care' peers of the same gender 'care' status did not reliably predict respondents' risk of arrest. With 14% of 'care', and 7% of 'non-care' females having been arrested compared to 43% of 'care', and 14% of 'non-care' males research data shows that the proportion of 'care' males who had experienced arrest was so unusually high that they were an isolated group. As a result, the arrest records of the Borough's 'care' females displayed a greater affinity with those of both 'non-care' gender groups.

Nevertheless, the most important feature of Table 16.1. is the overwhelming similarity found between respondents, irrespective of 'care' status and gender, with a clear majority of all never having suffered arrest.

16.2(e.). Number Of Arrests: Racial Presentation - Hinkley.

With 5 and 6 arrests suffered by Hinkley's Black and White 'non-care' respondents, respectively, racial presentation appeared to be weakly associated with susceptibility to arrest. However, the same cannot be said of young people in the Borough's 'care'. With 27 arrests incurred by Black, and 13 by White 'care' respondents racial presentation emerged as being much more influential in determining the frequency with which these young people were arrested. As all respondents had similar socio-economic and educational backgrounds it is difficult not to conclude that racism played a part in creating the large number of arrests experienced by Hinkley's Black 'care' respondents. However, this conclusion needs to be treated with caution for;

1. the total number of arrests suffered by these young people is inflated by three of them who were arrested 21 times, and;

2. with 57% of Black and 56% of White 'care' respondents never having been arrested the research failed to establish a connection between racial presentation and these young people's avoidance of arrest. As a result the ability of the study to comment on their experiences is restricted. It is a failing which is particularly lamentable with regard to the 71% and 81% of Hinkley's Black and White, respectively, 'non-care' respondents for whom no arrests were also recorded. All that may be said is that the study found the association between racial presentation and avoidance of arrest to be weak.

However, Table 16.2. reveals, once again, how 'care' status interceded to separate out respondents of the same racial presentation. Thus, 5 arrests were recorded by Hinkley's Black 'non-care' respondents compared with the 27 suffered by their counterparts in 'care'. Similarly, 13 and 6 arrests were reported by 'care' and 'non-care' Whites, respectively. Therefore, irrespective of racial presentation, 'care' respondents appeared to be at a much greater risk of arrest than did those who were not with young people who were Black and in 'care' at the greatest risk of all.

Yet, the most important feature of Table 16.2. is its repetition of the message that the majority of Hinkley's respondents, regardless of their 'care' status and racial presentations, had never been arrested. Once again, it appeared that 'care' and 'non-care' subjects had more in common than they had not.

16.2(f.). Number Of Arrests: Racial Presentation - Ingleby.

The pattern of arrests in Ingleby contrasts with that found in Hinkley. With no reported arrests of Ingleby's Black, and only 2 for its White 'non-care' respondents smaller proportions of these groups came to police attention than did their Hinkley counterparts.

Moreover, Table 16.2. shows that with 30% of Ingleby's White, and 18% of its Black 'care' respondents recording arrests, the former group of young people were more likely to experience arrest. This represents a partial reversal of the Hinkley pattern where greatest liability to arrest was associated with being Black and in 'care'. However, the Ingleby findings also resembled Hinkley's, with young people in the 'care' of each recording more arrests than any of their local 'non-care', racial presentation sub-samples.

16.3. Indicator B2: Number Of Convictions.

16.3(a.). Number Of Convictions: 'Care' Status.

The higher number of arrests recorded for 'care', than 'non-care' respondents was reflected in the discovery that the former group of young people had 24 convictions whereas the latter had only 5. However, it is stressed that none of the young people who took part in the research study were convicted of unusually serious offences. Their offending was confined to such common juvenile offences as shop-lifting, petty-theft, taking and driving away etc. None of them had ever received custodial sentences with the courts preferring alternative disposals. Examination of the treatment of the four young people who entered 'care' for criminal reasons revealed the existence of a non-custodial tariff system employed by the juvenile bench which pitched the use of 'care' at the upper end of this tariff, one step away from custody.

Yet the offences of the young people in 'care' because of their offending were not significantly different from those committed by other respondents for whom convictions were also recorded. It seemed that the young people who the courts sentenced to 'care' were distinguished more by the persistence, than heinousness of their offending. Thus, the young people placed in care for criminal reasons accounted for 60% of all of convictions received by all 'care' respondents. Yet the views expressed by these young people made it clear that they felt they had 'ended up' in 'care' simply because the courts did not know what to do with them. This they resented:

> *"I don't see why I should be in care its a waste of time. Its just a way*

> *of keeping an eye on me".*
>
> (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).

> *"Care's a joke, its a place where you get dumped. That is what the courts did to me. They dumped me in care".*
>
> (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).

> *"Sure I've offended a few times, but nothing serious. I reckon I'm in care because after they (the court) fined me, then gave me a deferred sentence then fined me again they couldn't think of anything else to do".*
>
> (My Brackets) (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).

> *"Sure I'm angry. If I'd been an adult I'd get six months, but I'm not so I get 'care' for Christ knows how many years; its not fair".*
>
> (Hinkley Respondent).

> *"I know someone who got sent to Detention Centre for three months and is back home now - I'm here indefinitely".*
>
> (Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).

Nevertheless, whilst the different number of convictions suffered by 'care' and 'non-care' respondents appears to confirm that these two groups of young people have differing propensities to offend comparison of Table 16.3. and 16.4. with Tables 16.1. and 16.2. points to the inadequacy of arrest records as an indicator of 'proven' law breaking. When taken together these Tables show a considerable difference in the numbers of arrests and convictions recorded. While 46 arrests of 'care', and 13 arrests of 'non-care' respondents are recorded these figures translate into only 24 and 5 convictions, respectively.

More significantly, the data also shows that the differential in the offending behaviour of young people in, and not in 'care' shrinks when measured in terms of convictions instead of arrests. Thus, while 'care' respondents suffered 34 more arrests than their 'non-care' counterparts this resulted in a difference of only 19 convictions. This convergence is more marked when data on the number of convictions incurred by respondents is analysed on a borough to borough basis.

16.3(b.). Number Of Convictions: Borough Of Residence.

The information contained in Tables 16.3. and 16.4., with regard to respondents borough of residence, may be briefly summarized by reference to the two main points which emerge from its analysis. These are as follows:

1. In Hinkley and Ingleby the pattern of convergence referred to in 16.3(a.). is repeated with the difference of 29 episodes of arrest separating Hinkley's 'care' and 'non-care' respondents closing to a difference of 16 convictions. Only 19 of the 40 arrests made of young people in the Borough's 'care' leading to convictions.

   In Ingleby a similar pattern was observed with the difference of 5 arrests which separated local 'care' and 'non-care' respondents reduced to a difference of 2 convictions.

2. The reliability of frequency of arrests as an indicator of the number of convictions received by respondents varied considerably between Hinkley and Ingleby. All arrests made of Ingleby's 'non-care' respondents resulted in convictions as did 86% of those made of its 'care' respondents. In contrast, only 48% of arrests made of Hinkley's 'care', and 28% of those made of its 'non-care' respondents led to convictions.

Arrests in Ingleby were much more likely to result in conviction than in Hinkley. Yet, the Boroughs shared the same juvenile court. From reports received from respondents it seems that local differences in police practice was an important factor in producing this disparity with arrests being less likely to lead to individuals being charged with offences in Hinkley than in Ingleby.

Table 16.3. Number Of Convictions: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Gender.

NUMBER OF CONVICTIONS	'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
	HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)
0.	14(88%)	8(57%)	13(93%)	4(57%)	16(100%)	12(86%)	13(93%)	6(86%)
1.	1(6%)	2(14%)		3(43%)		1(7%)	1(7%)	1(14%)
2.	1(6%)	1(7%)	1(7%)			1(7%)		
3.								
4.		3(21%)						
Totals	16(100%)	14(99%)	14(100%)	7(100%)	16(100%)	14(100%)	14(100%)	7(100%)

Table 16.4. Number Of Convictions: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Racial Presentation.

NUMBER OF CONVICTIONS	'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
	HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)
0.	11(79%)	11(69%)	9(82%)	8(80%)	13(93%)	15(94%)	11(100%)	8(80%)
1.		3(19%)	2(18%)	1(10%)	1(7%)			2(20%)
2.	1(7%)	1(6%)		1(10%)		1(6%)		
3.								
4.	2(14%)	1(6%)						
Totals	14(100%)	16(100%)	11(100%)	10(100%)	14(100%)	16(100%)	11(100%)	10(100%)

16.3(c.). Number Of Convictions: Gender - Hinkley.

Analysis of the gender distribution of convictions reveals that the wide gap between the number of arrests, and convictions received by Hinkley respondents applied to males and females regardless of their differing 'care' status. While 4 and 6 arrests were made of 'non-care' and 'care' females, respectively, Table 16.3. shows no convictions were received by the former and only 3 by the latter. Similarly, the 7 arrests recorded for 'non-care' respondents translated into just 3 convictions while the 35 arrests made of their 'care' counterparts resulted in 16 convictions.

Furthermore, Table 16.3. shows that with no 'non-care', and 2 'care' females along with 2 'non-care' and 6 'care' males receiving convictions, the young people from Hinkley who participated in the study were fundamentally law abiding, regardless of their 'care' status and gender.

Nevertheless, research findings focus attention on the worringly high number of convictions incurred by males in Hinkley's 'care'. The reasons for this are not clear, but as the proportion of arrests leading to convictions of local females and males in, and not in 'care' were roughly the same the number of convictions received by males in Hinkley's 'care' does not appear to be the product of discriminatory 'rough justice' handed out to them by the courts. It is more likely that the relatively high number of convictions dealt out to these young men was a function of the number of arrests, which outstripped the combined total for all the Borough's other 'care' status-gender sub-samples, they suffered

16.3(d.). Number Of Convictions: Gender - Ingleby.

Table 16.3. shows that with females and males in 'care' recording 2 and 3 convictions, respectively, and their 'non-care' counterparts 1 each the distribution of convictions among Ingleby's respondents was more heavily influenced by 'care' status than by gender. As a result, the image of young people in local authority 'care' as more prone to offend than others of their age appears to be confirmed.

Furthermore, only 7% of females, and 43% of males in the Borough's 'care' had received convictions; a gender difference reflecting that found in Hinkley and which reinforces the conclusion that to be male and in 'care' is to run the greatest risk of receiving a conviction.

However, examination of convictions received by the different genders in Ingleby must, as was the case in Hinkley, recognize that the majority 'care' and 'non-care' males and females had no convictions. This evident lack of criminality on the parts of young people in 'care' is obscured by the social definition applied to them.

16.3(e.). Number Of Convictions: Racial Presentation - Hinkley.

Reference to Table 16.4. reveals that the near parity found in the number of arrests reported by Black and White 'non-care' respondents in Hinkley is mirrored in the similarity of the number of convictions they received with these groups of young people registering one and two convictions, respectively.

However, any semblance of equivalence in the distribution of arrests and convictions among 'care' respondents is absent. While Hinkley's Black 'care' respondents suffered 14 more arrests than their White counterparts Table 16.4. shows that the former group of young people only received one more conviction than the latter. Thus, the sharp distinction found in the comparative arrest records of Black and White respondent's in Hinkley's 'care', pointing to the greater criminality on the part of young Black people appears to be seriously misleading.

It needs to be asked: How is it that Hinkley's Black 'care' respondents had more than twice the number of arrests than did their White 'care' counterparts yet only have one more conviction than them? Racism on the part of the the police, courts and other agents of the criminal justice system may be part of the answer to this question, but it is also important to note that while only four Black 'care' respondents had convictions two of them had four convictions each, the highest number recorded by any of the Borough's respondents. As a result, the number of convictions incurred by this group of young people was inflated by the presence of these individuals. In fact, convictions were recorded for only 21% of Hinkley's Black, compared with 31% of its White 'care' respondents.

16.3(f.) Number Of Convictions: Racial Presentation - Ingleby.

The distribution of convictions, in terms of Ingleby's respondents' 'care' status and racial presentations differed in the following ways from that found in Hinkley:

1. In Hinkley the same numbers of Black and White 'non-care' respondents received convictions, but in Ingleby more White than Black 'non-care' respondents had done so.

2. The same number of Ingleby's Black and White 'care' respondents had received conviction whereas more of Hinkley's White, than Black 'care' respondents did so.

Nevertheless, despite local differences between Hinkley and Ingleby the research found that in both Boroughs' 'care' respondents had more convictions than 'non-care' respondents of the same racial presentation. Research findings from Ingleby also point to a second similarity with Hinkley concerning the rarity of respondents with convictions. In Ingleby, no Black and only 2 White 'non-care', plus 2 White and 2 Black 'care' respondents had convictions. Reference to Table 16.4. indicates that these figures represent small proportions of their respective samples making any attempt to define Ingleby's 'care' and 'non-care' respondents, irrespective of their differing racial presentations, as offenders by reference to the number of convictions they had received unsupportable.

16.4. Indicator B3: Last Arrest/Conviction.

16.4(a.). Last Arrest/Conviction: 'Care' Status.

Tables 16.5. and 16.6. show that the most recently arrested/convicted respondent was in 'care' and that more of these young people had been arrested/convicted than 'non-care' respondents in the 12 months prior to their being interviewed. The apparent conclusion to be drawn from this is that 'offending behaviour' on the parts of those in 'care' is more of an on-going activity than it is for young people not in 'care'. However, this conclusion is unreliable, failing to take into account the following:

1. Of all respondents arrested and, or convicted a larger proportion (11%) of the 'non-care', than 'care' (6%) group had encountered trouble with the law in the second most recent period listed in the Tables.

2. Half those in 'care' who had been arrested or convicted within a year of being interviewed were near the end of this period, last encountering trouble 10 to 12 months previously.

In short, close examination of Tables 16.5. and 16.6. indicates the re-emergence of the theme of similarity between 'care' and 'non-care' respondents. This, the Tables expresses in terms of the concentration of the last arrests/convictions of all respondents falling into the period 13 to 25+ months before interview. As a result, the potency of that part of the social definition of young people in 'care' which implies that 'offending' behaviour on their part will always be more current than that of other young people is diluted.

Nevertheless, research findings stop short of falsifying this aspect of the social definition of young people in 'care'. Indeed, Tables 16.5. and 16.6. tends to support the depiction of these young people as active offenders by showing that only 22% of 'care', compared with 33% of 'non-care' respondents had not been arrested/convicted for at least 22 months.

Table 16.5. Last Arrest/Conviction: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Gender.

LAST ARREST/CONVICTION	'CARE' (n=18)				'NON-CARE' (n=9)			
	HINKLEY (n=13)		INGLEBY (n=5)		HINKLEY (n=7)		INGLEBY (n=2)	
	FEMALE (n=5)	MALE (n=8)	FEMALE (n=2)	MALE (n=3)	FEMALE (n=3)	MALE (n=4)	FEMALE (n=1)	MALE (n=1)
0 - 3 months ago.		1(13%)						
4 - 6 months ago.		1(13%)						1(100%)
7 - 9 months ago.								
10 - 12 months ago.		1(13%)		1(33%)				
13 - 15 months ago.	1(20%)	1(13%)		2(67%)	1(33%)	1(25%)		
16 - 18 months ago.	2(40%)	2(25%)				3(75%)		
19 - 21 months ago.		2(25%)						
22 - 24 months ago.	1(20%)		1(50%)		2(67%)		1(100%)	
25+ months ago.	1(20%)		1(50%)					
Totals	5(100%)	8(102%)	2(100%)	3(100%)	3(100%)	4(100%)	1(100%)	1(100%)

Table 16.6. Last Arrest/Conviction: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Racial Presentation.

LAST ARREST/CONVICTION	'CARE' (n=18)				'NON-CARE' (n=9)			
	HINKLEY (n=13)		INGLEBY (n=5)		HINKLEY (n=7)		INGLEBY (n=2)	
	BLACK (n=6)	WHITE (n=7)	BLACK (n=2)	WHITE (n=3)	BLACK (n=4)	WHITE (n=3)	BLACK (n=0)	WHITE (n=2)
0 - 3 months ago.	1(17%)							
4 - 6 months ago.	1(17%)							1(50%)
7 - 9 months ago.								
10 - 12 months ago.	1(17%)			1(33%)				
13 - 15 months ago.		2(29%)	2(100%)		2(50%)			
16 - 18 months ago.	3(50%)	1(14%)			2(50%)	1(33%)		
19 - 21 months ago.		2(29%)						
22 - 24 months ago.		1(14%)		1(33%)		2(67%)		1(50%)
25+ months ago.		1(14%)		1(33%)				
Totals	6(101%)	7(100%)	2(100%)	3(99%)	4(100%)	3(100%)		2(100%)

Yet, conclusions about the relative recency of 'offending behaviour' of 'care' and 'non-care' respondents are tentative as they arise out of a comparison whose outcome is significantly influenced by decisions concerning the period over which it is made. If interest is confined to the proportions of 'care' and 'non-care' respondents' groups, who had not been arrested/convicted for at least 19 months prior to the research, we find that with 39% of 'care', and 33% of 'non-care' respondents not having encountered further trouble in that time offending appears to have been more of an on-going activity among those not in 'care'.

However, the message from the research data is clear; the 'offending behaviour' of young people in, and not in 'care' tends to observe the same chronological sequence. It was a rare activity in the 25+ months period prior to interview, but which peaked in the following 12 months and dwindled thereafter.

All young people who had been arrested/convicted, with one exception, made it clear that they saw their offending as a thing of the past made unnecessary by the imminent start of their 'working lives'. The following comments were typical of those received:

> *"Getting into trouble, even if you aint done nothing, is for fools. When you go to work you get money and prospects so why screw them up?"*
>
> (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).
>
> *"I was lousy at school and didn't like it so used to scive off. That led to trouble, but I can't wait to start work. I've been looking forward to it for a long time because I reckon I can do as well as anyone else once in a job".*
>
> (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).
>
> *"If I get a job I get my own place and some say over my own life. I'd be stupid to risk that by getting into trouble again".*
>
> (Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).

> *"Once I'm at work I can really put it (the offence) behind me. They all know about it at school but at work I can show everyone how good I am".*
>
> (My Brackets) (Ingleby 'Non-Care' Respondent).

16.4(b.). Last Arrest/Conviction: Borough Of Residence.

Tables 16.5. and 16.6. indicate that in Hinkley 'offending behaviour' was more current among the members of its 'care', than 'non-care' samples. Three of the Borough's 'care' respondents had been arrested/convicted in the year before being interviewed while none of its 'care' sample members had.

However, as might be expected from discussion in the previous sub-section the last arrested/conviction suffered by the majority of Hinkley respondents clustered in the period 13 to 24 months before being interviewed with 71% of 'non-care', and 69% of 'care' respondents arrest/conviction giving reports to this effect.

Findings in Ingleby were similar to Hinkley's with the same pattern of clustering being in evidence among 'care' respondents. As only two of Ingleby's 'non-care' respondents were incorporated into the measurement of indicator B3. the fact that the time elapsed since their last arrest/conviction failed to cluster is not surprising, but one of these young people reported having last encountered trouble more recently than any other respondent from the area. In so doing, the danger of assuming that 'offending behaviour' on the parts of young people in 'care' is more current than that of their 'non-care' counterparts is highlighted.

16.4(c.). Last Arrest/Conviction: Gender - Hinkley.

Table 16.5. shows that with no 'care' females and 'non-care' respondents of either gender in Hinkley recording arrests, or convictions in the twelve months prior to being interviewed 'offending behaviour' was not an on-going activity on their parts. However, the position of males in 'care' was very different with 38% of them

having been arrested or convicted in this period. As a consequence these young people were isolated from all other local respondent groups by the unusually contemporary nature of their 'offending behaviour'.

Yet, it is important to avoid leaping to the conclusion that males in the local Authority's 'care' were always encountering trouble with the 'law'. The reverse was true with 63% of them having avoided trouble for, at least, 13 months.

Nevertheless, in comparision to Hinkley's other respondent groups the 'offending behaviour' of males in its 'care' was unusually contemporary in nature. An explanation for this appears to lie in the large number of arrests suffered by them. While very few of these arrests resulted in convictions the frequency with which they were arrested dictated that they encountered trouble with the 'law' more often than any other local respondent group. Even so, the point to be noted again is that for the majority of male 'care' respondents, and the majority of all other respondent groups in the Borough 'offending behaviour' was not a current activity.

16.4(d.). Last Arrest/Conviction: Gender - Ingleby.

Examination of Table 16.5. reveals that the currency of Ingleby's respondents' 'offending behaviour' contrasted with that of young people in Hinkley. Three main points of difference emerged:

1. In Ingleby, unlike Hinkley, 'care' males did not form an isolated group whose 'offending behaviour' was more of an on-going activity than it was for all other respondents. On the contrary, in Ingleby it was a 'non-care' male who recorded the most recent arrest/ conviction.

2. The time to have elapsed since the last arrest/conviction of Ingleby's respondents of the same gender was similar regardless of their differing 'care' status. All local female respondents reported that their last arrest/conviction occurred 22 months, or more, prior to being interviewed; for all males this period was between 4 to 15 months.

3. Table 16.5. shows the arrests/convictions of Ingleby's 'care' and 'non-care' males to be more recent than for either group of females from the Borough. Therefore, in contrast to Hinkley, in Ingleby gender was a more reliable predictor of respondents continued offending than was their 'care' status.

In summary, in Ingleby 'offending' appeared to be no more of an on-going activity among 'care', than 'non-care' respondents. The recency of the last arrest/conviction of young people in 'care' was akin to that of their 'non-care' counterparts of the same gender.

16.4(e.). Last Arrest/Conviction: Racial Presentation - Hinkley.

With 30% of all Hinkley's Black, and none of its White respondents reporting that they had been arrested/convicted within a twelve month period prior to being interviewed the currency of their 'offending behaviour' appeared to be differentiated by their racial presentation. However, examination of Table 16.6. shows this conclusion to be of dubious validity as only Black 'care' respondents had encountered trouble with the law in this period. 'Offending behaviour', on the part of young Black people, not in 'care' was as contemporary as that of White 'care' and 'non-care' respondents with none of them suffering arrests or convictions for at least twelve months.

As a result, Hinkley's Black 'care' respondents emerge from the research as trapped in a cycle of continuing arrests/convictions. The most obvious explanations for this were:

1. The existence of racism making young Black people more likely to suffer arrests and convictions than their White counterparts.

2. The 'deviant', criminally orientated behaviour of Black 'care' respondents.

However, the above explanations fail to provide an adequate account of the contemporary nature of Hinkley's Black 'care' respondents 'offending behaviour'.

The reasons for this are twofold.

Firstly, the detrimental effects of racism can reasonably be expected to impact on all young Black people irrespective of their 'care' status. Therefore, if racism is the root cause of the disproportionate number of recent arrests/convictions suffered by the Borough's Black 'care' respondents a similar chronological distribution of arrests/convictions should have been found for local Black 'non-care' respondents. Yet no such similar distribution was discovered.

Secondly, the legal grounds for placing a young person in 'care' are universal, they do not change with the racial presentations of those they are being applied to. Therefore, Black and White 'care' respondents should have been no more, or less criminally orientated than each other. As a result, they could be expected to display roughly the same pattern of recent arrests/convictions. Perplexingly, they did not.

Ultimately, it seems safest to present the seemingly on-going nature of Hinkley's Black 'care' respondents as the product of the multiple disadvantages they suffer. In this sense the unique, binary disadvantage they suffered of being Black and in 'care' is regarded as important.

16.4(f.). Last Arrest/Conviction: Racial Presentation - Ingleby.

Table 16.6. shows that the distribution of last arrest/convictions among Ingleby's respondents did not differ markedly between respondents of different racial presentations. This is borne out by the observation that all, but two young people from the area who participated in the study managed to steer clear of trouble for at least 13 months prior to the study.

Perhaps, the most interesting feature of Table 16.6. is the way in which the Ingleby findings contrasts with those for Hinkley. The Table indicates that Ingleby's Black 'care' respondents are not an eccentric group of current actual, or suspected offenders and that it is the area's 'non-care' respondents who had most recently undergone arrest/conviction.

Differences of this type between the two Borough's point to the importance of local factors in influencing research findings. Yet, despite their differences a common thread unites Hinkley and Ingleby findings with a minority of respondents in each reporting having been arrested or receiving a conviction. Furthermore, less than half of this minority, irrespective of 'care' status and racial presentation, could be described as having 'offending behaviour' which was on going.

Chapter 17.

Family Relationships: Variable C.

17.1. Introduction.

A distinctive feature of the social definition of young people in 'care' is its depiction of them as coming from, so called, 'bad' families. In these families relationships between their members are presumed to be more fragile and less supportive than those found in the contrastingly 'good' families of young people not in 'care'. Thus, the social definition makes a qualitative distinction between the family relationships of young people in, and not in 'care'. It is a distinction which, not only, reflects the differing public regard they attract but also indicates how their respective families are popularly thought to be.

The research study attempted to assess and contrast the family relationships of 'care' and 'non-care' respondents. In doing so, a strategy was adopted which tried to garner the 'facts' that best described how relationships within respondents' families actually 'were' which was compared with data concerning how these young people 'felt' them to be. While this approach was capable of pointing to any mismatch between an objective assessment of, and the subjective experience of these relationships the study's primary goal was the identification of the family support networks available to respondents, regardless of whether or not their families conformed to acceptable social norms. This reflected the belief that it is what young people gain from their families and not how their families work which is of overriding importance.

A six dimensional approach, intended to increase the reliability of research findings, was taken towards the meassurement of respondents' family relationships. However, some young people were discovered in all respondent groups who found it difficult to talk about these relationships. The coyness with which this was generally associated denoted that this was probably due to embarrassment. Whilst this may have been attributable to poor interview technique on the part of the interviewer, the age of the respondents is also considered important as all were approached at a time when they were trying to establish their identities as independent adults.

17.2. Indicator C1: Parents Living Together/Apart.

Discussion of this indicator will be limited as all data with respect to it was gathered in the measurement of A2 which has already been subject to analysis (see Chapter 15.). This showed, in short, that while a larger proportion of young people in, than not in 'care' came from single parent households, a considerable degree of overlap existed between them, with many of those not in 'care' coming from similar households, regardless of respondents' borough of residence, gender and racial presentation.

17.3. Indicator C2: Level Of Contact With Parent/s.

Measurement of C2. attempted to identify those respondents who:

1. Lived on a full, or part-time basis with their parent/s.
2. Only had contact (direct or indirect) with their parents.
3. Had no parental contact.

Prior to measurement the decision was taken, for reasons of research management, to record only those responses concerning the level of contact respondents had with the parent/s with whom they last lived, or were living with at the time when the study was undertaken. As a result, the level of contact they might also have had with an absent parent is not measured. However, this is considered acceptable as indicators C3. (parents' relationships as assessed by respondents) and C4. (respondents' relationships with parents) help compensate for this omission

17.3(a.). Level of Contact With Parents: 'Care' Status.

Table 17.1. makes clear the varying levels of contact young people in, and not in

'care' had with their parents. With all 'non-care' respondents living full-time with their parents and none of those in 'care' doing so on a full, or part-time basis the differences found between these groups of young people could not have been more extreme.

Table 17.1. Level Of Contact With Parent/s: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence.

LEVEL OF CONTACT	'CARE' (n=51)		'NON-CARE' (n=51)	
	HINKLEY (n=30)	INGLEBY (n=21)	HINKLEY (n=30)	INGLEBY (n=21)
Living Full-Time With Parent/s.			30(100%)	21(100%)
Living Part-Time With Parent/s.				
Daily Contact With Parent/s.	7(23%)	6(29%)		
At Least Weekly Contact With Parent/s.	15(50%)	9(43%)		
At Least Monthly Contact With Parent/s.	5(17%)	3(14%)		
At Least Yearly Contact With Parents.	2(7%)	1(5%)		
Less Than Yearly Contact With Parent/s.	1(3%)			
No Contact With Parent/s.		2(10%)		
Totals	30(100%)	21(101%)	30(100%)	21(100%)

Yet, as startling as these results may appear they are merely a truism as the criteria laid down for membership of the 'care' samples confined it to individuals living in local authority residential 'care' i.e. not living with their parents on either a full-time or part-time basis. As a result, the fact of being in 'care' automatically overrode the importance of local, gender and racial factors in influencing the differing levels of parental contact the research found between 'care' and 'non-care' respondents. Therefore, it is not proposed to discuss these factors in relation to the measurement of C2.

However, Table 17.1. provides a clear warning against assuming young people in 'care' inevitably drifts (1.) away from their familieswith only 2 'care' respondents having lost contact with their parents. The remaining 49 of these young people remained in touch with their parents; 13 on a daily, and 24 on a weekly basis. In other words, 73% of 'care' respondents had regular and frequent contact with their parents. While this was still well short of that enjoyed by their 'non-care' counterparts it is sufficient to indicate that although admission into 'care' may place increased strain on family ties, it does not necessarily sever them.

When talking to 'care' respondents the high value they placed on maintaining family contacts and these young people's resentment of restrictions on their ability to do so were recurring themes in their conversation. The following were typical of the remarks they made in this regard:

> *"Since coming into care I have kept in close touch with mum. She's good and has sorted out a few things for me with my social workers".*
>
> (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).

> *"I just really want to get back home. I feel I'm being punished for something by being in care ... What I do is try and keep out of sight by spending as much time as possible with my parents. Cause I don't tell social services I'm going to see my mum and dad my social worker gets annoyed with me and has stopped visits".*
>
> (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).

> *"I like to get home as much as I can. I feel comfortable there and at my next review I may even allowed to go back to live".*
>
> (Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).

> *"Where I am you are only allowed to visit your family at weekends. I don't know why I can't see them in the week, but that's the rule".*
>
> (Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).

17.4. Indicator C3: Parents' Relationships As Assessed By Respondents.

Indicator C3 provides a qualitative measure of the relationship between respondents' parents based on how these young people feel this to be. In doing so, no set definition of a 'parent' was used and it was left to respondents to decide who best met this description. As a result, they commented on a variety of 'parental' relationships which existed within and outside of marriage and where parents lived, or did not live together.

However, whilst it was recognized that differing forms of relationships existed between respondents' parents these were not delved into. Instead the study confined itself to attempting to discover what respondents felt about the quality of their parents' relationship, regardless of its precise form. Information about this matter is contained in Tables 17.2. and 17.3. and in the comments of these young people.

17.4(a.). Parents' Relationships As Assessed By Respondents: 'Care' Status.

Table 17.2. and 17.3. show that with only 8% of all 'care', compared to 55% of all 'non-care' respondents assessing their parents relationships as 'very good' young people in 'care' made much more critical assessments than did their 'non-care' counterparts.

Table 17.2. Relationship Between Parents As Assessed By Respondents: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Gender.

ASSESSED QUALITY OF PARENTS' RELATIONSHIPS	'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
	HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)
Very Good.	2(13%)		2(14%)		9(56%)	7(50%)	6(43%)	6(86%)
Good.	2(13%)	1(7%)	2(14%)		2(13%)	3(21%)	2(13%)	1(14%)
Fair.	2(13%)	3(21%)	2(14%)	4(57%)	3(19%)	2(14%)	5(36%)	
Poor.	1(6%)	1(7%)						
Very Poor.	2(13%)	2(14%)	3(21%)	1(14%)	2(13%)	2(14%)	1(7%)	
Not Applicable.	7(44%)	7(50%)	5(36%)	2(29%)				
Totals	16(102%)	14(99%)	14(99%)	7(100%)	16(101%)	14(99%)	14(99%)	7(100%)

Table 17.3. Relationship Between Parents As Assessed By Respondents: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Racial Presentation.

ASSESSED QUALITY OF PARENTS' RELATIONSHIPS	'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
	HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)
Very Good.	1(7%)	1(6%)	1(9%)	1(10%)	7(50%)	9(56%)	7(64%)	5(50%)
Good.	1(7%)	2(13%)	1(9%)	1(10%)	3(21%)	2(13%)	1(9%)	2(20%)
Fair.	3(21%)	2(13%)	4(36%)	2(20%)	3(21%)	2(13%)	3(27%)	2(20%)
Poor.		2(13%)						
Very Poor.	3(21%)	1(6%)	1(9%)	3(30%)	1(7%)	3(19%)		1(10%)
Not Applicable.	6(43%)	8(50%)	4(36%)	3(30%)				
Totals	14(99%)	16(101%)	11(99%)	10(100%)	14(99%)	16(101%)	11(100%)	10(100%)

The Tables also show a wider spread of responses from the former than from the latter. This may simply indicate that young people not in 'care' experienced a more uniform set of parental relationships than did those in 'care', but it may also point to the ability of these young people to more finely define these relationships.

An interesting feature of the data gained with regard to C3. is the cluster of 21 'care' respondents - 41% of the total - who reported that it was 'not applicable' for them to make an assessment of their parents' relationship. The reasons given for this were:

1. All contact lost with both parent - 2 respondents.
2. No second parent or 'acceptable' substitute found - 15 respondents.
3. Don't know - 4 respondents.

When considering what is an 'acceptable' substitute for a parent with whom contact has been lost it was quickly discovered that this was a sensitive matter. It stirred the emotions of several respondents and was the cause of considerable dispute between them and their remaining parent:

> *"I was the man of the house til he arrived and when he tried to take over I didn't like it. So I gave him trouble. In the end he says to her (the respondent's mother) either he goes or I go. She made her choice and I'm in care".*
>
> (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).

> *"I can't say how they get on. I don't want to know her (respondent's mother) or him (respondent's mother's current cohabitee). He's a dirty sod and he's tried it on with me".*
>
> (My Brackets) (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).

> *"Sure mum has men friends and that's OK, but she has none I feel close to. I doubt that I ever could, even if she did, after the way my dad treated her and everyone else at home".*
>
> (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).

> *"Before my dad left he put me in charge of things so what right does my mum have to bring some guy an tell me to 'move over' for him".*
>
> (Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).

> *"I never knew my dad and I had to run the house and look after my little sister and brothers. Even had to look aftermy mum. I love her, but don't trust her and the men she has been with have all abused her".*
>
> (Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).

In contrast to 'care', 'non-care' respondents seemed to have no difficulty in assessing the quality of their parents' relationships. None of these young people fell into the 'not applicable' categories of Tables 17.2. and 17.3., indicating that they and their families did not find it so difficult, or have to contend with the difficulties involved in finding an 'acceptable' substitute for an absent parent.

However, the apparently clear indication that 'non-care' respondents evaluated the quality of their parents relationships more highly than their 'care' counterparts is too glib. The low number of 'care' respondents reporting their parents to have 'very good' relationships is not necessarily a reflection of the, supposed, poor quality of their parents' relationships. It is largely accounted for by the differing family patterns found within the two groups of young people. As has already been discussed, more 'care', than 'non-care' respondents came from single parent families in which there was no contact with the absent parent, making the need for these young people to consider the quality of their parents relationship redundant.

17.4(b.). Parents's Relationships As Assessed By Respondents: Borough Of Residence.

When respondents' assessments of their parents relationships are analysed in terms of borough of residence differences emerge between Hinkley and Ingleby. These are summarized as follows:

1. Positive evaluations, describing the relationships between respondents parents as 'very good', or 'good', or 'fair', were received from a larger proportion of Ingleby's 'care' and 'non-care' samples than from the parallel Hinkley samples. A mean difference of 12% was identified between the Boroughs in this respect indicating that local factors helped predict assessments made.

2. Wide differentials existed between dissimilar 'care' status samples from the same Borough. In Hinkley 54% more 'non-care', than 'care' respondents evaluated the relationship between their parents positively; in Ingleby this differential closed slightly to 47%. Thus, while local factors may have influenced the assessments of respondents provided 'care' status appeared even more important.

3. With 20% of Hinkley's 'care' and 13% of its'non-care' samples assessing the quality of their parents relationships to be 'poor' or 'very poor' a degree of symmetry between these young people was evidenced in this regard. In Ingleby 19% of its 'care' sample also offered this assessment compared with only 5% of local 'non-care' respondents indicating that of all the young people who took part in the study they had the best chance of enjoying the benefits to be derived from having parents who had a 'good' relationship.

   Conversely, the predominance of negative assessments supplied by Hinkley's 'care' respondents suggested that of all respondents they ran the greatest risk of suffering the termoil of conflict between parents.

4. However, Table 17.2. and 17.3. indicate that the conclusion to point 3, above, needs to be treated with caution as 47% of Hinkley's and 33% of Ingleby's 'care' respondents felt they could not evaluate their parents

relationships. Thus, a substantial proportion of both 'care' samples were effectively omitted from measurement of C3 making it difficult to assess the differing associations of care status and locality on the types of assessments supplied.

17.4(c.). Parents' Relationships As Assessed By Respondents: Gender - Hinkley.

Analysis of Table 17.2. reveals that the assessments young people in Hinkley made of their parents relationships were primarily divisible in terms of respondents' 'care' status, not their gender. In other words, assessments made by respondents of the same gender, but different 'care' status differed more than those made by respondents of different genders, but same 'care' status. For example, 88% of 'non-care' females and 86% of 'non-care' males evaluated their parents relationships positively compared with 38% of females, and 29% of males in the Authority's 'care'. Similarly, only 13% of 'non-care' females and 14% of 'non-care' males gave negative reports in comparison to the 19% and 21% of 'care' females and males, respectively, who did so.

However, if the 'care' respondents who fell into Table 17.2's. 'not applicable' category are discarded and all calculations made on the basis of the remaining, smaller 'care' samples several interesting things appear to happen:

1. The proportion of females in Hinkley's 'care' who gave positive evaluation rises from 38% to 67%. while;

2. the proportion of in 'care' males giving reports of this type rises from 29% to 57%, but;

3. this is accompanied by the proportion of 'care' females giving negative reports rising to 33%, and;

4. by the proportion of 'care' males making similar reports climbing to 43%.

Thus, consideration of only those 'care' respondents who evaluated their parents' relationship shows that the gap between the proportions of Hinkley's 'care' and 'non-care' samples giving positive and negative evaluations is exaggerated by the concentration of 'not applicable' responses among the former group of young people. Nevertheless, the differentials found between the types of assessments received indicates that they could be more reliably predicted by reference to respondent 'care' status than to their gender.

17.4(d.). Parents' Relationships As Assessed By Respondents: Gender - Ingleby.

Research findings for Ingleby mirror Hinkley's with assessments of parental relationships, again, appearing to be more strongly associated with 'care' status, than gender of respondents. Thus, while positive assessments were received from 93% and 100% of the Borough's 'non-care' females and males, respectively, assessments of this type were supplied by only 43% females and 57% of males in its 'care'. On the other hand, while 7% of 'non-care' females and none of their male counterparts made negative assessments 21% 'care' females and 14% 'care' males did so.

However, when Ingleby's respondents who fell into the 'not applicable' category of Table 17.2. are discounted the proportion of the remaining 'care' females giving positive reports rises to 67% and to 80% for males of the same 'care' status. This increase is only partially off-set by an accompanying, but less significant rise in the proportion of these females and males submitting negative reports to 33% and 20%, respectively.

17.4(e.). Parents' Relationships As Assessed By Respondents: Racial Presentation.

The distribution, in terms of respondents' racial presentation, of the positive and negative assessments made by young people in both boroughs of their parents relationships displayed a pattern similar to that described in 17.4(c.) and 17.4(d.) with them appearing to be primarily influenced by respondents 'care' status. Table 17.3. demonstrates this in the following ways:

1. While 93% of Hinkley's Black and 81% of its White 'non-care' respondents gave positive assessments of their parents relationships only 36% and 31% of the Borough's Black and White, respectively, 'care' respondents did so. Conversely;

2. 21% of Black 'care' respondents in Hinkley gave negative assessments compared with 7% of local 'non-care' respondents of the same racial presentation. In contrast, there was apparent agreement among Hinkley's White 'care' and 'non-care' respondents with the same proportion of both (19%), rating their parents' relationships negatively.

However, this similarity is explicable in terms of the number - 8 - of the Borough's White 'care' respondents who fell into the 'not applicable' category. If these young people are discounted we find that the proportion of remaining White 'care' respondents from the area who made negative assessments of their parents relationships goes up to 38%. The adoption of this procedure with regard to local Black 'care' respondents shows that the same proportion of them also made this type of assessment.

3. All Black, and 90% of White 'non-care' respondents in Ingleby provided positive assessments of their parents relationships but only 55% of Black, and 40% of White 'care' respondents did so.

4. None of Ingleby's Black 'non-care' respondents made negative assessments compared with 9% of their 'care' counterparts.

5. Only 10% of Ingleby's White 'non-care' respondents compared with 30% of its White 'care' respondents provided unfavourable ratings.

6. If the young people from Ingleby who fell into the Table's 'not applicable' category are disregarded the proportion of the remaining Black 'care' respondents from the area making positive and negative assessments rises to 86% and 14%, respectively. Similarly, the proportion of remaining White 'care' respondents giving positive assessments goes up to 57% while the

proportion of them giving negative reports climbs to 43%.

It can be concluded that Table 17.3. distorts the influence 'care' status asserted over the ways in which respondents evaluated the quality of their parents relationships. Exclusion of 'not applicable' responses shows that a differential of just 13% spanned the varying proportions of Ingleby's Black 'care' and 'non-care' and White 'non-care' samples who made positive evaluations of their parents' relationships. Similary the proportions of these groups who offered this type of negative evaluation differed by no more than 14%. As a result, Ingleby's White 'care' respondents emerged as a rogue group which was more likely than any other to provide negative, and less likely to provide positive assessments of their parents relationships than was any other set of young people.

Ultimately the research found, that if young people who gave responses which fell into the 'not applicable' category are discounted no simple association between 'care' status and the assessments respondents made of the quality of their parents' relationships could be detected, regardless of these young people's borough of residence, gender and racial presentation. Whilst young people in 'care' respondents were, generally, less positive about the quality of their parents' relationships the degree to which they differed from their 'non-care' counterparts in this respect was exaggerated by the concentration of 'care' respondents in the 'not applicable' category of Table 17.3.

17.5. Indicator C4: Respondents' Relationships With Parents.

17.5(a.) Respondents' Relationships With Parents: 'Care' Status.

The review of the literature described the family networks of young people in 'care' as denuded, but the research results contained in Tables 17.4. and 17.5. show that the study failed to bear out this view. On the contrary, similar proportions of 'care' and 'non-care' respondents (71% and 76% respectively) rated their relationship with parents as 'very good' or 'good'.

Table 17.4. Respondents' Relationships With Parents: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Gender.

RESPONDENTS' RELATIONSHIPS WITH PARENTS	'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
	HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)
Very Good.	8(50%)	10(71%)	5(36%)	2(29%)	12(75%)	9(64%)	6(43%)	4(57%)
Good.	5(31%)	1(7%)	2(14%)	3(43%)	2(13%)	3(21%)	2(14%)	1(14%)
Fair.	2(13%)	3(21%)	2(14%)			1(7%)	2(14%)	1(14%)
Poor.			3(21%)		1(6%)	1(7%)	4(29%)	1(14%)
Very Poor.	1(6%)		2(14%)		1(6%)			
Not Applicable.				2(29%)				
Totals	16(100%)	14(99%)	14(99%)	7(101%)	16(100%)	14(99%)	14(100%)	7(99%)

Table 17.5. Respondents' Relationships With Parents: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Racial Presentation.

RESPONDENTS' RELATIONSHIPS WITH PARENTS	'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
	HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)
Very Good.	8(57%)	10(63%)	5(45%)	2(20%)	9(64%)	12(75%)	5(45%)	5(50%)
Good.	3(21%)	3(19%)	2(18%)	3(30%)	4(29%)	1(6%)	2(18%)	1(10%)
Fair.	3(21%)	2(13%)	1(9%)	1(10%)		1(6%)	1(9%)	2(20%)
Poor.			1(9%)	2(20%)	1(7%)	1(6%)	3(27%)	2(20%)
Very Poor.		1(6%)	1(9%)	1(10%)		1(6%)		
Not Applicable.			1(9%)	1(10%)				
Totals	14(99%)	16(101%)	11(99%)	10(100%)	14(100%)	16(99%)	11(99%)	10(100%)

Moreover, if the 'very good', 'good' and 'fair' responses received from 'care' and 'non-care' respondents are aggregated separately the same overall positive rating is obtained for each set of young people. With 43 members from both the 'care' and 'non-care' samples - corresponding to 84% of each - providing this rating the frequencies with which they did so was unaffected by differences in 'care' status. As a result, the social definition's presentation of young people in 'care' as having unusually bad relationships with their parents appears falsified with regard to the study's 'care' respondents.

However, interpretation of Tables 17.4. and 17.5. must be undertaken with caution for it compares the responses of one group of young people who do not live at home ('care' respondents) with another group of young people who do ('non-care' respondents). Thus, the Tables do not compare like with like. They fail to take into account how the differing 'spacial separation' of 'care' and 'non-care' respondents from their parents influenced these young people's relationships with them. The implications of this may be considerable and it appears reasonable to assume:

1. It inflated the number of 'care' respondents who viewed their relationships with their parents positively, seeing them as preferable to the 'care' system.

2. Depressed the number of 'non-care' respondents who took a similar view as they struggled with parents who may have tried to maintain their authority in the face of their teenaged children's wish for autonomy.

Comments made by some respondents offer confirmation of the views expressed above:

> *"My brother got married last month. The wedding was in Manchester which meant that if I went I would be away for a couple of nights. They weren't too keen on that here (the residential establishment) til my mum came down here and sorted them out".*
>
> (My Brackets) (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).

> *"I get on all right with my parents, but you'd think I was a kid the way they treat me sometimes".*
>
> (Hinkley 'Non-Care' Respondent).

"People look at you as though you were something weird when they know you were in 'care', but my parents are trying to get me out. They have even decorated my old bedroom at home".

(Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).

"Just recently I had a row with my dad because I wasn't in on time - according to him. He should lay-off, I'm old enough now to look after myself and am fed-up with him telling me what to do".

(Hinkley 'Non-Care' Respondent).

"If I want to get away from here (the residential establishment) I can always go to my parents for a few hours. If the staff (residential social workers) complain my mum or dad see to them".

(My Brackets) (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).

"As soon as I can I'm leaving home so I can get on with my own life".

(Hinkley 'Non-Care' Respondent).

"My mum always sticks-up for me if I have a row with a social worker. I think they're all scared of her".

(Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).

"They (respondent's parents) are always on my back about school. They won't accept that I want to leave and that's my decision not their's".

(My Brackets) (Ingleby 'Non-Care' Respondent).

"When you're in care its hard to get someone from the outside who will defend you against it. I've been lucky because since coming into care my mum has made sure I'm not pushed about by the system".

(Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).

"I seem to be arguing a lot with my parents lately. Sometimes we have some pretty nasty rows, usually about what they want me to do." I

(Ingleby 'Non-Care' Respondent).

"My mum is great. If I need to get away from here (the residential establishment) I can always go to her house".

(My Brackets) (Ingleby 'Care' Respondents).

> *"I just wish my parents would get off my back. Seems I can't do anything right as far as they're concerned".*
>
> (Ingleby 'Non-Care' Respondent).

Unfortunately, the favour with which some 'care' respondents looked upon the relationships with their parents incorporated a distinctly negative aspect; it appeared to be based on their banding together to make common cause against the local authority providing 'care'.

Nevertheless, the implications of the research findings are clear; for several respondents associated being in 'care' with an improvement in the quality of their relationships with their parents. It was an improvement arising out of, and sustained by their separation. It seemed as if 'care' provided some young people and their parents with a much needed saftey valve which relieved previously unsustainable pressures in their relationships. As a result, an inverse correlation existed between the amount of time some 'care' respondents spent with their parents and the quality of their relationship with them. The words of one respondent summarized the thoughts of all who found themselves in this situation.

> *"Since coming into care I am getting on much better with my parents. When I go home now we don't argue like we used to. They seem to be taking more of an interest in me and I even look forward to seeing them".*
>
> (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).

It is not argued that admission to local authority 'care' is conducive to good relationships between young people and their parents, but it is contended that the stereotyping of the relationship between them as 'poor' takes a too simplistic view of how human relationships work. Analysis of Tables 17.4. and 17.5. has shown that the research study found that 'care' respondents and their parents had a more robust relationships than might be supposed from the social definition applied to these young people.

It is concluded that no significant differences were found between the study's 'care' and 'non-care' respondents in terms of the number and proportions of them who gave some form of positive rating of their relationships with their parents. The underlying dynamics of these relationships may have differed between the two respondent groups, but this does not concern the study which is restricted to gleaning and comparing the evaluations of 'care' and 'non-care' respondents. In doing so, the proportion of those in 'care' who gave their relationship with their parents some form of positive rating was so great that this conclusion could not, and was not overridden by the intervention of local, or gender, or racial factors.

17.5(b.). Respondents' Relationship With Parents: Borough Of Residence.

Comparison of Tables 17.4. and 17.5. shows that the assessments respondents made of their relationships with parents differed more in terms of borough of residence than 'care' status. Thus, while the proportions of 'care' and 'non-care' respondents in Hinkley and Ingleby who offered positive rating of this relationship differed by 7% and 11%, respectively, the differential between young people of the same 'care' status, but from different Boroughs was wider. For 'care' respondents it stood at 30% and for those not in 'care' 14%.

As a result, borough of residence emerged as a more reliable indicator, than 'care' status, of the quality of the young people's relationships with their parents. Certainly the particularly high proportion, 97%, of Hinkley's 'care' respondents for whom positive ratings were recorded defies the belief that a charateristic of young people in 'care' is their poor relationships with their parents.

17.5(c.). Respondents' Relationships With Parents: Gender.

Analysis of Table 17.4. reveals that respondents' views about the quality of their relationships with their parents were not clearly differentiated by gender.

In Hinkley it appeared that respondents, regardless of 'care' status and gender were about as likely as one another to feel that their relationships with their parents were 'very good', or 'good', or 'fair'.

In Ingleby no clear correlation was evdienced between 'care' status, gender and respondent' evaluations of the quality of their relationships with their parents.

While some differences in the response patterns recorded in Hinkley and Ingleby were observed in both Boroughs, 'care' status and gender appeared to exert an equal influence on how respondents regarded their relationships with their parents.

17.5(d.). Respondents' Relationships With Parents: Racial Presentation.

Table 17.5. shows that with 93% of Hinkley's Black, and 88% of its White 'non-care' respondents describing their relationships with their parents in positive terms the contrasting racial presentations of these young people did not appear to significantly influence reported quality of these relationships. The same was also found to be true with regard to the Borough's Black and White 'care' respondents of whom 100% and 94%, respectively, also gave the quality of their relationship with their parents some form of positive rating.

Data shows that with the same proportions (73%) of Ingleby's Black 'care' and 'non-care' respondents giving favourable reports of their relationships with their parents the 'care' status of these young people did not differentiate the frequency with which they did so. However, 'care' status excerted a more powerful influence over the frequency with which positive reports of relationships with parents were received from White respondents. For example, a differential of 20% was discovered between the 60% of Ingleby's White 'care' and 80% of its White 'non-care' respondents who provided reports of this type. Nevertheless, this differential is not as large as it appears, translating into a difference of only 2 respondents between these sub samples.

In short, the majority of all of Ingleby's respondent groups made some form of positive assessment of the quality of their relationships with their parents and in so doing their views appeared to be, more or less, equally predicted by their racial presentation and 'care status. In this respect, research findings for Ingleby and Hinkley were alike.

It is concluded that all measures taken of indicator C4. consolidated a theme already referred to and which proved to be a central feature of the study; sic. the congruity of research findings for young people in, and not in 'care'. This reflects a degree of homogeneity between them which the social definition imposed on those in 'care' conceals. In ascribing to these young people a perverse uniqueness this definition fails to pay due attention to the many similarities between them and their 'non-care' counterparts.

17.6. Indicator C5: Respondents' Sibling Relationships.

Measures indicator C5. were obtained by asking respondents to rate what they felt the overall quality of their sibling relationships to be. Although this approach is justified on the grounds of research convenience it is recognized that beneath the generalized assessments it provided, radically differing relationships within respondents' sibling groups may have been been left uncovered. All respondents had siblings though two of Ingleby's 'care' sample had not had contact with theirs and so could make no comment. Therefore, it was decided that it was 'not applicable' to approach them for required information.

17.6(a.). Respondent's Sibling Relationships: 'Care' Status.

The main conclusions arising out of analysis of Tables 17.6. and 17.7. are summarized as follows:

1. With 76% of all care, and 92% of all 'non-care' respondents describing their relationships with siblings as either 'very good', 'good' or 'fair' a majority of both sets of young people gave some form of positive qualitative rating to sibling relationships. Although a far larger proportion of 'care' (20%) than 'non-care' (8%) respondents felt that their relationships with their siblings were 'poor' or 'very poor', a rough congruence in the comparative views of respondents is the most distinctive feature of the Tables with a comfortable majority of all sub-samples, making positive reports.

Table 17.6. Respondents' Sibling Relationships: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Gender.

RESPONDENTS' SIBLING RELATIONSHIPS	'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
	HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)
Very Good.	2(13%)		4(29%)	1(14%)	5(31%)	3(21%)	3(21%)	1(14%)
Good.	5(31%)	8(57%)	5(36%)	1(14%)	8(50%)	7(50%)	5(36%)	2(28%)
Fair.	6(38%)	3(21%)	2(14%)	2(29%)	2(13%)	4(29%)	4(29%)	3(43%)
Poor.	3(19%)	2(14%)	2(14%)	2(29%)	1(6%)		2(14%)	1(14%)
Very Poor.		1(7%)						
Not Applicable.			1(7%)	1(14%)				
Totals	16(101%)	14(99%)	14(100%)	7(100%)	16(100%)	14(100%)	14(100%)	7(100%)

Table 17.7. Respondents' Sibling Relationships: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Racial Presentation.

RESPONDENTS' SIBLING RELATIONSHIPS	'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
	HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)
Very Good.	2(14%)		4(36%)	1(10%)	3(21%)	5(31%)	2(18%)	2(20%)
Good.	6(43%)	7(44%)	3(27%)	3(30%)	8(57%)	7(44%)	4(36%)	3(30%)
Fair.	3(21%)	6(38%)	1(9%)	3(30%)	3(21%)	3(19%)	3(27%)	4(40%)
Poor.	2(14%)	3(19%)	2(18%)	2(20%)		1(6%)	2(18%)	1(10%)
Very Poor.	1(7%)							
Not Applicable.			1(9%)	1(10%)				
Totals	14(99%)	16(101%)	11(99%)	10(100%)	14(99%)	16(100%)	11(99%)	10(100%)

2. Comparison of Tables 17.4. and 17.5. with Tables 17.6. and 17.7. shows that the proportion of 'care' respondents who made positive assessments of the quality of their relationships with parents was larger than the proportion of them who made similar assessments of their sibling relationships i.e. 84% compared to 76%. The reverse situation was found to hold for 'non-care' respondents who gave their relationships with parents and siblings positive rating of 84% and 92%, respectively. This finding is consistent with the previously discussed indication that the research study gave of young people in 'care' tending to be less critical of their parents than their 'non-care' counterparts.

3. It appears that the relationships respondents had with their siblings were less qualitatively significant for them than those they had with their parents. For example, while 25 'care', and 31 'non-care' respondents described their relationship with their parents as 'very good' only 7 and 12, of these young people respectively described their siblings relationships in the same way. As a result, positive evaluations of these relationships tended to be confined to the more tepid categories of 'good' and 'fair'.

4. Tables 17.6. and 17.7. show a differential of 9% existed between the 80% of Hinkley's, and 71% of Ingleby's 'care' samples who rated the quality of their sibling relationships positively. A slightly larger differential of 11% was found to separate the 97% of Hinkleys', and 86% of Ingleby's 'non-care' respondents who provided favourable evaluations of their sibling relationships.

5. Outweighing the differentials referred to immediately above is the 16% gap between the 76% of all 'care', and 92% of all 'non-care' respondents who evaluated their sibling relationships positively. As a result, the quality of respondents' sibling relationships appeared to have a marginally stronger association with 'care' status than with borough of residence.

17.6(b.). Respondents' Sibling Relationships: Borough Of Residence.

Tables 17.6. and 17.7. show differentials of of 17% in Hinkley, and 15% in Ingleby were detected in the proportion of 'care' to 'non-care' respondents who rated their sibling relationships positively. In each Borough it was young people not in 'care' who most frequently gave this form of rating indicating that the operation of local factors reinforced the association between being in 'care' and a reduction in the ability to form satisfactory sibling relationships.

However, the precise nature of these influential factors is difficult to identify as there is no apparent reason why two adjacent London Boroughs should differ significantly. Yet, the fact that larger proportions of Hinkley's 'care' and 'non-care' respondents made positive assessments than did their 'care' status counterparts in Ingleby is indicative of the differences between the Boroughs. The only constant the research found between them was that in both being in 'care' was more strongly associated, than not being in 'care', with a decline in the qualitative evaluations respondents made of their sibling relationships.

Nevertheless, Tables 17.6. and 17.7. re-emphasize that a comfortable majority of respondents, irrespective of 'care' status and borough of residence, rated their sibling relationships positively. Some 'care' respondents indicated that these relationships had increased in importance for them since coming into 'care'. The reasons typically given are reflected in the remarks of three 'care' respondents:

> *"Iv'e put me mum through a lot and I know she hates me being in 'care'. Well my younger brother is a good kid and I'm gonna make sure he don't turn out like me".*
>
> (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).

> *"Being in 'care' is like being no where. I've lost friends since coming here (the residential establishment) and I don't know about everything that's happening at home. So I guess thats sort of thrown me and me brother together, he's my friend these days and I really like that cause he's got nothing to do with care He's a bit of reality".*

(My Brackets) (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).

"We always were a close a family and I always got on with my brothers and sister. Since being in 'care' they have made an effort to keep in touch. Suppose it's something to do with being the youngest".

(Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).

17.6(c.). Respondents' Sibling Relationships: Gender.

Examination of Table 17.6. reveals that when the quality of respondents relationships with their siblings is analysed in terms of their gender the underlying unity between 'care' and 'non-care' respondents remains undisturbed. The Table shows that the majority of each group provided some form of positive evaluation of these relationships. While differences did exist between the young people who gave this evaluation these should not obscure the overriding consensus found in the views of 'care' and 'non-care' respondents.

17.6(d.). Respondents' Sibling Relationships:Racial Presentation.

With responses received from young people in Hinkley concentrated in positive categories of response, the evaluations they made of their sibling relationships displayed a good deal of unanimity, regardless of respondents differing racial presentations and 'care' status.

Furthermore, the research data contained in the Table makes clear, once again, how the replies of Hinkley's respondents appeared to be primarily determined by their 'care' status. A differential of 21% was found between the proportions of Borough's Black 'care' and 'non-care' respondents who evaluated their sibling relationships positively while a differential of 13% separates their White counterparts who also provided this form of evaluation. In comparison, the differential between Black and White 'care' respondents was only 2% being slightly wider, at 6%, between Black and White 'non-care' respondents.

In Ingleby the greater part of all respondent sub-samples rated their sibling relationships positively, while the positive qualitative rating respondents gave to their sibling relationships varied more in terms of the young people's 'care' status than their racial presentations.

The constant repetition of this pattern obtained in the course of all measures taken of C5. hints that the shared and predominant habit of all sub-samples, referred to in Tables 17.6. and 17.7., of allotting to their sibling relationships positive qualitative evaluations was ordered more by respondents 'care' status than their borough of residence, locality, gender or racial presentation.

Ultimately, the study's 'care' respondents appeared to flout the socially imposed stereotype of them by sharing with their 'non-care' counterparts the tendency to evaluate sibling relationships positively. While the proportion of 'care' respondents who gave evaluations of this type was consistently smaller than for those who were not in 'care' the difference was often marginal and never enough to justify the presentation of 'care' respondents as having sibling relationships which can confidently be regarded as poorer than those enjoyed by other young people.

17.7. Indicator C6: Respondents' Relationships With Grandparents.

Measures of respondents' relationships with their grandparents were used to indicate the level of support available to them from their extended families. The reported quality of these relationships were used as a guide to the availability of this support for the following reasons:

1. It was considered that respondents would be confused if asked to evaluate the quality of their relationships with extended families, a term alien to some young people.

2. The assumption was made that of all respondent's extended family relationships the most important were likely to be those they had with their grandparents.

However, whilst the the research's interest in the relationships between respondents and their grandparents allowed it to make clear the assumed importance of these relationships no a priori assumptions were made which automatically held that their quality was good; the quality of respondents' relationships with their grandparents varied considerably.

Nevertheless, only positive evaluations of these relationships will be commented on. As a result, the summary of data contained in Tables 17.8. and 17.9. offers a 'best possible view' of these relationships. This is justified by the measurement of C6. being concerned with assessing the support available to respondents from their grandparents.

17.7(a.). Respondents' Relationships With Grandparents: 'Care' Status.

Tables 17.8. and 17.9. show that with 73% and 71% of all 'care' and 'non-care' respondents, respectively, ranking their relationships with grandparents as 'very good', or 'good', or 'fair' 'care' status appeared to make little difference to the frequency with which they did so. However, if respondents who fell into the Tables' 'not applicable' categories are discounted the proportions of young people who made evaluations of this type jumps to 90% and 95% of all remaining 'care' and 'non-care' respondents, respectively, widening the differential between them from 2% to 5%.

The deletion of 'not applicable' responses disposes of the depressing effect they have on the proportions of the samples making positive and negative evaluations, thereby, bringing to the fore the impressive approval rating grandparents received from all the young people who took part in the study. In doing so, the weak association of 'care' with the quality of respondents' relationships with their grandparents is highlighted.

Table 17.8. Respondents' Relationships With Grandparents: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Gender.

RESPONDENTS' RELATIONSHIPS WITH GRANDPARENTS	'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
	HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)
Very Good.	6(38%)	5(36%)	7(50%)	2(29%)	8(50%)	4(29%)	7(50%)	2(29%)
Good.	4(25%)	3(21%)	2(14%)	1(14%)	2(13%)	4(29%)	2(14%)	1(14%)
Fair.	3(19%)	1(7%)	2(14%)	1(14%)	3(19%)	1(7%)	1(7%)	1(14%)
Poor.		2(14%)	1(7%)	1(14%)		1(7%)	1(7%)	
Very Poor.								
Not Applicable.	3(19%)	3(21%)	2(14%)	2(29%)	3(19%)	4(29%)	3(21%)	3(43%)
Totals	16(101%)	14(99%)	14(99%)	7(100%)	16(100%)	14(101%)	14(99%)	7(100%)

Table 17.9. Respondents' Relationships With Grandparents: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Racial Presentation.

RESPONDENTS' RELATIONSHIPS WITH GRANDPARENTS	'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
	HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)
Very Good.	6(43%)	5(31%)	5(45%)	4(40%)	6(43%)	6(38%)	6(55%)	3(30%)
Good.	4(29%)	3(19%)	2(18%)	1(10%)	4(29%)	2(13%)	1(9%)	2(20%)
Fair.	3(21%)	1(6%)	1(9%)	2(20%)	2(14%)	2(13%)	2(18%)	
Poor.		2(13%)	1(9%)	1(10%)		1(6%)		1(10%)
Very Poor.								
Not Applicable.	1(7%)	5(31%)	2(18%)	2(20%)	2(14%)	5(31%)	2(18%)	4(40%)
Totals	14(100%)	16(100%)	11(99%)	10(100%)	14(100%)	16(101%)	11(100%)	10(100%)

The explanations 'care' and 'non-care' respondents gave of why they got on so well with their grandparents emphasizes the unity between in the views of these young people. The following comments are representative of those received:

> *"Yeah, I keep in touch with me gran and grandad. Me gran practically brought me up and gave mum a lot of help with me and me brother. She (respondent's grandmother) sort of takes an interest what she calls my moral development and has tried to get me to church. She's given up on that now".*
>
> (My Brackets) (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).

> *"I don't really know how to put this, but mum had a boyfriend who was a right bastard. He hit her and me. He even tried to have it off with me so I got out and told me grandparents. They let me stay with them and sorted mum and her boyfriend. I never went back home though".*
>
> (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).

> *"Mum is on her own and she needs to work. Its not easy for her as she has got us kids to look after. Thats where me grandparents are good. They take care of my younger brother and sister and always make me feel welcome".*
>
> (Hinkley 'Non-Care' Respondent).

> *"Sometimes I wonder where I would go if I had to leave home and I the only place I can ever think of is me gran and grandad's".*
>
> (Hinkley 'Non-Care' Respondent).

> *"Recently I have had some problems at home. Don't seem to be able to get through to my parents who never listen to me. My nan does though and sometimes she'll speak to mum and calm things down".*
>
> (Hinkley 'Non-Care' Respondent).

> *"Somehow I've always felt relaxed with with my grandparents. There're not going to smack me and send me to bed early are they.*

> *That why I make a point of seeing them when I can, they give me space. You don't get much of that here (the residential establishment)".*
>
> (My Brackets) (Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).

> *"As mum's a single parent my granny has given her a lot help with us kids. I spent as much time with her as I did with mum when I was little".*
>
> (Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).

> *"If ever I needed help I know they (respondent's grandparents) would come through for me. They have in the past when I've been in trouble".*
>
> (My Brackets) (Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).

> *"I was practically brought up by my nan cause my mum had me when she was still going to school".*
>
> (Ingleby 'Non-Care' Respondent).

> *"When I think of my grandparents I always remember how whenever I visited there would be apple pie to eat. My granma is too old to do much cooking any more but she's a comfortable person to be with".*
>
> (Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).

The words of respondents make clear that their making of positive evaluations was associated with the ability of grandparents to fulfill one, or more basic functions for these young people by, a.) looking after them and their siblings; b.) being an ally; c.) providing a much needed 'bolt hole' in times of crisis, and; d.) cosseting them occasionally. Whether, or not, respondents' relationships with their grandparents were 'objectively' supportive is a moot point, what is clear is that for the great majority of all 'care' and 'non-care' respondents these relationships 'felt' supportive.

17.7(b.). Respondents' Relationships With Grandparents: Borough Of Residence.

Tables 17.8. and 17.9. show that if respondents for whom it was 'not appropriate' to offer an assessment of the quality of their relationships with their grandparents continue are discounted 93% of all remaining Hinkley, and 90% of all remaining Ingleby respondents rated this relationship positively. As a result, local factors appeared to have no significant impact on the evaluations they made. In general, Hinkley's respondents felt the same as Ingleby's about their grandparents.

17.7(c.). Respondents' Relationships With Grandparents: Gender.

When the evaluations respondents provided of their relationships with their grandparents are examined in terms of respondent 'care' status and gender we discover that:

1. Gender was more closely correlated with the quaility of the relationships the Borough's female respondents had with their grandparents than was their 'care' status. Gender was also an important predictor of the quality of these relationships, as reported by male respondents.

2. A significant majority of all respondents, regardless of gender and 'care' status, rated the quality of their relationships with their grandparents positively.

17.7(d.). Respondents' Relationships With Grandparents:Racial Presentation - Hinkley.

When the quality of the relationships Hinkley's respondents had with their grandparents is examined in terms of racial presentations the distribution of responses in Table 17.9. shows that:

1. With 93% of Black 'care', and 86% of Black 'non-care ' respondents evaluating their relationships with grandparents as either 'very good', 'good'

or 'fair' a differential of 7% was found between the proportions of these young people who offered positive ratings of this relationship. This differential is slight being equivalent to 1 respondent.

2. With 56% of White 'care', and 63% of White 'non-care' respondents in Hinkley evaluating the quality of their relationships with grandparents positively a 7% differential between the samples, in this regard, is observed.

3. Points 1. and 2., above, indicate that a far higher proportions of Hinkley's Black 'care', and 'non-care' respondents felt positively about their relationships with grandparents than either of the Borough's White samples. Thus, racial presentation appeared more closely associated than 'care' status with the quality of respondents' relationships with their grandparents.

4. No Black, but 3 White respondents in Hinkley offered negative ratings of their relationships with their grandparents, reinforcing the conclusion stated in 3., immediately above.

5. If respondents who were unable to evaluate their relationship with their grandparents are discounted we discover that;

   a. The differential between the proportions of Hinkley's Black 'care' and 'non-care' samples disappears with all the remaining members of each providing positive evaluations. This increases the, previously noted, strength of the association between racial presentation and quality of reported relationships with grandparents. The variation in the distribution of 'very good', 'good' and 'fair' responses between young Black people of differing 'care' status is considered to be a matter of secondary importance.

   b. The proportions of remaining White 'care' and 'non-care' respondents who provide positive evaluations increases to 82% and 91%, respectively, giving rise to a differential of 9%. As this is wider than that originally observed (see point 2) the impression that evaluations received from these young people were influenced by their 'care' status is reinforced.

c. The differentials between Black and White 'care' respondents who rated their relationships with their grandparents positively closed from 37% to 12% and between their 'non-care' counterparts from 23% to 9%. These figures indicate that although the racial presentation of respondents influenced the distribution of positive responses in Hinkley they did not unquestioningly follow a pattern dictated by it.

6. Young people for whom it was 'not applicable' to evaluate the quality of their relationships with their grandparents were concentrated in Hinkley's White 'care' and 'non-care' samples. It seemed as if the grandparents of White respondents did not figure so prominently in their lives as did those of their Black counterparts. Three important contributory factors appeared to have played a part in creating this situation:

   a. The older age of Hickley's White than Black population giving rise to a higher death rate of White than Black grandparents.

   b. Hinkley's Black community appeared to place more importance on extended family networks than did its White community.

   c. The central position grandparents occupied within the extended family networks of Hinkley's Black community (2.).

17.7(e.). Respondents' Relationships With Grandparents: Racial Presentation - Ingleby.

When examined in terms of the racial presentations of Ingleby's respondents the distribution of the positive evaluations they made about their relationships with grandparents appeared different from that found in Hinkley. Table 17.9. displays the core features of the Ingleby response pattern, showing that;

1. 73% of Ingleby's Black 'care', and 82% of Black 'non-care' respondents rated their relationships with their grandparents positively. While the 11% differential separating the two groups was slightly larger than that found between their Hinkley counterparts. The research also discovered that a smaller proportion of Ingleby's Black 'care' respondents provided positive evaluations than did the equivalent group of young people in Hinkley. As a result an inter-borough differential of 20% was identified between Ingleby's and Hinkley's Black 'care' respondents. While the differential between Ingleby's Black 'care' and 'non-care' respondents is explicable in terms of the larger number of the latter appearing in the 'not applicable' category of Table 17.9. the inter-borough differential is not so easily explained. It can only be accounted for in terms of the influence of unidentified local factors as the young people in Ingleby and Hinkley came from the same minority communities.

2. Positive rating of relationships with grandparents were returned by 70% of Ingleby's White 'care', and by 50% ofits White 'non-care' respondents. This finding contradicts that obtained in Hinkley where a slighlty larger proportion of White 'non-care', than White 'care' respondents made favourable reports of their relationships with grandparents.

3. With a differential of 3% separating the proportions of Ingleby's Black and White 'care' samples who rated their relationships with grandparents positively and a differential of 9% standing between the Borough's Black and White 'non-care' respondents who did likewise neither racial presentation nor 'care' status emerged as dominant predictors of respondents relationships with their grandparents.

4. When 'not applicable' responses in Table 17.9. are discounted we find that:

    a. The proportions of Black 'care' and 'non-care' respondents who made positive evaluations rises to 89% and the former and 100% respectively. In comparison;

b. a differential of 3% appears between the 86% of White 'care', and 83% of White 'non-care' respondents who made positive assessments of the quality of their relationships with grandparents. As a result, in Ingleby 'care' status seemed to play a minor role in determining the ways in which local White respondents viewed their relationships with grandparents. It was more significant with regard to those who were Black.

c. No significant difference was found in the frequencies with all respondents groups shown in Table 17.9. reported favourable views of respondents' relationships with their grandparents. A differential of only 17% separated the varying proportions of all groups who made reports of this type.

d. As a result of the similarity in the proportions of all sub-samples which provided positive evaluations of relationships with grandparents it is difficult to identify a clear, reliable connection between racial presentation and the reported quality of Ingleby's respondents' relationships with their grandparents. This situation is similar in character to that identified in Hinkley.

5. Research results found that in Ingleby, as in Hinkley, respondents for whom it was not applicable to evaluate the quality of their relationships with their grandparents were concentrated among White respondents. The suggested reasons for this are those which have previously been mentioned.

Despite the many contrasts to be found by comparing different permutations of research data sight must not be lost of the unyielding and important message that has been repeatedly given. Again, and again it has been shown that the majority of respondents, irrespective of 'care' status, borough of residence, gender and racial presentation considered their relationships with their grandparents to be of a quality which they valued.

Therefore, measurement of C6. reveals a degree of similarity between 'care' and 'non-care' respondents which, when combined with other measures previously taken their family relationships throws into doubt the accuracy of a social definition of young people in local authority residential 'care', describes them as completely different from their 'non-care' peers. This is important when considering whether, or not the fate 'care' respondents met on the labour market was attributable to the way they 'were', or to the way in which they were perceived to be.

Chapter 18.

Socialization: Variable E:

18.1. Introduction.

The attainment of social order and stability through the conformity of individuals to society's shared values, provides functionalism with its moral and intellectual centre of gravity, enabling 'improperly' socialized individuals to be presented as threats to the existence of social stability. Thus, the degree to which young people in local authority 'care' are, and can be 'socialized' plays a very influential role in shaping the social definition imposed on them. The functionalist tone of this definition and its presentation of these young people as aberrant, deviant individuals has the capacity to do them considerable harm. It is a definition which necessitated that the study discover if the labelling of 'care' respondents in this way i.e. as 'improperly' 'socialized' individuals, was fair. In order to do so use was made of the following indicators:

Indicator E1: Respondents' Relationships With Their Parents

Indicator E2: Respondents' Attitudes And Opinions Towards Their Teachers. These indicators attempted to gauge the receptiveness of respondents to the socializing 'transmissions' of two powerful 'socializing' groups; parents and teachers. Implicit in the use of both indicators was the assumption that the ability of 'socializing' agents to 'socialize' is positively correlated with the regard in which they are held by those who are to be 'socialized .

Indicator E3: Respondents' Histories Of Offending. From the functionalist perspective, the acid test of individuals' socialization' is the threat they present to social order. A simple and easily understood measure of this is provided by their records of offending, of having broken society's rules as encoded in law. Therefore, analysis of this indicator will make use of that data already discussed in Chapter 16.

18.2. Indicator E1: Relationships With Parents.

Functionalist sociology - from Durkheim (1.) to Parsons (2.) - places emphasis on the social education of individuals by their parents. As the transmitters of values to their children the quality of parent-child relationships can be regarded as a prime determinant of the degree to which the young emerged as fully 'socialized' adults.

However, as research findings with regard to the quality of respondent relationships with their parents have already been discussed at length in Chapter 17. they will not be repeated here. However, it is re-emphasized that:

1. The majority of young people who participated in the study irrespective of their 'care' status, borough of residence, gender and racial presentation made positive qualitative evaluations of the relationships they had with their parents, describing these as 'very good', or 'good', or 'fair'.

2. Contrary to the social definition of young people in 'care', the research found that the same proportions (84%) of 'care' and 'non-care' respondents rated their relationships with their parents positively.

3. The quality of respondents' relationships with their parents differed more in terms of locality than 'care' status (see 17.5(b.).).

4. The 'care' status, gender and racial presentation of respondents in Hinkley and Ingleby did not significantly differentiate the quality of relationships they reported themselves as having with their parents.

Although points of difference were found in the estimtates respondents's made of their relationship with their parents e.g. only 49% of 'care', compared to 61% of 'non-care' respondents rated it as 'very good', the above points make clear that the shared optimism respondents, irrespective of 'care' status, expressed about this relationship was the dominant feature of the study's findings. As a result, the assumption that most parents were effective 'socializers' of their children is considered reasonable.

However, indicator E1. is an imprecise measure of 'socialization', for the following reasons:

1. Although young people in 'care' may have good relationships with their parents the popular view of these young people as coming from 'bad', or deviant families carries with it the idea that the patterns of social learning imprinted on them is perverted and precipitates the challenge to social order they represent.

2. Respondents' comments on the quality of their relationships with their parents related to the 'here and now'. No account was taken of the quality of these relationships over time, and;

3. As has already been pointed out;
    a.) the ratings 'care' respondents gave of their relationships with their parents may have taken on a false 'rosy glow' as a result of the experience of being in 'care', and;
    b.) the evaluations made by respondents of differing 'care' status are not strictly comparable. 'Care' respondents did not live with their parents whilst their' non-care' counterparts did.

Nevertheless, measures taken of Experimental Variable A (Personal Histories Of Respondents - see Chapter 15) appear to falsify the proposition that the study's 'care' respondents came from 'bad' families which imprint on their off-spring deviant values and patterns of behaviour. For example, while a significant number of 'care' respondents came from single parent families, which may offend orthodox morality, evidence suggesting that the children of these families presented a greater risk to social order than did respondents from, traditional, two parent families was conspicuously absent.

Yet, while research findings give no reason to believe that young people in 'care' are any less 'socialized' than their 'non-care' counterparts, unrecognized variables may lurk and confound this conclusion. To reduce this risk and lend greater precision to the measurement of the comparative socialization 'care' and 'non-care' respondents measures taken of indicator E1. were supplemented by those taken of indicators E2. and E3. The purposes of these indicators are as follows:

18.3. Indicator E2: Attitudes Towards Teachers.

Respondents were presented with four statements summarizing positive views about different aspects of their relationships with teachers and asked to indicate whether they 'strongly agreed', or 'agreed', or 'disagreed', or 'strongly disagreed' with each them.

Subsequently, responses were organized into the following categories:

1. Double Positive (+ +) = Strongly Agree.

2. Single Positive (+) = Agree.

3. Double Negative (- -) = Strongly Disagree.

4. Single Negative (-) = Disagree.

The construction of the Tables in this section reflect this organization of research data permitting the attitudes of respondents towards their teachers to be organized into four quality bands.

However, analysis of data will be restricted in its focus, concentrating on the differing proportions of sample groups who made the same general form of response i.e., on the undifferentiated totals of single and double positive, and of single and double negative replies. Reference to qualitative grade of response will only be made where the comparison of general forms of response between groups would result in the presentation of a false similarity disguising, for example, that while the total number of positive responses received from two sample groups were the same they fell into different quality bands.

18.3(a.). Attitudes Towards Teachers: 'Care' Status.

Comparison of Tables displaying respondents' attitudes towards their teachers shows that only 47% of responses received from all 'care' respondents were graded single or double positive compared with 79% of all 'non-care' respondents' replies. The inevitable corollary of this was the dominance of young people in 'care' among respondents who gave replies which fell into the negative quality bands. In all, 53% of their responses slotted into either of these bands compared with just 21% of those received from from their 'non-care' counterparts. The conclusion arising out of these research findings is that respondents' attitudes towards their teachers were delineating by 'care' status.

With less than half all 'care' respondents' replies indicating that they had a positive attitude towards their teachers it is tempting to present these young people as highly, and unusually resistant to their 'socializing' influence. However, this conclusion is faulted for two important reasons:

1. While teachers may play an important role in the socialization of young people, they do so only as agents of the education system. Therefore, while the majority of 'care' respondents may have expressed negative attitudes towards teachers the process of education may still, irrespective of 'who the teacher is', impart to its recipients culturally accepted norms, modes of behaviour and prevailing value systems and, thereby 'socialize' them. In this regard Chapter 19 is of interest as it indicates that in some respects the educational performance of 'care' respondents was superior to that of those not in 'care'.

2. Though young people in 'care' may have expressed less positive opinions about their teachers than their 'non-care' counterparts this does not automatically mean that the potency of teachers as 'socializer' was diluted. In view of the study's interest in employment a revealing measure of the power of teachers to influence is provided in Table 18.1. which shows that 'care' respondents were much more dependent on teachers for careers advice than their 'non-care' counterparts (see Chapter 21 for a full discussion).

Table 18.1. Important Employment Advisors At The Time Of Leaving School: Respondent 'Care' Status/Borough of Residence.

	MOST IMPORTANT ADVISOR				SECOND MOST IMPORTANT ADVISORS			
	'CARE' (n=51)		'NON-CARE (n=51)		'CARE' (n=51)		'NON-CARE' (n=51)	
	HINKLEY (n=30)	INGLEBY (n=21)	HINKLEY (n=30)	INGLEBY (n=21)	HINKLEY (n=30)	INGLEBY (n=21)	HINKLEY (n=30)	INGLEBY (n=21)
Field Social Worker.	1(3%)					1(5%)		
Residential Social Worker.	5(17%)	4(19%)			9(30%)	7(33%)		
Teachers.	5(17%)	5(24%)	3(10%)	2(10%)	6(20%)	5(23%)	10(33%)	7(33%)
Careers Officers.	11(37%)	9(43%)	6(20%)	8(38%)	9(30%)	4(19%)	6(20%)	5(24%)
Relatives.	3(10%)	1(5%)	8(27%)	5(24%)	1(3%)	2(10%)	8(27%)	5(24%)
Friends.	2(7%)		5(17%)	3(14%)				
Newspapers.	1(3%)		5(17%)	2(10%)			4(13%)	
Other.	2(7%)	2(10%)	3(10%)	1(5%)	5(17%)	2(10%)	2(7%)	2(7%)
Total.	30(101%)	21(101%)	30(101%)	21(101%)	30(100%)	21(100%)	30(100%)	21(100%)

Thus, while differing response patterns of 'care' and 'non-care' respondents indicates that 'care' status was associated with the attitudes of young people towards their teachers this does not provide conclusive 'proof' that young people in 'care' are less receptive to the 'socializing' influence of teachers than are their 'non-care' counterparts. Other measures are needed capable of supporting or refuting this proposition. Whilst these are provided by indicators E1. and E2. the ability of teachers to act as 'socializers' is not only related to their pupils' attitudes towards them; it is also a function of the considerable power teachers have over those they teach.

18.3(b.) Attitudes Towards Teachers: Borough Of Residence.

Tables 18.2., 18.3., 18.4. and 18.5. indicate how the effect 'care' status had on respondents' attitudes towards teachers was overlaid by local factors linked to individuals' borough of residence. The Tables show, for example, that the differential of 24% separating the 2% and 26% of all double positive replies received from 'care' respondents in Hinkley and Ingleby, respectively, exceeded that between the proportions of these replies received from the 'non-care' samples to which they were matched. As a result it seems that, in the case of the latter group of young people, borough of residence had a slightly looser association with the provision of double positive replies than was respondents' 'care' status.

With 47% of replies from Hinkley's 'care', and 61% of those from its 'non-care' respondents classified as single positive this response was returned more frequently by both sets of young people than it was by either of the Ingleby groups. With only, 17% of replies from Ingleby's 'care', and 37% of those from its 'non-care' respondents being single positive inter-borough differentials of 30% between the 'care', and of 24% between the 'non-care' samples were identified. As these differentials exceeded those separating local 'care' status respondent groups borough of residence emerged as a more reliable predictor of the frequency with which single positive responses were returned.

Ingleby's respondents, irrespective of 'care' status, preference for double positive replies implies that they were more enthusiastic about their teachers than young people in Hinkley whose favourable responses were concentrated in the more tepid single positive category.

18.3(c.). Attitudes Towards Teachers: Gender - Hinkley.

Table 18.2. shows that with only 2% of all responses received from males and females in Hinkley's 'care' classified as double positive compared to 22% and 20% of those supplied by local 'non-care' females and males, respectively, 'care' status more accurately predicted the frequency with which this response was provided than did respondents' gender.

In addition, with a 23% differential separating the 45% of replies received from 'care', and 68% 'non-care' of those provided by 'non-care' males categorized as single positive, the differing propensities of these young people to give this reply also appeared to be more closely correlated with their 'care' status than was their gender.

Yet, it is all too easy to fall into the trap of over estimating the ability of 'care' status to influence the attitudes of young people as the distribution of single positive replies among female respondents demonstrates. With 50% of responses received from females in, and 56% of those from females not in Hinkley's 'care' classed as single positive the 6% differential between them was less than that of 12% separating the rates at which 'non-care' males and females gave this response and just 1% more than that between 'care' males and females who did likewise. This series of differentials describe a situation in which the frequency with which single positive responses were returned by local 'non-care' females was more akin to that of females in 'care' than it was with 'non-care' males from the area.

However, the distribution of double negative responses reveals that the relationship between Hinkley's respondents' gender, 'care' status and their attitudes towards their teachers was less complex. Table 18.2. shows that the differentials separating the proportion of replies received from each respondent group, classified in this way,

Table 18.2. Respondents' Attitudes Towards Teachers: Hinkley/'Care' Status/Gender.

	HINKLEY (n=240)															
	'CARE' (n=120)								'NON-CARE' (n=120)							
	FEMALE (n=64)				MALE (n=56)				FEMALE (n=64)				MALE (n=56)			
	+ +	+	-	- -	+ +	+	-	- -	+ +	+	-	- -	+ +	+	-	- -
I Have Got On Well With Most Teachers.		9(15%)	2(3%)	5(8%)		6(11%)	4(7%)	4(7%)	5(8%)	9(14%)	2(3%)		3(5%)	8(14%)	2(4%)	1(2%)
I Feel Teachers Expect Me To Do Well.	1(2%)	8(12%)	6(9%)	1(2%)	1(2%)	7(12%)	5(9%)	1(2%)	6(9%)	10(16%)			2(4%)	10(18%)	1(2%)	1(2%)
Teachers Treat Me Like An Adult.		8(12%)	5(8%)	3(5%)		5(9%)	1(2%)	8(14%)	2(6%)	9(14%)	3(5%)	2(3%)	4(7%)	9(16%)	1(2%)	
Teachers Made Me Work Hard & Do My Best.		7(11%)	8(12%)	1(2%)		7(12%)	6(11%)	1(2%)	1(3%)	8(12%)	6(9%)	1(2%)	2(4%)	11(17%)	1(2%)	
Total.	1(2%)	32(50%)	21(33%)	10(16%)	1(2%)	25(45%)	16(28%)	14(25%)	14(22%)	36(56%)	11(17%)	3(5%)	11(20%)	38(68%)	5(9%)	2(4%)
Total.	33(53%)		31(48%)		26(46%)		30(53%)		50(78%)		14(22%)		49(87%)		7(12%)	
Total.	64(99%)				56(99%)				64(99%)				56(99%)			

Table 18.3. Respondents' Attitudes Towards Teachers: Ingleby/'Care' Status/Gender.

	INGLEBY (n=168)															
	'CARE' (n=84)								'NON-CARE' (n=84)							
	FEMALE (n=56)				MALE (n=28)				FEMALE (n=56)				MALE (n=28)			
	+ +	+	-	- -	+ +	+	-	- -	+ +	+	-	- -	+ +	+	-	- -
I Have Got On Well With Most Teachers.	7(12%)		4(7%)	3(5%)	2(7%)	2(7%)	2(7%)	1(4%)	4(7%)	5(9%)	2(4%)	3(5%)	1(4%)	4(14%)	2(7%)	
I Feel Teachers Expect Me To Do Well.	5(9%)	2(4%)	5(9%)	2(4%)	2(7%)	1(4%)	2(7%)	2(7%)	10(18%)	1(2%)	3(5%)		2(7%)	3(11%)	1(4%)	1(4%)
Teachers Treat Me Like An Adult.		5(9%)	8(14%)	1(2%)	2(7%)	1(4%)	1(4%)	3(11%)	6(11%)	3(5%)	3(5%)	2(14%)	4(14%)	2(7%)		1(4%)
Teachers Made Me Work Hard & Do My Best.	2(4%)	3(5%)	4(7%)	5(9%)	2(7%)		2(7%)	3(11%)	2(4%)	10(18%)	2(4%)		2(7%)	3(13%)	2(7%)	
Total.	14(25%)	10(18%)	21(37%)	11(20%)	8(29%)	4(14%)	7(25%)	9(32%)	22(39%)	19(34%)	10(18%)	5(9%)	9(32%)	12(43%)	5(18%)	2(7%)
Total.	24(43%)		32(57%)		12(43%)		16(57%)		41(73%)		15(27%)		21(75%)		7(25%)	
Total.	56(100%)				28(100%)				56(100%)				28(100%)			

Table 18.4. Respondents' Attitudes Towards Teachers: Hinkley/'Care' Status/Racial Presentation.

	HINKLEY (n=240)															
	'CARE' (n=120)								'NON-CARE' (n=120)							
	BLACK (n=56)				WHITE (n=64)				BLACK (n=56)				WHITE (n=64)			
	+ +	+	-	- -	+ +	+	-	- -	+ +	+	-	- -	+ +	+	-	- -
I Have Got On Well With Most Teachers.		8(14%)	3(6%)	3(5%)		7(11%)	3(5%)	6(9%)	5(9%)	7(12%)	1(2%)	1(2%)	3(5%)	10(16%)	3(5%)	
I Feel Teachers Expect Me To Do Well.	1(2%)	8(14%)	4(7%)	1(2%)	1(2%)	7(11%)	7(11%)	1(2%)	4(7%)	9(16%)		1(2%)	4(6%)	11(17%)	1(2%)	
Teachers Treat Me Like An Adult.		7(12%)	3(5%)	4(7%)		6(9%)	3(5%)	7(11%)	3(5%)	9(16%)	1(2%)	1(2%)	3(5%)	9(14%)	3(5%)	1(2%)
Teachers Made Me Work Hard & Do My Best.		5(9%)	8(114)	1(2%)		9(14%)	6(9%)	1(2%)	2(4%)	8(14%)	3(5%)	1(2%)	1(2%)	11(17%)	4(6%)	
Total.	1(2%)	28(50%)	18(36%)	9(16%)	1(2%)	29(45%)	19(30%)	15(23%)	14(25%)	33(59%)	5(9%)	4(7%)	11(17%)	41(64%)	11(17%)	1(2%)
Total.	29(52%)		27(48%)		30(47%)		34(53%)		47(84%)		9(16%)		52(81%)		12(19%)	
Total.	56(100%)				56(100%)				56(100%)				64(100%)			

Table 18.5. Respondents' Attitudes Towards Teachers: Ingleby/'Care' Status/Racial Presentation.

	INGLEBY (n=168)															
	'CARE' (n=84)								'NON-CARE' (n=84)							
	BLACK (n=44)				WHITE (n=40)				BLACK (n=44)				WHITE (n=40)			
	+ +	+	-	- -	+ +	+	-	- -	+ +	+	-	- -	+ +	+	-	- -
I Have Got On Well With Most Teachers.	5(11%)	1(2%)	2(5%)	3(7%)	4(10%)	1(3%)	4(10%)	1(3%)	3(7%)	5(11%)	2(5%)	1(2%)	2(5%)	4(10%)	2(5%)	2(5%)
I Feel Teachers Expect Me To Do Well.	4(9%)	1(2%)	4(9%)	2(5%)	3(8%)	2(5%)	3(8%)	2(5%)	5(11%)	3(7%)	2(5%)	1(2%)	7(18%)	1(3%)	2(5%)	
Teachers Treat Me Like An Adult.	1(2%)	3(7%)	5(11%)	2(5%)	1(3%)	3(8%)	4(10%)	2(5%)	5(11%)	3(7%)	1(2%)	2(5%)	5(13%)	2(5%)	2(5%)	1(3%)
Teachers Made Me Work Hard & Do My Best.	2(5%)	2(5%)	4(9%)	3(7%)	2(5%)	1(3%)	2(5%)	5(13%)	3(7%)	7(16%)	1(2%)		1(3%)	6(15%)	3(8%)	
Total.	12(27%)	7(16%)	15(34%)	10(23%)	10(25%)	7(18%)	13(33%)	10(25%)	16(36%)	18(41%)	6(14%)	4(9%)	15(20%)	13(33%)	9(23%)	3(8%)
Total.	19(43%)		25(57%)		17(43%)		23(57%)		34(77%)		10(23%)		28(70%)		12(30%)	
Total.	44(100%)				40(100%)				44(100%)				40(100%)			

differed more in terms of respondent 'care' status than gender. A higher proportion of double negative responses provided by males and females in 'care' were categorized in this way than for either of the 'non-care' gender groups. Thus, there emerged from the research findings a positive correlation between the provision of double negative responses and being in 'care', irrespective of respondent gender.

The distribution of double negative responses was reflected in that of 'single negative' replies. Once again, the Table shows that the frequency with which respondents offered this form of reply differed more in terms of their 'care' status than gender with the proportion of these responses received from males and females in Hinkley's 'care' outstripping, the proportion of such replies recorded for the Borough's 'non-care' males or females.

Nevertheless, if males and females in Hinkley's 'care' appeared more negative than their 'non-care' counterparts in their attitudes towards teachers, it needs to be asked why this is so. Do young people in 'care' 'really' have an 'attitude problem' when it comes to school or is there some other reason for their dominance of both negative quality bands? Did the attitudes they expressed represent a reasonable reaction to the treatment they receive at school? While there are no simple answers to these questions the interviews conducted with teachers in the course of the research study (see Chapter 22.) begin to provide them.

18.3(d.). Attitudes Towards Teachers: Gender - Ingleby.

With 39% of all replies received from Ingleby's 'non-care' females categorized as double positive they more frequently displayed very favourable attitudes towards teachers than did the Borough's other 'care' status-gender groups. In contrast, only 25% of responses provided by females in Ingleby's 'care' were classified in this way, the smallest proportion for any of these local groups. As a result, research findings indicate that when it came to frequency with which double positive responses were submitted by females in, and not in Ingleby's 'care' they were separated more by their differing 'care' status than they were united by their shared gender.

The reverse situation held with regard to Ingleby's male respondents with 32% of all replies received from those not in, and 29% of those in the Borough's 'care' falling into the double positive category. The 3% differential separating the frequencies these groups of young people provided this type of response was less than that between any other set of respondents. As a result, the inherent danger in, and injustice of axiomatically linking being in 'care' with having a 'poor' attitude towards teachers is made clear.

However, the affinity which was found between Ingleby's respondents groups of the same gender, but different 'care' status with regard to double positive responses is quickly supplanted when attention is turned to the frequency with which respondents returned single positive responses. Table 18.2. also shows that with 18% of replies from females and 14% of those from males in 'care' being of this type as were 34% and 43% of replies from the Borough's 'non-care' females and males, gender played a secondary role in predicting the frequency with which they expressed single positive attitudes. 'Care' status emerged as a more important in this regard.

The pattern of single negative response in Tables 18.3. reflects the absence of any reliable connection between respondents 'care' status and their attitudes towards teachers. With 28% of all replies from all Ingleby's female, and 21% of those received from all its male respondents situated in this quality band gender difference appeared little difference to the frequency with which they supplied this form of negative rating.

However, with 37% of replies from 'care' females, and 25% of those provided by males in Ingleby's 'care' classed as single negative the differing frequencies with which they gave this response appeared differentiated by the gender of these young people. Indeed, the difference between them was sufficient to create a situation in which the propensity of 'care' males to offer this form of response more closely resembled that of 'non-care' males and females than it did their female 'care' counterparts.

Nevertheless, the distribution of double negative responses in Table 18.3. indicates that being in 'care' is associated with an increase in the expression of attitudes towards teacher rated as double negative. The Tables show that 20% of replies received from females, and 32% from males in Ingleby's 'care' were rated in this way compared with 9% and 7% of those received from 'non-care' females and males, respectively, from the Borough. It is clear from these figures that differences in 'care' status was a more important predictor than gender of differing frequencies with which respondent groups expressed very negative attitudes about teachers. Gender difference did no more than modulate the frequencies with which such attitudes were voiced.

18.3(e.). Attitudes Towards Teachers: Racial Presentation.

The impact of racial presentation on the formation of very positive attitudes towards teachers varied considerably between 'care' and 'non-care' respondents. For example, Table 18.4. shows that while 2% of replies received from Hinkley's Black and White 'care' respondents were classified as double positive, a differential of 8% was detected between the 25% and 17% of replies supplied by its Black and White 'non-care' respondents, respectively, also categorized in this way. As a result, for young people in Hinkley's 'care', their 'care' status was more closely associated with the frequency with which they returned double positive replies than was their varying racial presentation whilst the reverse was true for their 'non-care' counterparts.

The spread of single positive responses also displayed a homogeneity among young people of the same 'care' status, irrespective of their differing racial presentations.

In addition, the scatter of single negative responses recorded in Hinkley indicates that the frequency with which this response was provided also differed more in terms of 'care' status than racial presentations.

Table 18.5. shows that the frequency with which Ingleby's different respondent groups expressed double positive attitudes towards teachers appeared to owe more to 'care' status rather than racial presentation. As in Hinkley, these attitudes seemed to be more strongly associated with 'care' status than with racial presentation.

Unrecognized, but influential local factors operated to drastically effected the impact 'care' status had on the comparative frequencies with which Ingleby's Black and White respondents returned double positive responses in comparison, to their Hinkley counterparts. Whereas only 2% of all replies received from young people belonging to Hinkley's Black and White 'care' samples were categorized in this way 27% and 25% of all those from Ingleby's Black and White, respectively, 'care' respondents indicated that they had very favourable attitude towards teachers.

However, Ingleby's research findings emulated those of Hinkley's with the distribution of double positive responses in both Boroughs showing that this form of reply was less likely to be provided by 'care', than 'non-care' respondents irrespective of their racial presentation.

Single positive responses received in Ingleby again reveal a pattern that presents the frequency with which this response was received as influenced more by 'care' status than racial presentation.

However, Table 18.5. indicates that with 60% and 56% of replies received from Ingleby's Black and White respondents, respectively, classified as either double or single positive no significant racial variation was found in the propensity of respondents to form some sort of favourable view of their teachers. Whilst, it is not contended that the differing racial presentations of respondents had no implications for their propensity to develop a positive perception of teachers 'care' status emerged as the more important variable in this respect.

Nevertheless, sight must not be lost of the considerable common ground which existed between respondents of differing racial presentations and 'care' status. The fact that significant proportions of Ingleby's Black and White 'care' and 'non-care' respondents expressed double or single positive attitude bears simple testimony to this.

Yet, the distribution of single negative responses re-emphasizes how the experience of being in 'care' can overpower the influence racial presentation has on the formation of attitudes towards teachers. With only a 1% differential in the proportion of replies received from Black and White 'care' respondents who gave this form of reply compared with a 9% difference between Black and White 'non-care' respondents and the existence of still wider differential between respondents having the same racial presentation, but different 'care' status this conclusion is convincing.

However, a degree of scepticism should be attached to such a conclusion as it is all too easy to over estimate the importance of racial presentation and 'care' status in the determination of the attitudes of Ingleby's 'non-care' respondents. For example, only 14% of all responses supplied by local Black 'non-care' respondents were recorded as being 'single negative', 9% less than for the area's White 'non-care' respondents who, in turn offered 11% fewer such responses than their 'care' counterparts. This range of differentials show the rate at which 'non-care' Whites provided this form of response to be marginally closer to that of Black 'care', than that of Black 'non-care' respondents. It may be that the rate at which Ingleby's Black 'non-care' respondents provided single negative responses was quirkily low, but the rate at which these responses were offered by 'non-care' Whites was closer to that of a group - Ingleby's Black 'care' respondents - with whom they had neither racial presentation or 'care' status in common.

The qualitative implications of these finding are profound. It is abundantly clear that not only were 'care' subjects, regardless of racial presentation, more likely than their 'non-care' counterparts to hold negative attitudes about their teachers, but also that the criticisms young people in 'care' had of them were often more serious than those of their 'non-care' peers.

18.4. Indicator E3: Offending.

Indicator E3. is used to determin the differing degrees to which members of the study's 'care' and 'non-care' samples presented a threat to social order as indicated by their respective histories of offending behaviour. In doing so, the authority of the law enforcement agencies, the courts and the strictures of law were all treated as reflecting prevailing social values and norms, deviation from which can be interpreted as a failure of social learning; as a failure to be socialized.

The great advantage bestowed by use of E3. is that measurements of it can be regarded as concrete examples of, to follow the functionalist theme, anomic behaviour, of actions which bespeak of individuals' failure to adopt commonly held values and norms imprinted on 'properly' socialized individuals. In contrast, measurements obtained by the application of indicators E1. and E2. only deal with respondents relationships with two imprinting groups and do not comment directly upon whether, or not these young people absorbed required social learning.

Yet, whilst offending behaviour is regarded as an important indicator of socialization the study also treated it as an experimental variable in its own right. As the measurements pertaining to it have already been fully discussed in Chapter 16 it is not intended to repeating them here. A brief resume of the main point made will suffice. These were as follows:

1. Arrests: Hinkley.

a.) 'Care' respondents were much more likely to suffer arrest than those not in 'care'.

b.) Males in Hinkley's 'care' emerged from the research as an isolated group within the Borough, having a far higher number of arrests than did the members of any other group. Females in its 'care' had a number of arrests which more closely resembled that of the 'non-care' gender groups than that of their male counterparts in 'care'.

c.) To be Black and in Hinkley's 'care' was found to be at maximum risk of arrest. This indicated that racism, not just a failure of socialization, must be considered as an important factor conditioning the susceptibility of these young people to arrest.

2. Arrests: Ingleby.

a.) As in Hinkley, 'care' respondents in Ingleby were found to have suffered more arrests than 'non-care' respondents from the same Borough.

b.) Respondents' gender was not more closely associated, for all of the Ingleby groups, with arrests than 'care' status.

c.) Racism was not as such an important predictor of likelihood of arrest in Ingleby as in Hinkley. Examination of the numbers of arrests incurred by Ingleby respondents, in terms of their racial presentation, showed that more local White than Black 'care' respondents reported arrests. The record of arrests for this group was the same as that of White respondents who were not in 'care'. Ingleby's Black 'non-care' respondents were the only group, defined in terms of members' 'care' status and racial presentation, for whom no arrests were recorded.

3. Convictions: Hinkley.

a.) Most convictions were incurred by young people in 'care'. These were all for minor offences and no respondent had ever received a custodial sentence.

b.) Males in Hinkley were more likely to receive a conviction than females of the same 'care' status.

c.) Arrests in Hinkley were unlikely to lead to convictions, indicating, again, that susceptibility to arrest may well be more about local police practices, bigotry, racism and the scapegoating of groups within society than it is about their failure to be socialized. Thus, while the research found that Black 'care' respondents had a rate of arrest nearly twice that of Whites in 'care' the former had only one conviction more than the latter.

4. Convictions: Ingleby.

a.) Most convictions were incurred by respondents in Ingleby's 'care'.

b.) Males and females of the same 'care' status in Ingleby recorded the same number of convictions.

c.) Arrest in Ingleby was more likely to lead to conviction than in Hinkley.

5. Last Arrest/Conviction: Hinkley.

a.) Very few respondents who had suffered arrest or conviction did so in the year prior to the fieldwork phase of the research study. No females had encountered trouble with the police in this period; of the 3 males who had been arrested none were charged with an offence.

b.) All arrests suffered in the year prior to the fieldwork phase of the study were experienced by Black 'care' respondents creating the impression that offending behaviour was more of an on going activity for this group than for any other, denoting that they were the least well socialized of all Hinkley's respondents. However, observations made about the impact of racism and the increased risk of arrest this placed young Black people at means that this conclusion cannot be deemed to be reliable.

6. Last Arrest/Conviction: Ingleby.

a.) In the year prior to the fieldwork phase of the study only one respondent, a White 'non-care' male, had been arrested; but he was never charged.

b.) Data gathered in Ingleby contrasts with that gained in Hinkley indicating the absence of current offending behaviour on the part of all Ingleby's Black respondents.

It is concluded from measurements of offending behaviour that while some differences were found in the record and recency of arrests and convictions suffered by respondents in Hinkley and Ingleby young people in 'care' did not emerge as an unusually criminal group whose resistence to socialization caused them to threaten social order. On the contrary, they were overwhelmingly law abiding, as were the majority of those not in 'care'. Offending was a minority and largely redundant activity undertaken by very few respondents. When individuals came to the notice of the 'law' their, supposed, offending displayed a stronger link with racism and the victimization of respondents; notably those who were Black, male and in Hinkley's 'care', than with their failed socialization.

Measures of offending behaviour indicate that young people in 'care', as do those not in 'care' behave in ways which indicate that they are socialized individuals who accept and comply with the demands of society.

Chapter 19.

Educational Performance: Variable F.

19.1. Introduction.

This thesis has repeatedly cited the supposedly poor educational performance of young people in local authority residential 'care' as one of the dominant themes woven into the social definition of them. However, it has not proved possible to identify a grand theory offering a comprehensive explanation of their alleged failure at school. Instead, a number of partial explanations have emerged which attribute it to young people in 'care' not making an adequate self-investment in their education, to the discriminatory attitudes of teachers and the insensitivity of the 'care' and education systems to the needs of these young people.

Yet, while explanations of the educational performance of young people in 'care' may differ all conclude that it is poor compared to that of their 'non-care' peers. As this assumption appears to have attained the status of a taken for granted 'fact' the research study attempted to test its validity. This Chapter presents the results of this undertaking which examined the comparative educational performance of 'care' and 'non-care' respondents in terms of examinations passed, school attendance, and attitudes towards school.

19.2. Indicator F1: Examinations Passed.

In order to ensure clarity of analysis no attempt will be made to identify the types of accademic qualifications i.e. C.S.E., 'O' Level and Other, of academic qualifications gained by respondents. Unfortunately, this melding imposes a cost, making the analysis blind to the varying status of different types of qualifications; the simple counting of examination passes treats 'O' Level and C.S.E. as the same even though 'O' Levels were regarded as superior to C.S.E.'s. To compensate for this methodological deficiency the following points are made:

1. CSE grade 1 passes were treated as 'O' Level passes.

2. All respondent groups recorded more C.S.E. than 'O' Level passes. As 'O' Levels were more demanding than C.S.E.s this finding was to be expected.

3. In terms of examinations passed the academic performance of Ingleby's 'care' and 'non-care' respondents was better than that of either of Hinkley's respondent groups. Young people in, and not in Ingleby's 'care' passed more examinations of each type than did members of either of the Hinkley samples. Thus;

4. the quality of examinations passed was more closely associated with borough of residence than 'care' status. Nevertheless;

5. 'care' status also influenced the quality, as well as the quantity of examination passes achieved with 'non-care' respondents in Hinkley and Ingleby obtaining more passes, of each type of examination, than their local 'care' counterparts.

19.2(a.). Examinations Passed: 'Care' Status.

At first sight Tables 19.1. and 19.2. appear to confirm that the educational performance of young people in 'care' is worse than that of those who are not. Showing that;

1. 74% of 'non-care' respondent left school with formal academic qualifications compared with 51% of 'care' respondents.

2. With 25 (49%) 'care', and 13 (25%) 'non-care' respondents failing to gain examination passes nearly twice the number of young people in, than not in 'care' left school with no formal educational qualifications.

However, the Tables need to be interpreted with caution. Scrutiny of them indicates that the differences in the educational performance between all 'care', and all 'non-care' respondents are exaggerated by the differing levels of attainment achieved by young people in Hinkley compared to those in Ingleby.

Although more 'non-care' respondents in each Borough passed examinations than did their local 'care' counterparts the mean number of passes gained by each group in either Borough were similar in magnitude.

In Hinkley the mean number of passes obtained by 'care' and 'non-care' respondents was 1.30. and 2.10., respectively. In Ingleby, the mean number of examination passes gained by 'care' respondents was 4.28 compared to the 5.38 passes gained by those not in 'care'. These findings appear to confirm that borough of residence was more closely associated than was 'care' status with the number of examination passes obtained by respondents.

19.2(b.). Examinations Passed: Borough Of Residence.

A mystery arising out of the differing numbers of examinations passed obtained by Hinkley's and Ingleby's respondents concerns the search for some sort of adequate explanation of why it is that pupils in two neighbouring boroughs should have such disparate levels of educational success. Whilst there is no immediate explanation of this at the time the research was undertaken the following factors appeared to contribute towards this situation:

1. An acute teacher shortage in Hinkley's schools - this caused the Borough to undertake an unsuccessful teacher recruitment campaign in Scotland while the research study was taking place.

2. National industrial action being taken by teachers at the time of the study was more rigorously applied in Hinkley than Ingleby.

Table 19.1. Number Of Examination Passes: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Gender.

NUMBER OF EXAMINATIONS PASSED (CSE, 'O' LEVEL, OTHER)	'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
	HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)
0.	12(75%)	10(71%)	1(7%)	2(29%)	5(31%)	8(57%)		
1.	1(6%)		2(14%)			1(7%)		
2.					4(25%)	1(7%)		
3.	2(13%)		1(7%)		1(6%)	2(14%)		1(14%)
4.			1(7%)	2(29%)	2(13%)	1(7%)	5(36%)	2(29%)
5.			3(21%)		2(13%)		4(29%)	3(43%)
6.		4(29%)	2(21%)	3(43%)		1(7%)		
7.			4(29%)		1(6%)		1(7%)	1(14%)
8.	1(6%)				1(6%)		3(21%)	
9.							1(7%)	
Totals	16(100%)	14(99%)	14(99%)	7(101%)	16(100%)	14(99%)	14(100%)	7(100%)

Table 19.2. Number Of Examination Passes: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Racial Presentation.

NUMBER OF EXAMINATIONS PASSED (CSE, 'O' LEVEL, OTHER)	'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
	HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)
0.	10(71%)	12(75%)		3(30%)	9(64%)	4(25%)		
1.		1(6%)	2(18%)		1(7%)			
2.						5(31%)		
3.	2(14%)			1(10%)		3(19%)	1(9%)	
4.			3(27%)		2(14%)	1(6%)	6(55%)	1(10%)
5.				3(30%)	1(7%)	1(6%)	2(18%)	5(50%)
6.	2(14%)	2(13%)	3(27%)	2(20%)	1(7%)			
7.			3(27%)	1(10%)		1(6%)	2(18%)	
8.		1(6%)				1(6%)		3(30%)
9.								1(10%)
Totals	14(99%)	16(100%)	11(99%)	10(100%)	14(99%)	16(99%)	11(100%)	10(100%)

3. The incorporation of a wealthy Metropolitan Borough into the London Borough of Ingleby bequeathed to it an area with a tradition of academic success geared to producing white collar workers able to keep the institutions of the City going. The Metropolitan Boroughs which combined to form Hinkley were the providers of manual labour and had no tradition of academic success to pass on to the new Borough.

19.2(c.). Examination Passes: Gender.

In Hinkley the mean number of passes achieved by 'non-care' males and females differed more than between their 'care' counterparts. As a result, gender more reliably predicted the proportions of 'non-care', than 'care' respondents who gained examination passes, but also the mean number of passes they achieved.

However, Table 19.1. shows that in Ingleby gender did not appear to be a factor in determining the number of examination passes gained by respondents. In addition, with 93% of females in the Borough's 'care' passing examinations their 'care' status did not appear to markedly reduce the level of academic success they achieved.

Only 71% of males in Ingleby's 'care' recorded examination passes; a far lower proportion than for all other local 'care' status/gender samples. As a result a combination of these males' gender and 'care' status appears much more indicative of their ability to gain examination passes than it was for females in 'care' and 'non-care' respondents of either gender. However, the small size of the male sub-sample means that this finding should be treated with caution.

19.2(d.). Examinations Passed: Racial Presentation.

Table 19.2. shows that with 75% of Hinkley's White 'non-care' respondents gaining examination passes they were, in this respect, far more successful than any other of the Table's sub-samples i.e. only 25% and 29% of White and Black 'care' respondents respectively and 36% of Black respondents not in the Borough's 'care' recieved passes.. This distribution of passes indicates that while the proportions of

the Black and White 'care' samples who left school with formal academic qualifications were similar a differential of 39% existed between the porportions of their 'non-care' counterparts who did so.

Therefore, when educational performance is measured in terms of number of examination passes that of Hinkley's Black 'non-care' respondents' bore a closer resemblance to that of the Borough's 'care' respondents, irrespective of their racial presentation, than it did with their White 'non-care' counterparts.

Consideration of the mean number of passes reinforces the pattern referred to above:

Mean Number Of Passes.

1. Black 'non-care' respondents = 1.42.

2. Black 'care' respondents = 1.28.

3. White 'non-care' respondents = 2.68.

4. White 'care' respondents = 1.31.

Table 19.2. shows that with all Ingleby Black 'care' and Black and White 'non-care' respondents gaining examination passes their educational performance, in terms of the proportions of each who left school with formal academic qualifications, were the same. Therefore, the differing racial presentations and, or 'care' status of these young people did not appear to influence their comparative levels of attainment recorded by this limited measure.

However, with only 70% of Ingleby's White 'care' respondents gaining examination passes their educational performance appeared inferior to all other local respondents 'care' status-racial presentation samples. As this paralleled the situation found in Hinkley it appears that 'care' status was much more influential in differentiating the educational performance of White respondents than that of their Black counterparts.

19.3. Indicator F2: School Attendance.

Measurement of the school attendance of respondents is confined to the two academic years immediately before respondents left school, a period of 74 weeks. This was a particularly important time in their education, with long-term consequences for their job prospects, as it saw these young people begin and complete work on the syllabuses of the examinations they took at the end of their school careers. In the course of measurement interest was restricted to the aggregate length of the absences respondents recorded in this period, not the reasons for them. This is justified on the grounds that the allegedly poor educational performance of young people in 'care' is more likely to be the product of the schooling they missed rather than the reasons they had for missing school.

19.3(a.). School Attendance: 'Care' Status.

With 57% of Hinkley's, and 52% of Ingleby's 'care' samples absent from school for 0 to 6 weeks in the two years prior to their leaving school, the attendance of over half of each group was good. With an additional 3% of Hinkley's and 19% of Ingleby's 'care' respondents absent for 7 to 13 weeks the majority of these young people, in both Boroughs, were concentrated in the categories of Tables 19.3. and 19.4. which recorded the lowest rates of absenteeism.

However, 11 members of the Hinkley 'care' sample, equivalent to 37% of its total membership, were absent for periods ranging from 21 to 34 weeks. Whilst this depressed the overall attendance record of this sample group, there appeared to be only 1 habitual non-school attender and as this person was deemed to be school phobic little could be done to improve his attendance. Regardless of this, and in defiance of the false maxims of the social definition of young people in 'care', 97% of this sample group had good or improving attendance records.

The attendance record of young people in Ingleby's 'care' was even better than that of their Hinkley 'care' counterparts; 71% of respondents in Ingleby's 'care' were absent for only 0 to 13 weeks in their last two years at school. Another 24% of these young people missed 14 to 27 weeks with the remaining 5% (equivalent to 1 respondent) absent from 35 to 41 weeks.

Moreover, in contradiction of the social definition of young people in local authority 'care', the attendance records of 'non-care' respondents did not compare favourably with those who were in 'care'. In Hinkley 57% of 'non-care' respondents missed between 14 to 55 weeks in the period under consideration compared with 40% of the Boroughs 'care' respondents. Over the same period 33% of Ingleby's 'non-care', and 29% of its 'care' respondents missed more than 13 weeks of school. It seems that the school attendance of young people in 'care' was better than that of those who were not.

Yet, it is not claimed that young people in 'care' are innately better school attenders than others of their age. It is merely observed, with respect to the young people who participated in the research study, that this aspect of the social definition appeared to be wrong.

19.3(b.). School Attendance: Borough of Residence.

With 50% of all Hinkley, and 52% of all Ingleby respondents missing 0 to 6 weeks school in the two years prior to their starting work nearly the same proportion of respondents in the two Boroughs recorded this level of absence. However, on closer examination Tables 19.3. and 19.4. also reveals that:

1. If attention is confined to the absences totalling 0 to 6 weeks Hinkley's 'care' and 'non-care' respondents emerge as polar opposites. On the one hand, the proportion (57%) of its 'care' sample absent for this period was larger than that for all other sample groups while, on the other hand, the proportion (43%) of the area's 'non-care' sample who missed no more than this amount of school was smallest of all local respondent groups.

Table 19.3. School Attendance: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Gender.

NUMBER OF WEEKS ABSENT	'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
	HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)
0 - 6.	10(63%)	7(50%)	6(43%)	5(71%)	8(50%)	5(36%)	7(50%)	4(57%)
7 - 13.	1(6%)		3(21%)	1(14%)			2(14%)	1(14%)
14 - 20.			2(14%)	1(14%)	5(31%)	2(14%)	1(7%)	
21 - 27.	2(13%)	4(29%)	2(14%)			3(21%)	1(7%)	
28 - 34.	2(13%)	3(21%)			3(19%)	3(21%)	3(21%)	1(14%)
35 - 41.			1(7%)					1(14%)
42 - 48.								
49 - 55.	1(6%)					1(7%)		
Totals	16(101%)	14(100%)	14(99%)	7(99%)	16(100%)	14(99%)	14(99%)	7(99%)

Table 19.4. School Attendance: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Racial Presentation.

NUMBER OF WEEKS ABSENT	'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
	HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)
0 - 6.	9(64%)	8(50%)	6(55%)	5(50%)	6(43%)	7(44%)	6(55%)	5(50%)
7 - 13.		1(6%)	1(9%)	3(30%)			1(9%)	2(20%)
14 - 20.			2(18%)	1(10%)	2(14%)	5(31%)	1(9%)	
21 - 27.	2(14%)	4(25%)	1(9%)	1(10%)	3(21%)			1(10%)
28 - 34.	3(21%)	2(13%)			2(14%)	4(25%)	2(18%)	2(20%)
35 - 41.			1(9%)				1(9%)	
42 - 48.								
49 - 55.		1(7%)			1(7%)			
Totals	14(99%)	16(100%)	11(100%)	10(100%)	14(99%)	16(100%)	11(100%)	10(100%)

2. As a result, of 1. above, it appears that in Hinkley a positive correlation existed between being in 'care' and having the minimum number of absences from school.

3. In Ingleby it was not possible to identify how, if at all, 'care' status and missing more than 6 weeks of school were correlated with 52% of local 'care' and 'non-care' respondents being absent from school for periods amounting to no more than this during their final two years at school.

4. With only 1 Hinkley respondent (a young person in 'care'), 3 of Ingleby's 'non-care', and 4 of its 'care' respondents absent from school for 7 to 13 weeks 69% of all young people from the Borough missed no more than 13 weeks of school compared with 51% of young people in Hinkley. In addition, only 43% of Hinkley's 'non-care' respondents achieved this level of attendance compared with 60% of those in its 'care'. The comparative figures in Ingleby were 67% of 'non-care', and 71% of 'care' respondents.

The research finding described are interesting, for if school attendance is regarded as indicative of how likely a young person is likely to 'show-up' for work, the study's 'care' respondents appeared to offer employers greater reliability in this respect than did their 'non-care' counterparts.

19.3(c.). School Attendance: Gender.

Table 19.3. shows that 69% of Hinkley's 'care' and 50% of its 'non-care' females missed no more than 13 weeks in their last two years of school, the former appeared to have a better record of attendance. It is an impression supported by the 'overall' distribution of absenteeism within each of these sub-samples which indicates that it was a problem more frequently encountered with the Borough's 'non-care' than 'care' females. The finding that no 'non-care', and 6% of 'care' females in Hinkley missed from 7 to 13 weeks of school seems to have been no more than an aberration.

The school attendance records of Hinkley's males showed that 50% of those in, and 36% of those not in the Borough's 'care' were absent for no more than 6 weeks. This finding demonstrated three following points:

1. A smaller proportion of males, irrespective of 'care' status, achieved this low level of absenteeism than did either of the female 'care' status samples.

2. With the proportions of Hinkley's 'care', and 'non-care' males who missed more than six weeks school differing by 14% compared to the lack of any differential between the Borough's 'care' males and 'non-care' females in this respect the 'care' status of local males emerged as more closely associated with minimal levels of absences than did their gender. This conclusion is reinforced by the finding that more members, and a greater proportion of Hinkley's 'non-care' females recorded this level of absenteeism than did the members of any other of the Borough's respondent groups.

3. As the 13% differential separating the proportions of Hinkley's 'care' and 'non-care' females who missed no more than 6 weeks school is similar to that of 14% standing between their male counterparts, the importance of 'care' status as a factor capable of confining absenteeism to this level appeared to exert a roughly uniform influence, regardless of respondent gender.

Further analysis of Table 19.3. also reveals that 'care' and 'non-care' males were more evenly distributed across the absenteeism ranges extending beyond 13 weeks. The exception to this was the 14 to 20 weeks range in which no male 'care' respondents appeared. As a similar situation was found with regard to female respondents the importance of 'care' status as a predictor of school attendance, is once more, pointed to.

Table 19.3. shows that one more of Ingleby's 'non-care', than 'care' females missed no more than 6 weeks of school in the two years prior to their leaving and that the same proportions (64%) of each were absent for a total of 13 weeks in this period. From this it is concluded that the majority of the Borough's 'care' and 'non-care' females had good attendance records.

However, a further 29% of 'care', compared to 14% of 'non-care' females failed to attend school for 14 to 27 weeks, while the worst school attendance was recorded by a 'care' female who missed 36 weeks of school. From these findings it is concluded that:

1. No clear distinction existed in the attendance records of 'care' and 'non-care' females. A clear majority of each had histories of reasonable attendance - defined as absences amounting to no more than 13 weeks in their final two years at school.

2. It follows from 1. above, that 'care' status did not appear to predict the school attendance of Ingleby's female respondents.

With regard to male respondents, research findings show that 71% of males not in, and 86% of males in Ingleby's 'care' missed no more than 13 weeks school over the period measured. A further 29% of 'non-care' males had an absenteeism level which ranged from 28 to 41 weeks. In contrast, the worst record of attendance for males in Ingleby's 'care' was was held by 1 (equal to 14% of the sub-sample) of these young people who missed 14 to 20 weeks of school.

Thus, research results indicated that school attendance of Ingleby's male respondents was influenced by their 'care' status with, contrary to the dictates of the social definition of young people in 'care', those in 'care' being more frequent school attenders those who were not.

The general conclusion arising out of consideration of Table 19.3. is that absenteeism among Ingleby's respondents divided down lines set more by respondent gender, than respondent 'care' status. The position is the reverse of that found in Hinkley, but the most important point to grasp is that, despite what the social definition of young people in 'care' might lead us to believe, the school attendance of 'care' respondents in both Boroughs was as good, if not better than that of their 'non-care' peers.

19.3(d.). School Attendance: Racial Presentation.

Comparison of the school attendance records of Hinkley's Black and White respondents reveals the following points of interest:

1. With 64% Black 'care' and 43% of Black 'non-care' respondents missing up to 6 weeks in their last two years at school compared with 50% of White 'care', and 44% of 'non-care' White respondents those who were Black were, dependent on their 'care' status, the most and least likely record such a low level of absences.

2. Only Hinkley's Black and White 'care' samples had over 50% of their membership absent from school for 13 weeks, or less. Consequently, good school attendance on the parts of the Boroughs respondents appears to have been more strongly associated with 'care' status than with racial presentation.

3. With no 'care', but 15% of Hinkley's Black and 31% of White 'non-care' respondents absent from school for 14 to 20 weeks 'care' status emerged as a more reliable predictor of this level of absenteeism than did racial presentation.

4. Conversely, Table 19.4. shows that racial presentation, especially for the Boroughs 'non-care' respondents, was more closely associated with failure to attend school for 21 to 27 weeks.

5. However, the Table also indicates with 21% of Black 'care' and 25% of White 'non-care' respondents missing 28 to 34 weeks at school, as did 13% of White 'care' and 14% of Black 'non-care' respondents, neither respondents' 'care' status nor racial presentation appeared correlated to this level of absenteeism.

6. Of those respondents who were absent from school for over 14 weeks most missed no more than 34 weeks. Research data shows that 43% of all

Hinkley's Black and 47% of all its White respondents had levels of absenteeism which fell into the 14 to 34 weeks range, implying that racial presentation did not predict the school attendance of these individuals. This conclusion is supported by the similar distribution of the Boroughs Black and White respondents across the absenteeism bands (see Table 19.4.) encompassed by the 0 to 13 week period, pointing to the near equivalence the research found in the school attendance of these young people.

In Ingleby the research findings failed to establish a clear link between the 'care' status-racial presentation and the school attendance of local respondents. Instead a curious medley of alliances was found and by focusing on the relative proportions of the different sub-samples falling into each absenteeism band it can be seen that:

1. A stronger association existed between racial presentation than 'care' status with regard to respondents who missed no more than 6 weeks school.

2. Absenteeism levels falling into the 7 to 13 week range also show a stronger association with respondents' racial presentation than their 'care' status. Research findings show that the same proportions (9%) of Ingleby's Black 'care' and 'non-care' respondents missed this amount of school and that a differential of only 10% (the equivalent of 1 respondent) separated those parts of the Borough's White respondent samples who also recorded this level of absenteeism.

3. Absences from school ranging from 14 to 20 weeks were most often reported by, in descending order, Ingleby's Black 'care' (18%), White 'care' (10%), Black 'non-care' (9%) and White 'care' (0%) respondents. Whilst these findings suggest that this level of absenteeism is more strongly associated with not being in, than being in 'care' they also, confusingly, indicate that White 'non-care' and Black 'care' respondents are about as likely as each other to miss 14 to 20 weeks school. It

appears that any effects their different 'care' status had on their propensity to fall into this absenteeism band were cancelled out by their different racial presentations.

4. 'Care' status appeared to make no difference to the likelihood of Ingleby's White respondents falling into the 21 to 27 weeks absenteeism range with 10% of each doing so. However, 'care' status may be more closely associated with the propensity of the Borough's Black respondents to miss this amount of school with 9% of Black 'care' respondents having done so compared with none of their 'non-care' counterparts. However, as only 1 Black 'care' respondent recorded this level of absenteeism it is not a conclusion in which trust can be placed.

5. As all respondents who missed between 28 and 34 weeks of school were not in 'care' and evenly distributed across both racial categories, liability to this level of absenteeism was more reliably predicted by 'care' status than racial presentation.

6. However, the 35 to 41 weeks absenteeism category is monopolised by Ingleby's Black 'care' and 'non-care' respondents suggesting that membership of this category was indicated more by respondents' racial presentation than by their 'care' status. Unfortunately, the small number of respondents who recorded this level of absenteeism means that this is another conclusion which must be regarded as unreliable.

The above points make it clear that research findings did not reveal a distinct underlying pattern differentiating the school attendance of Ingleby's respondents by 'care' status and racial presentation. However, this is a subsidiary issue. Of much greater significance is that, once again, the school attendance of young people in 'care' was found to be at least as good as their 'non-care' counterparts. As this is contrary to what the social definition of young people in 'care' would lead us to expect the validity of that definition is exposed to further doubt.

19.4. Indicator F3: Attitudes To School.

An important underpinning of the accounts offered of the 'poor' educational performance of young people in 'care' is provided by the supposedly 'bad' attitude they display towards their education. For example; when Burgess (1.) referred to these young people as "casualties of the education system" he equated their abnormally high truancy rates with, not only, the destabilising effects of repeated institutional moves, but also with their, alleged, view of education as something which was irrelevant to them. Similarly, we have also seen how Stein and Carey (2.) described young people in 'care' as having a restricted commitment to their education and how Morgan-Klein (3.) emphasises the alienation of all in 'care' from the education system. A respondent of her's provides succinct, but powerful support for this view when stating:

> *"I was never at school. I always dodged school. I hated school" (4.).*

The depiction of the 'poor' educational performance of young people in 'care' as a function of the negative attitude they take towards their education is persuasive. It is an attitude which the other aspects of the stigmatising social definition of these young people indicates is to be expected of them and offers an easily understood explanation that accords with the strictures of classical and human capital labour market theories.

However, whilst the idea that the 'poor' educational performance of young people in 'care' is due to their 'bad' attitude towards school may be persuasive it is not necessarily right. The research study attempted to test out whether, or not the attitudes of its 'care' and 'non-care' respondents differed in this regard. When doing so the indices used were those applied by Dean and Worby (5.) in their study of educational choice at age 16. The results are displayed in Tables 19.5. to 19.8.

19.4(a.). Attitudes Towards School: 'Care' Status.

Comparison of Tables 19.5. to 19.8. appears to support the proposition that the 'poor' educational performance of young people in 'care' is, in part, the product of their 'typically' 'bad' attitude towards education. It is a comparison which reveals that;

1. substantially more negative attitudinal responses were recorded for all 'care', than for all 'non-care' respondents, who;
2. dominated positive attitudinal response categories.

However, further analysis of the Tables reveals that while 'non-care' respondents more often gave positive responses than did their 'care' counterparts there was no significant difference in the frequencies with which they did so with regard to statements 1 to 4. More 'meaningful' differences were restricted to statements 5 and 6 with 'non-care' respondents giving 11 more positive responses to each of these statements than those in 'care'. As a result whilst the Tables point to a difference in the views young people in, and not in 'care' on their education the existence of a strict dichotomy in their attitudes is not indicated with the majority of each being positive.

Moreover, examination of comments made by 'care' respondents who gave negative responses suggests that to attribute their 'poor' educational performance to a 'bad' attitude is overly simplistic and dangerously misleading. Their words made it clear that their negativity reflected a host of different things e.g. the facts of their individual situations, low educational self-expectations, a desire to start work etc:

> *"I suppose I'm a bit slow ... I go to special classes at school... I've never been any good at school".*
>
> (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).

> *"School's all right. I got me mates there and we have some good times. But, the lessons are dead boring and I'm no good at them anyway so there's no sense in me staying on".*
>
> (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).

> *"My school is really bad. They don't teach you anything except bricklaying and I didn't get to take any exams. So why stay on".*
>
> (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).

> *"I always planed to leave school as soon as I could. Its all right but I want to earn some money and be more independent".*

(Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).

"I hate school. Its boring and I always get useless marks".

(Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).

"If I saw any point in staying on I would, but I reckon there ain't -
I'm better off working".

(Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).

"School's hard difficult".

(Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).

None of the above comments can be said to be indicative of a particularly hostile attitude towards school. The individuals quoted confined their remarks to what school had to offer them and their abilities to use the opportunities it might provide. In doing so, the image that these young people had of themselves as not academically able emerged as a clear and important determining factor in shaping their attitudes towards school. In a very real sense it seems that the academic performance of 'care' respondents was undermined not by their 'bad' attitude towards school, but by their 'bad' attitude towards themselves.

19.4(b.). Attitudes Towards School: Borough of Residence.

Research findings provided 'evidence' (see Tables 19.5. to 19.8.) suggesting that borough of residence played a part in differentiating the attitudes of 'care' respondents towards school. In doing so, the Tables indicate the falsity of simply ascribing to these young people a 'poorer' attitude towards school than their 'non-care' counterparts by showing that when the differential sample sizes are taken into account young people in Ingleby's 'care' recorded only 3% more positive responses than did members of Hinkley's 'non-care' sample.

Table 19.5. Attitudes Towards School: Hinkley/'Care' Status/Gender.

	HINKLEY (n=360)															
	'CARE' (n=180)								'NON-CARE' (n=180)							
	FEMALE (n=96)				MALE (n=84)				FEMALE (n=96)				MALE (n=84)			
	+ +	+	-	- -	+ +	+	-	- -	+ +	+	-	- -	+ +	+	-	- -
I've Enjoyed School.	5(5%)	5(5%)	4(4%)	2(2%)	6(7%)	4(5%)	4(5%)		6(6%)	5(5%)	3(3%)	2(2%)	4(5%)	4(5%)	4(5%)	2(2%)
I Get On Well With Other Pupils.	7(11%)	4(4%)	5(5%)		8(10%)	4(5%)	1(1%)	1(1%)	11(11%)	3(3%)	2(2%)		7(8%)	7(8%)		
School Has Made Me Think Of Doing Further Eductaion.	2(2%)	3(3%)	7(7%)	4(4%)	1(1%)	2(2%)	5(9%)	6(7%)	2(2%)	9(9%)	4(4%)	1(1%)		4(5%)	2(2%)	8(10%)
My School Attendance Has Been Good.	8(8%)	4(4%)	3(3%)	1(1%)	5(6%)	3(4%)	3(4%)	3(4%)	11(11%)	223%)	1(1%)	2(2%)	7(8%)	3(4%)	2(2%)	2(2%)
I've Been Successful At School.	2(2%)	2(2%)	4(4%)	8(8%)	3(4%)	2(2%)	2(2%)	7(8%)	3(3%)	6(6%)	4(4%)	3(3%)	6(7%)	6(7%)	1(1%)	1(1%)
School Is Interesting.	3(3%)	3(3%)	6(6%)	4(4%)	2(2%)	2(2%)	1(1%)	9(11%)	3(3%)	7(7%)	4(4%)	2(2%)	4(5%)	6(7%)	2(2%)	2(2%)
Total.	27(28%)	21(22%)	29(30%)	19(20%)	25(30%)	17(20%)	16(19%)	26(31%)	36(37%)	32(33%)	18(19%)	10(10%)	28(33%)	30(36%)	11(13%)	15(18%)
Total.	48(50%)		48(50%)		42(50%)		42(50%)		68(71%)		28(29%)		58(69%)		26(31%)	
Total.	96(100%)				84(100%)				96(100%)				84(100%)			

Table 19.6. Attitudes Towards School: Ingleby/'Care' Status/Gender.

	INGLEBY (n=252)															
	'CARE' (n=126)								'NON-CARE' (n=126)							
	FEMALE (n=84)				MALE (n=42)				FEMALE (n=84)				MALE (n=42)			
	+ +	+	-	- -	+ +	+	-	- -	+ +	+	-	- -	+ +	+	-	- -
I've Enjoyed School.	3(4%)	5(6%)	6(7%)		2(5%)	2(5%)	1(2%)	2(5%)	5(6%)	5(6%)	3(4%)	1(1%)	3(7%)	3(7%)	1(2%)	
I Get On Well With Other Pupils.	8(10%)	3(4%)	3(4%)		5(12%)	1(2%)	1(2%)		8(10%)	2(2%)	3(4%)	1(1%)	4(10%)	3(7%)		
School Has Made Me Think Of Doing Further Eductaion.	3(4%)	6(7%)	4(5%)	1(1%)	3(7%)	1(2%)	1(2%)	2(5%)	2(2%)	6(7%)	3(4%)	3(4%)	2(5%)	1(2%)	1(2%)	1(2%)
My School Attendance Has Been Good.	9(11%)	3(4%)	1(1%)	1(2%)	6(14%)	1(2%)			7(8%)	3(4%)	3(4%)	1(1%)	4(10%)	1(2%)	1(2%)	2(5%)
I've Been Successful At School.	9(11%)	2(2%)	3(4%)		5(12%)			2(5%)	4(5%)	9(11%)		1(1%)	2(5%)			
School Is Interesting.	8(10%)	1(1%)	4(5%)	1(1%)	4(10%)	1(2%)	1(2%)	1(2%))	3(4%)	8(10%)	1(1%)	2(2%)	1(2%)			2(5%)
Total.	40(48%)	20(29%)	21(25%)	3(4%)	25(60%)	6(14%)	4(10%)	7(17%)	29(35%)	33(39%)	13(15%)	9(11%)	16(38%)	18(43%)	3(7%)	5(12%)
Total.	60(71%)		24(29%)		31(74%)		11(26%)		62(74%)		22(26%)		34(81%)		8(19%)	
Total.	84(100%)				42(100%)				84(100%)				42(100%)			

Table 19.7. Attitudes Towards Teachers: Hinkley/'Care' Status/Racial Presentation.

	HINKLEY (n=360)															
	'CARE' (n=180)								'NON-CARE' (n=180)							
	BLACK (n=84)				WHITE (n=96)				BLACK (n=84)				WHITE (n=96)			
	+ +	+	-	- -	+ +	+	-	- -	+ +	+	-	- -	+ +	+	-	- -
I've Enjoyed School.	5(6%)	3(4%)	4(5%)	2(2%)	6(6%)	6(6%)	4(4%)		5(6%)	4(5%)	3(4%)	2(2%)	5(5%)	5(5%)	4(4%)	2(2%)
I Get On Well With Other Pupils.	9(11%)	2(2%)	3(4%)		6(6%)	6(6%)	3(3%)	1(1%)	8(9%)	4(4%)	2(2%)		10(10%)	6(6%)		
School Has Made Me Think Of Doing Further Eductaion.	3(4%)	3(4%)	3(4%)	5(6%)		2(2%)	9(9%)	5(5%)	2(2%)	5(6%)	4(5%)	3(4%)		8(8%)	2(2%)	6(6%)
My School Attendance Has Been Good.	9(11%)	1(1%)	2(2%)	2(2%)	4(14%)	6(6%)	4(4%)	2(2%)	10(12%)	1(1%)	2(2%)	1(1%)	8(10%)	4(4%)	1(1%)	3(3%)
I've Been Successful At School.	4(5%)	2(2%)	2(4%)	6(7%)	1(12%)	2(2%)	4(4%)	9(9%)	4(5%)	6(7%)	2(2%)	2(1%)	5(5%)	6(6%)	3(3%)	2(2%)
School Is Interesting.	3(4%)	1(1%)	3(4%)	7(8%)	2(2%)	4(4%)	4(4%)	6(6%)	4(5%)	6(7%)	3(4%)	1(1%)	3(2%)	7(7%)	3(3%)	3(3%)
Total.	33(39%)	12(14%)	17(20%)	22(26%)	19(20%)	26(27%)	28(29%)	23(24%)	33(39%)	26(31%)	16(19%)	9(11%)	31(32%)	36(37%)	13(14%)	16(17%)
Total.	45(54%)		39(46%)		45(47%)		51(53%)		59(70%)		25(30%)		67(70%)		29(30%)	
Total.	84(100%)				96(100%)				84(100%)				96(100%)			

Table 19.8. Attitudes Towards Teachers: Ingleby/'Care' Status/Racial Presentation.

	INGLEBY (n=252)															
	'CARE' (n=126)								'NON-CARE' (n=126)							
	BLACK (n=66)				WHITE (n=60)				BLACK (n=66)				WHITE (n=60)			
	+ +	+	-	- -	+ +	+	-	- -	+ +	+	-	- -	+ +	+	-	- -
I've Enjoyed School.	3(5%)	4(6%)	2(3%)	2(3%)	2(3%)	3(5%)	5(8%)		4(6%)	4(6%)	2(3%)	1(2%)	4(7%)	4(7%)	2(3%)	
I Get On Well With Other Pupils.	7(11%)	3(5%)	1(2%)		6(10%)	1(2%)	3(5%)		7(11%)	3(5%)	1(2%)		5(8%)	2(3%)	2(3%)	1(2%)
School Has Made Me Think Of Doing Further Eductaion.	3(5%)	4(6%)	2(3%)	2(3%)	3(5%)	3(5%)	3(5%)	1(2%)	3(5%)	6(9%)	2(3%)		1(2%)	3(5%)	2(3%)	4(7%)
My School Attendance Has Been Good.	9(14%)	2(3%)			6(10%)	2(3%)	1(2%)	1(2%)	6(9%)	2(3%)	2(3%)	1(2%)	5(8%)	1(2%)	2(3%)	2(3%)
I've Been Successful At School.	8(12%)	1(2%)	1(2%)	1(2%)	6(10%)	1(2%)	2(3%)	1(2%)	3(5%)	7(11%)		1(2%)	3(5%)	7(12%)		
School Is Interesting.	7(11%)	2(3%)	1(2%)	1(2%)	5(8%)		4(7%)	1(2%)	3(5%)	7(11%)		1(2%)	1(2%)	5(8%)	1(2%)	3(5%)
Total.	37(56%)	16(24%)	7(11%)	6(9%)	28(46%)	10(17%)	18(30%)	4(7%)	26(39%)	29(41%)	7(11%)	4(6%)	19(32%)	22(37%)	9(15%)	10(17%)
Total.	53(80%)		13(20%)		38(63%)		22(37%)		55(83%)		11(17%)		41(68%)		19(32%)	
Total.	66(100%)				60(100%)				66(100%)				60(100%)			

Furthermore, in the course of the research study, the comparative educational performance of respondents' schoolmates emerged as an important factor, influencing young people's attitudes towards school. For example, while 6 of Ingleby's and 30 of Hinkley's respondents considered themselves to have been unsuccessful at school the Ingleby figure appears unduly high while that for Hinkley surprisingly low with 3 and 35 respondents from each Borough, respectively, gaining no examination passes.

However, educational 'success' is, in a very real sense, not an objective achievement, but a subjective experience arising out of individuals making favourable comparisons of how their school performance against that of their schoolmates. Thus, some young people in Ingleby felt less 'successful' than several respondents, with fewer examination passes, from the less academically 'achieving' Borough of Hinkley. What is experienced as educational 'success' in one Borough is experienced as 'failure' in another with the attitudes accompanying these perceived levels of attainment determined more by locality than 'care' status.

19.4(c.). Attitudes Towards School: Gender - Hinkley.

The following are the main points of interest to emerge from analysis of table 19.5.:

1. Although positive responses were recorded for a larger proportion of Hinkley's females (60%) than males (59%) the difference between them in this regard was negligible. As a result;

2. a similarly narrow differential is found between 40% of the Borough's females and 41% of its males whose replies indicated a negative attitudes toward school.

3. Hinkley's 'non-care' females dominated both categories of positive responses, recording 11% more single positive, and 9% more double positive responses than their female counterparts in 'care'. Therefore;

4. females in Hinkley's 'care' more frequently gave responses which slotted into both categories of negative response.

5. The responses of Hinkley's males traced the same pattern as did those of the Borough's females 'non-care' males more often providing both forms of positive response than did males in 'care' who held sway in the negative categories of response.

19.4(d.). Attitudes Towards School: Gender - Ingleby.

Examination of Tables 19.6. shows that the attitudes of Ingleby's males and females towards school observed a more complex pattern than of Hinkley's. The following points summarize the main aspect of this pattern.

1. 31% of responses from all Inglbey's females, and 29% of those from all its males fell into the single positive category. The distribution of this response across the genders mirrored that found in Hinkley. Conversely;

2. 41% and 49% from all Ingleby's female and male respondents are classified as double positive. As a result, unlike Hinkley, a larger proportion of replies received from males (78%), than females (72%) respondents were coded as either single or double positive result.

3. The 6% differential separating the proportions of positive responses received from Ingleby's males and females is not considered significant, in view of the sample sizes. The similarity in the rate with which male and female respondents reported positive attitudes towards school is more important than the slight difference in the precise frequencies with which they did so.

4. Of all replies received from Ingleby's females 20% were classed as single negative compared to 8% of the replies provided by local males; the reverse of the Hinkley response pattern.

5. The distribution of double negative responses shows that 14% of all replies received from Ingleby's males and 7% of all those provided by its females were of this type. The proportion of double negative responses received from the Borough's male respondents is particularly interesting as their paradoxical domination of the double positive response category, hints at the existence of a dichotomy in their attitudes towards school.

   Thus, while the distribution of female responses appears to observe a 'logical' sequential sliding scale, declining from double positive, to single positive, to single negative, to double negative, male responses are distributed in a more erratic fashion. The suggestion is that Ingleby's males are less consistent and more extreme in their attitudes to school than their female counterparts.

6. Whilst the differing response patterns of Ingleby's females and males provides an issue of speculative interest, more important is that an underlying similarity in the attitudes of the genders towards school.

In Ingleby, as in Hinkley, 'care' status emerged as playing a more prominent role in determining respondent attitudes towards school. However, whilst in Hinkley being in 'care' was consistently more strongly associated with negative attitudes towards school than was not being in 'care', the dynamic of the Ingleby pattern is different. To demonstrate this the following points are made:

1. With 51% of all 'care' respondents' replies classed as double positive this proved to be their most favoured form of response. In comparison, only 36% of 'non-care' respondents replies were of this type.

2. While 40% of responses received from Ingleby's 'non-care' respondents slotted into the single positive category only 21% of those supplied by young people in the Borough's 'care' did so.

3. When taken together, single and double positive responses accounted for 72%, and 76% of all replies received from Ingleby's 'care' and 'non-care'

respondents. As a result, 'care' status, like gender, appeared to have no significant impact on the formation of a positive attitude towards school.

4. With 20% of replies from Ingleby's 'care', and 13% of those received its 'non-care' respondents falling into the single negative category, young people in the Borough's 'care' were more apt to give this form of response. Whilst this reflected the Hinkley situation the finding that 11% Ingleby's 'non-care' and 8% of its 'care' respondent replies were double negative did not.

5. With a differential of only 4% in the proportions of responses received from Ingleby's 'care' and 'non-care' respondents which fell into either negative category a fundamental similarity in the attitudes of these young people is evidenced once more.

In brief, research findings found no conclusive 'proof' indicating that 'care' status was any more reliable than gender as a predictor than of Ingleby's respondents towards school. Whilst the differing responses gained in Hinkley and Ingleby point to some interesting local differences in the measures made of this indicator the predominant feature in both Boroughs was the overriding similarity in respondents attitudes towards school, irrespective of their 'care' status and gender.

19.4(e.). Attitudes Towards School: Racial Presentation - Hinkley.

Analysis of Table 19.7. indicates that in Hinkley the racial presentation of respondents did not play as an important role in determining their attitudes towards school as did their 'care' status. The Table also reveals that:

1. Hinkley's Black and White respondents demonstrated negative attitudes towards school with about similar frequency. Of the responses offered by all the Borough's White respondents 21% fell into the single negative, and a further 20% into double negative categories, compared with 19% and 18% of replies received from Black respondents also classed as single and double negative, respectively.

2. With 61% of all responses received from Hinkley's Black, and 58% of those of its White respondents classified as single or double positive the former group of young people were slightly more positive in their attitude towards school than the latter. Therefore, the rates at which these young people expressed positive attitudes were not significantly associated with their racial presentation.

3. However, with 39% of Black, and 26% of White respondents replies classed as double positive the former's attitudes towards school were qualitatively better than those of their White counterparts.

4. Consideration of respondents' attitudes in terms of 'care' status shows that the gap separating 'care' and 'non-care' respondents' attitudes towards school was greater in every category, save that of double positive, than that between White and Black respondents.

5. The pattern of responses received from 'care' respondents was consistent with a range of 8% separating the proportions of their responses which fell into the categories that were most and least popular with them (double positive, 29%, and; single positive, 21%). In comparison 'non-care' responses were concentrated into positive categories with only 42% taking negative form.

6. The research findings provide league table of Hinkley's respondents attitudes towards school. It is jointly headed by the Borough's Black and White 'non-care' respondent samples with 70% of the replies provided by each being single or double positive. These groups are followed, in descending order, by Hinkley Black, and its White 'care' sub-samples for whom 54% and 47%, respectively, of their replies were classed as positive. It appears that respondents' attitudes towards school were more closely associated with their 'care' status than with their racial presentation.

19.4(f.). Attitudes Towards School: Racial Presentation - Ingleby.

Table 19.8. indicates that the relationship between Ingleby's respondents' attitudes towards school, their racial presentation and their 'care' status was more complex than that found in Hinkley. The Table shows that positive responses received in Ingleby differed more in terms of 'care' status than racial presentation while the reverse situation applied with regard to negative responses.

Arising out of the Ingleby research findings are the following main points:

1. Of all responses received from Ingleby's Black respondents 34% were classified as single positive and 47% as double positive. In comparison only 27% of replies from the Borough's White respondents were single negative and a further 39% double positive.

2. Point 1, above, makes clear that with some form of positive responses accounting for 81% of all replies received from Ingleby's Black, and 66% of those from its White respondents the former group of young people exhibited attitudes towards school which were, generally, more favourable than those of the latter.

3. As 5% more of Ingleby's Black respondents', than its 'non-care' respondents' replies were categorised as single or double positive, a slightly stronger association was found between being Black and having a 'good'

attitude towards school than between not being in 'care', and having attitudes of this type.

4. Research findings show that 27% of responses from Ingleby's White respondents, and 21% of those provided by young people in its 'care' are single positive. However, while double positive responses for White respondents climbed to 39% the increase was more dramatic with regard to 'care' respondents with 51% of their responses, a higher proportion than for any other sub-sample, falling into this category. As a result, the proportion of responses received from Ingleby's 'care' sample which were either single or double positive exceeded, by 6% the proportions of similar replies made by White respondents. In so doing, a slightly stronger association is indicated between being in 'care', than being White, and having a positive attitude towards school.

5. Single and double negative responses account for 11% and 8%, respectively, of replies received from Ingleby's Black respondents'. In comparison 22% of all replies from White respondents were single negative while a further 12% were double negative. Thus, the research found that in Ingleby negative attitudes toward school were more strongly associated with being White than Black.

6. The results outlined in 5, above, indicates the polarization of Ingleby's Black and White respondents. With only 18% of responses from all Black, and 34% of those received from all White respondents classed as negative, this indication is confirmed.

7. With 24% and 28% of all replies provided by Ingleby's 'non-care' and 'care' respondents being negative it seems that those who were not in 'care' had slightly less favourable attitudes towards school than those who were. However, in view of the initial sample sizes this differential cannot be regarded as significant.

In summary, positive attitudes towards school were more frequently expressed by

Ingleby's Black respondents followed by local 'non-care' and 'care' respondents, respectively, while the Borough's White respondents recorded a smaller proportion of positive responses than did any other group of young people from the area. While this order was reversed with regard to negative responses, the exceptionally high concentration of replies from 'care' respondents in the double positive category indicates, contrary to their social definition, that their attitudes towards school were qualitatively better than those of any other group of young people from the area.

Chapter 20.

Self: Variable G.

20.1. Introduction.

As already outlined in Chapter 14, the research study adopted a theoretical perspective which conceptualized the 'self' as a social creation whose content is derived from, and shaped by interaction with others. This interpretation of the 'self' has a long and well established pedigree as Roger Brown makes clear:

> *"William James (1890) has written, with unequaled sensitivity and wisdom, of the self as an object of knowledge, as a mental construction of the human organism. George Herbert Mead (1934) has very persuasively argued that the self is a derivative of social life. The human organism is able to conceive of itself, in Mead's opinion, only by participating in the minds of others... A man can perceive his own personality, Mead argues, only by reflection in the eyes of another" (1.).*

However, if the 'self' is a social creation the fusillade of critical comments made of young people in 'care' does not augur well for them. These comments are encapsulated in the disparaging social definition of these young people, which allots to them a stigmatized place in the margins of society, suggesting that they are likely to develop an imbalanced sense of 'self'. That is, a sense of 'self' whose component parts are in disequilibrium making it incapable of performing its primary task, described by Gouldner as;

> *"locating and enhancing itself on both the 'goodness' and 'potency' dimensions and bringing the two into equilibrium, just as it must for all objects" (2.).*

Therefore, the attempt made to monitor any imbalance in respondents' sense of 'self' involved its measurement in terms of self-esteem and self-potency. The 'self' experiences self-esteem when it conforms with the expectations of others and with group values; it thus wins approval and experiences itself as 'good'. Self-potency, is different arising from an individual's self-image and is experienced when the 'self' violates the expectations of others, when the individual manifests the capacity to express distance or autonomy from others and their demands, rather than conformity or involvement with them.

Self-esteem and self-potency may be thought of as polar opposites. Self-esteem is derived from consensual validation arising out of the approval an individual receives as a result of compliance with prevailing social norms and values while self-potency grows out of conflictual validation which occurs when an individual manifestly become someone to be reckoned with, even when he, or she may not be approved by others.

Since consensual validation is given for conformity with social values it makes the individual 'self' like all other 'selves'. Dependency on this form of validation can, thereby, dilute an individual's sense of individuality. Without the boundary-forming, individuating tension between the wishes of the individual and society's demand for conformity the line between the uniqueness of individual 'selves' and those of others becomes blurred.

A highly developed 'self', although emerging in social interaction, is not simply the product of amiable sociability. It requires a measure of conflict for its survival. The attainment of an individuating, 'acceptable' and 'mature' personality requires that the optimum balance be struck between feelings of approval and potency arising out of consensual and conflictual validation, respectively. Failure to obtain the 'right' balance can be regarded as symptomatic of a warped or scewed sense of 'self' which is imbalanced.

In more prosaic terms an individual's sense of 'self' can be regarded as an important factor in the determination of how well a person copes with the demands of social existence and sets the expectations he, or she has of life. Consequently, the following indicators were used to gauge the 'self' definitions of respondents:

Indicator G1. Respondents' Perceptions Of Their Abilities; as indicated by their career plans. By providing a comparison between respondents' career expectations and aspirations the indicator offers the opportunity of gaining an insight into the balance respondents achieved between their feelings of self-esteem and self-potency.

Indicator G2. Respondents' Self-Value; as indicated by their feelings of approval. This indicator is concerned with the issue of self-esteem and consensual validation, something already dealt with when presenting measurements made of experimental variables B. C. and E. Therefore, effort here will be limited to teasing out of these measures what it is they connote about the self-esteem; the senses of self-value of the different respondent groups.

Indicator G3. Respondents' Self-Potency: as indicated by their reasons for leaving school. Of the three indicators it is G3. which deals most directly with the image respondents had of themselves as autonomous, potent individuals by looking at their capacity for taking thought-out decisions when it came to leaving school. The attempt will be made to distinguish where the decision to leave was 'planned' or 'reactive' on the part of individual respondents.

Unfortunately, the highly dynamic and abstract nature of the concept of 'self' inevitably means that the measures to be presented in this Chapter are imprecise and allow no global conclusions to be drawn from them. Measurements taken apply only to how respondents' 'selves' presented with regard to the narrow range of issues the indicators asked the study's participants to address. Despite these shortcomings it is believed that these faulted measures are capable of providing an insight into the relative balance in the sense of self of young people in, and not in 'care'.

20.2. Indicator G1: Respondents' Perceptions Of Their Own Abilities.

Measurement of G1. equated the career expectations of respondents with their self-esteem, the premise being that the careers they anticipated taking up on leaving school were profoundly influenced by their introjection of external judgements made of their capacities and resulting prospects on the labour market. On the other hand, respondents' career aspirations concerned what respondents felt they might achieve in working life. As a result career goals of these young people were treated as reflecting their feelings of self-potency.

However, the career expectations and aspirations of respondents are not just effected by the development of their individual senses of 'self'. Local labour market conditions, academic attainment, the quality of careers advice available and the sheer amount of effort put into their job search all played a part in setting respondents' expectations and aspirations. The impact of these factors was ameliorated in the course of research in the following ways:

1. The respondent groups from each Borough competed for employment on the same local labour market.

2. All respondents were 16 year old school leavers and whilst the levels of academic success they attained were variable it has been shown that the school performance of 'care' and 'non-care' respondents displayed a broad similarity.

3. 'Care' respondents did not have as readily available to them, as did 'non-care' respondents, careers advice from family members who might have 'inside information' on job openings. However, young people in 'care' made more use of teachers (those with responsibility for careers advice) and the careers service, than did their 'non-care' counterparts. These sources can reasonably be assumed to have more information on overall job opportunities than any others.

4. Discussion of experimental variable 'J' (Job Search) will show that the research discovered nothing to suggest that the job search efforts of 'care' respondents were less assiduous than those of respondents not in 'care'.

In view of the factors listed above it was considered that indicator G1. could be legitimately used to gain a measure of the self-esteem and self-potency of respondents through a process of social learning. The measures to be reported on may be crude, but the most obvious of the potentially confounding variables which threatened their legitimacy are regarded as having been controlled in the course of the research.

Yet, another factor which had to be taken into account when taking measures of G1. was the status of the careers' respondents expected to, or aspired to enter. To do so a judgement was made about whether the type of employment denoted by each career category was more likely to be found in the primary or secondary sector of the labour market. According to this criterion the Semi-Skilled/Unskilled category is most clearly linked to the secondary sector, whilst the Retail Trades category stradles both market sectors with many small retailers firmly in the secondary sector while a few very large retailers provide primary sector employment. However, as the level of training offered by most employers within the retail trades tends to be non-existent or limited while entry requirements into these trades is often minimal this form of employment was also rated as being of low status.

The Don't Know/Anything category was treated as synonymous, with low status employment as the lack of clarity about career expectations, which membership of this category denoted was regarded as symptomatic of an ill-defined sense of self-esteem and self-potency. All other career categories, with the exception of the miscellaneous 'Other' were treated as providing high status primary sector employment. It may have been possible to place the categories in a strict hierarchical order, but no effort was made to do so as the primary interest in the measurement of G1. was the identification of any link between, a.) the 'care' status of respondents, and; b.) their self-esteem and self-potency, and; c.) the sector of the economy they perceived themselves as working in.

Table 20.1. Career Expectations: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Gender.

CAREER EXPECTATIONS.	'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
	HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)
Professional: jobs normally requiring a degree or equivalent as an entry qualification.				1(14%)			1(7%)	1(14%)
Arts/Performing Arts/Sport.	2(13%)	1(7%)	2(14%)		1(6%)		1(7%)	
Technical.					2(13%)	1(7%)	2(14%)	
Business/Administration.								
Clerical/Secretarial.			1(7%)		4(25%)	1(7%)	3(21%)	1(14%)
Skilled Trades.		1(7%)				5(36%)		2(29%)
Retail Trades.	4(25%)	2(14%)	2(14%)		3(19%)	1(7%)	2(14%)	
Semi-Skilled/Unskilled.	3(19%)	5(36%)	3(21%)	4(57%)		4(29%)		
Other.	2(13%)				1(6%)		1(7%)	1(14%)
D.K./Anything.	5(31%)	5(36%)	6(43%)	2(29%)	5(31%)	2(14%)	4(29%)	2(29%)
Total.	16(101%)	14(100%)	14(99%)	7(100%)	16(100%)	14(100%)	14(9%)	7(100%)

Table 20.2. Career Expectations: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Racial Presentation.

CAREER EXPECTATIONS.	'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
	HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)
Professional: jobs normally requiring a degree or equivalent as an entry qualification.			1(9%)					2(20%)
Arts/Performing Arts/Sport.	2(14%)	1(6%)	1(9%)	1(10%)	1(7%)		1(9%)	
Technical.					1(7%)	2(13%)	1(9%)	1(10%)
Business/Administration.								
Clerical/Secretarial.			1(9%)		2(14%)	3(19%)	1(9%)	3(30%)
Skilled Trades.		1(6%)			2(14%)	3(19%)		2(20%)
Retail Trades.	3(21%)	3(19%)	1(9%)	1(10%)	3(21%)	1(6%)	2(18%)	
Semi-Skilled/Unskilled.	3(21%)	5(31%)	5(45%)	2(20%)	2(14%)	2(13%)		
Other.	2(14%)					1(7%)	2(18%)	
D.K./Anything.	4(29%)	6(38%)	2(18%)	6(60%)	3(21%)	4(25%)	4(36%)	2(100%)
Total.	14(99%)	16(100%)	11(99%)	10(100%)	14(98%)	16(102%)	11(99%)	10(100%))

20.2(a.). Career Expectations: 'Care' Status.

The pattern of respondents' career expectations shown in Tables 20.1. and 20.2. point to an important similarity between the types of jobs 'care' and 'non-care' respondents expected to get on leaving school with the 'Don't Know/Anything' category being the most heavily populated by members of both groups. This finding was anticipated because of the uncertainty with which many school-leavers approach the prospect of going to work and choosing a career. It is an undertaking made all the more difficult by the high level of youth unemployment prevailing at the time when the study took place.

Yet, despite the area of similarity referred to, the most vivid impression given by the Tables is of the significantly different career expectations of young people in, and not in 'care'. While 41 (80%) of 'care' respondents slotted into the Don't Know/Anything, Semi-skilled/Unskilled and Retail Trades categories only 23 (45%) of those not in 'care' did so. From this it appears that 'care' respondents were much more uncertain about entering work and more apt than their 'non-care' peers to see themselves entering low status occupations.

In other words, 'care' respondents appeared to have developed a set of self-expectations which meant they were prone to head in the direction of the secondary labour market. This is borne out by reference to the career expectations of 'non-care' respondents. These indicate that, with the exception of the Arts/Performing Arts/Sport, 'non-care' respondents predominated in all higher status career categories. In all 25 (49%) of these young people compared to 8 (16%) of 'care' respondents, expected to find some form of work in the primary sector.

Comments made by some respondents made clear the close relationship between the careers they expected to enter and the views others had of them:

> *"I ain't done that well at school and I know what people will think if they find out I'm in 'care' so I'll be lucky to get anything when I look for a job. I might get a job labouring though I'm pretty fit".*
>
> (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).

"Its important to be hard working and you can't be dim if you want to learn a trade. Well I'm O.K. there and I've got some good reports from school so I expect to take a trade when I leave here (school)".

(My Brackets) (Hinkley 'Non-Care' Respondents).

"There are a lot of little shoe shops around here... and I hear they are hard up for workers, they'll take anyone. I reckon I could get a job in one".

(Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).

"Look I've been pushed around and never been treated as an individual, just as another kid in the home so I don't have any expectations of anything. I'll be lucky to get a job when I leave school, but my brother does some mini-cabbing. He might be able to get me some work helping his night operator. I'm too young to do it really, but I don't care".

(Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).

"I'm as good as anyone else and I already know a bit about cars so I don't see why I shouldn't get a job working on them and be trained up as a mechanic".

(Ingleby 'Non-Care' Respondent).

"A sandwich maker is what I'll be... I'm Black, I'm in 'care' and I ain't got anything much going for me. But, I can cook a bit and there are a lot of sandwich bars round here. I expect I'll have to get a job in one of them".

(Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).

20.2(b.). Career Aspirations: 'Care' Status.

With 12 'care', and the same number of 'non-care' respondents having career aspirations that fell into the Don't Know/Anything response categories of Tables 20.3. and 20.4., the same proportions (24%) of each group had aspirationes which were vague. However, even greater uncertainty emerged when respondents were asked to stipulated their career expectations. It was an uncertainty which pointed to the tension between self-esteem and self-potency; a tension felt equally by young people in, and not in 'care'.

Table 20.3. Career Aspirations: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Gender.

CAREER ASPIRED TO.	'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
	HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)
Professional: jobs normally requiring a degree or eqivalent as an entry qualification.				2(29%)			1(7%)	1(14%)
Arts/Performing Arts/Sport.	1(6%)	2(14%)	3(21%)		2(13%)	2(14%)	2(14%)	
Technical.					1(6%)		1(7%)	
Business/Administration.								1(14%)
Clerical/Secretarial.			3(21%)		3(19%)		4(29%)	
Skilled Trades.		4(29%)		3(43%)		6(43%)		4(57%)
Retail Trades.	4(25%)	1(7%)	4(29%)		4(25%)		3(21%)	
Semi-Skilled/Unskilled.	6(38%)	1(7%)	1(7%)		2(13%)	1(7%)		
Other.	2(13%)		2(14%)				1(7%)	
D.K./Anything.	3(19%)	6(43%)	1(7%)	2(29%)	4(25%)	5(36%)	2(14%)	1(14%)
Total.	16(101%)	14(100%)	14(99%)	7(101%)	16(101%)	14(100%)	14(99%)	7(99%)

Table 20.4. Career Aspirations: ' Care ' Status/Borough Of Residence/Racial Presentation.

CAREER ASPIRED TO.	' CARE ' (n=51)				' NON-CARE ' (n=51)			
	HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)
Professional: jobs normally requiring a degree or equivalent as an entry qualification.			2(18%)					2(20%)
Arts/Performing Arts/Sport.	1(7%)	2(13%)	1(9%)	2(20%)	2(14%)	2(13%)	1(9%)	1(10%)
Technical.					1(7%)		1(9%)	
Business/Administration.								1(10%)
Clerical/Secretarial.			2(18%)	1(10%)	1(7%)	2(13%)	2(18%)	2(20%)
Skilled Trades.	2(14%)	2(13%)	1(9%)	2(20%)	3(21%)	3(19%)	2(18%)	2(20%)
Retail Trades.	1(7%)	4(25%)	2(18%)	2(20%)	1(7%)	3(19%)	2(18%)	1(10%)
Semi-Skilled/Unskilled.	3(21%)	4(25%)	1(9%)			3(19%)		
Other.	2(14%)			2(20%)			1(9%)	
D.K./Anything.	5(36%)	4(25%)	2(18%)	1(10%)	6(43%)	3(19%)	2(18%)	1(10%)
Total.	14(99%)	16(101%)	11(99%)	10(100%)	14(99%)	16(102%)	11(99%)	10(100%)

Comparison of Tables 20.1. and 20.2. with Tables 20.3. and 20.4. indicates that with 20% of 'non-care' respondents expecting to enter semi-skilled/unskilled employment or find work in the retail trades and the same proportion of them aspiring to find these forms of employment, the self-esteem and self-potency of these young people appeared, in this respect, to be in harmony. Balance between these components of their 'selves' replaced the imbalance discovered in the 'selves' of 'care' respondents.

The tense imbalance between the career expectations and aspirations, and, therefore, between the self-esteem and self-potency of 'care' respondents was mirrored in the disparity of 19% between the 16% of these young people expecting to enter primary sector employment and the 35% of them who aspired to do so. For 'non-care' respondents this differential was just 4% with 49% of them anticipating they would find employment of this type on leaving school, while 53% considered they could realistically aspire to do so.

Research findings also revealed the different ways in which the 'selves' of 'care' and 'non-care' respondent were validated. The small variation discovered between 'non-care' respondents who expected, and aspired to enter high status employment categories, suggests that their 'selves' were almost equally consensually and conflictually validated. The implication of this is that while the majority of these young people had a 'self-concept' devoid of threateningly high levels of internal tension it was not as individuated as that of 'care' respondents.

The career aspirations of 'care' respondents represented a substantially greater advance on their expectations than was the case with those who were not in 'care'. Whilst this was, in part, due to the lowly set of expectations young people in 'care' had on entering the labour market, they seemed more optimistic, than 'non-care' respondents about their ability to achieve something in working life. This emphasizes the importance of conflictual validation and the value of a sense of self-potency in promoting the development of the 'self'. However, a highly individuated 'self' lacking in consensual validation, runs the risk of being regarded as deviant.

20.2(c.) Career Expectations: Borough Of Residence.

Research data revealed that 39 (65%) of all Hinkley's, and and 25 (60%) of all Ingleby's respondents reported career expectations which fell into the Don't Know/Anything, Semi-Skilled/Unskilled and Retail Trade categories. Thus, borough of residence had a, seemingly, weak influence on the frequency with which these types of expectations were offered.

Borough of residence was also weakly associated with respondents' possession of more hopeful expectations about their employment prospects on leaving school. With a differential of only 6% separating the 30% of all Hinkley's, and 36% of all Ingleby's respondents who believed they could find high status employment no clear correlation was found between the possession of these expectations and borough of residence.

Therefore, the most important aspect to emerge from the response patterns contained in Tables 20.1. and 20.2. is the demonstration they give of the greater comparative importance of 'care' status than borough of residence as a predictor of respondents' career expectations. Differentials of 30% and 43% were discovered in Hinkley and Ingleby, respectively, between the varying proportions of 'care' and 'non-care' respondents with low status career expectations. In contrast the inter-borough differentials separating proportions of same 'care' status samples who expressed these expectations were considerably less i.e. 1% and 12% between Hinkley's and Ingleby's 'care' and 'non-care' respondents, respectively.

A similar situation was found with regard to the differing proportions of the sample groups who expected to find primary sector employment. The Tables show a differential of 34% in Hinkley, and of 33% in Ingleby between the proportions of local 'care' and 'non-care' samples who assumed they would find work in this sector. In comparison inter-borough differentials of 6% and 5% were discovered between 'care' and 'non-care' respondents, respectively,

All the above findings indicate that 'care' respondents lacked the consensual validation received by their 'non-care' counterparts. In view of the social definition imposed on the former this was predictable as the 'self' is, after all, a social product.

20.2(d.). Career Aspirations: Borough Of Residence.

The study identified a differential of 28% between the 61% of all Hinkley's, and 33% of all Ingleby's respondents with low status career aspirations. As this was greater than, a.) the 17% differential separating the 53% of Hinkley's 'non-care', and 70% of its 'care' respondents, and; b.) that of 9% between the 29% of Ingleby's 'non-care', and 38% of its 'care' respondents who shared such aspirations borough of residence emerged as more important than 'care' status in predicting the likelihood of these young people developing limited career goals.

Research findings also indicate that a larger proportion of Hinkley's, than Ingleby's respondents, regardless of 'care' status, aspired to high status careers. The implication of this is that, within the arena of the labour market, young people in Hinkley had a much less developed sense of 'self-potency' than did their Ingleby counterparts who more readily aspired to careers of this type. While an explanation of this phenomena has several strands which must make reference to the comparative educational provision, and the material conditions of the Boroughs it has an important historical component.

Since Victorian times Hinkley has acted as a repository of semi, and unskilled labour whose labour provided the 'muscle' which drove forward the continuing industrial expansion of the nineteenth century. As the staple industries of the area withered away, and with them those skilled workers who were found in the Borough, its historical role as a pool of workers who could be hired and fired in line with the cycles of the economy was confirmed. Against this background it seems reasonable to assume that it is more difficult for young people in Hinkley (who lack Ingleby's proximity to the City) to develop a sense of 'self' which allows them to shrug off the expectation that those who reside in the Borough can do no more than perform menial labour and aspire to something 'better'.

However, whilst local factors may have exerted a strong influence on career aspirations the impact of 'care' status remains clear in research findings. This was most evident in Hinkley where, as we have already seen, a 17% differential was found between the 70% of the area's 'care', and 53% its 'non-care' respondents for whom who limited career aspirations were recorded. A smaller differential of 9% was identified between the 38% of Ingleby's 'care', and 29% of 'non-care' respondents who shared aspirations of this type.

The greater reliability of 'care' status, than borough of residence, as a predictor of career aspirations emerges most vividly in Hinkley when the distribution of aspirations to primary sector employment are considered. The research study found that with 47% of the Borough's 'non-care', compared with 23% of its 'care' respondents reporting high status career aspirations the proportions who did so differed by a substantial 24%. In Ingleby a smaller differential of 15% separated the varying proportions of its 'care' (52%) and 'non-care' (67%) respondents who aspired to employment in the primary sector.

20.2(e.). Career Expectations: Gender.

Although Table 20.1. shows that gender did not differentiate the career expectations of respondents to any great extent, research findings indicate that its sub-samples aligned themselves according to 'care' status. For example, no differential was discovered between the proportions of Hinkley's 'non-care' gender groups who reported low status career expectations with 50% of each doing so.

Measures of career expectations in both Boroughs consistently pointed to the greater significance, of 'care' status than borough of residence and gender in determining the career expectations of the young people who took part in the study. Those in 'care' were consistently less optimistic and vaguer about their expectations than their 'non-care' counterparts. 'Care' respondents tended to anticipate secondary sector careers while the young people not in 'care' more readily expected to enter primary sector employment. It is not necessary to look far for an explanation of this, for if the 'self' is a social product and self-esteem, of which self-expectations are a measure, rests on consensual validation the intrinsically debasing social definition of young people in 'care' must drive their career expectations ever downwards.

20.2(f.). Career Aspirations: Gender.

The most dramatic aspect of the Table 20.2. is its illustration of the influence gender had on the career aspirations of Hinkley's females and male respondents. The Table shows that a.) 72% of all females, compared with 50% of all males from the Borough had low status career aspirations, while; b.) high status aspirations were shared by 22% and 50% of all local females and males, respectively.

This pattern is repeated when the responses are examined in terms of 'care' category with 81% of females and 57% of males in Hinkley's 'care' limiting their career aspirations to low status forms of employment. The importance of gender as a predictor of aspirations is repeated with regard to the frequencies with which these young people expressed ambitious career goals; aspired to by a mere 6% of 'care' females compared with 43% of their male counterparts.

Similarly, while 63% of Hinkley's 'non-care' females aspired to low status careers only 43% of 'non-care' males did so. On the other hand, 38% of the former group of young people and 57% of the latter reported more ambitious aspirations.

Thus, respondent gender emerged as a variable that acted independently of 'care' status to hold the level of all Hinkley's females' aspirations below those of local males. The reason for this is not necessarily founded in the Borough's females lacking a sense of self-potency, but can be traced back to how their self-esteems were moulded by the predominate social ideology about the place of women in the labour market. Lonsdale writes:

> *"Women's experience of work is very different to that of men and the difference is due to a sexual division of labour... This refers to the tasks undertaken by men and women in society. It is strongly associated with an ideology that all women must give precedence to their homes and families over work and the world outside...*

> *Consequently, women are in somewhat of a deviant position if they take on wage labour, which in turn legitimizes the unequal status of women in the labour force with its concomitants of low pay, part-time work, little or no fringe benefits and poor working conditions" (3.).*

Lonsdale's analysis was apparently validated by several female respondents whose views were summarized by the remarks made by the following respondents.

> *"I want to get married and when I do I will give up work so I'm not too bothered about what kind of job I get".*
>
> (Hinkley Female 'Care' Respondent).

> *"There aren't many things I'm interested in doing, I just want a steady job. I have thought about training for something, but what's the point as I will have to pack-up work when I get married".*
>
> (Hinkley Female 'Non-Care' Respondent).

Nevertheless, the notion that Hinkley's female respondents expressed less ambitious career aspirations than male counterparts because of females' more restricted sense of their self-potency remains seductive. However, it was soundly rebutted by the responses they made to unemployment. In the course of the research it was discovered that when faced with unemployment females, especially those who were Black and in 'care', dealt with this problem more creatively than did males. This was marked by the preparedness of unemployed females to take up places on Youth Training Schemes and, most of all, by their use of Further Education to take a variety of vocational and academic courses. In comparison unemployed males were prone to become passive and worn down by the debilitating effects of unemployment.

In Ingleby, as in Hinkley, female respondents more frequently restricted their career aspirations to low status forms of employment than did the Borough's males. Table 20.3. shows that 39% of all Ingleby's females compared with 21% of all its males had aspirations of this type. In comparison 50% of the Borough's females aspired to higher status employment compared with 79% of its males.

This pattern is repeated when the responses are examined in terms of 'care' category. The 43% of females in the Ingleby's 'care' with limited career aspirations surpassed the 29% of their male counterparts who shared these aspirations. Inevitably, this disparity was reflected in the differing proportions of 'care' males and females who aspired after high status employment with 71% and 43% of them, respectively, aspiring to work in the primary sector.

In addition, 36% of Ingleby's 'non-care' females confined their aspirations to low status career categories compared with 14% of 'non-care' males. On the other hand, 86% of these males, compared with 57% of 'non-care' females reported more ambitious career aspirations.

The implication of the study's findings is that in Ingleby respondent gender acted as an independent variable which, regardless of respondent 'care' status, prescribed the limits of respondents' career aspirations. Although this conclusion is the same as that arising out of the Hinkley findings it is anomalous. In Ingleby, as in Hinkley, the response of females to unemployment indicated that they had a stronger sense of self-potency than the majority of male respondents. The willingness of females to make use of Further Education was particularly intriguing in view of the lack of interest the majority of them, in both Boroughs, expressed in it when still at school.

20.2(g.). Career Expectations: Racial Presentation.

Although, the study's findings indicate that career expectations in Hinkley were differentiated more by respondents' 'care' status than their racial presentation this was only partially true. The differential of 13% between the 57% and 44% of Hinkley Black and White, 'non-care' respondents, respectively, with low status expectations mirrored that of 14% between the varying proportions of the Borough's Black 'care' and 'non-care' respondents who also held these expectations. Consequently, it appeared that the career expectations of Black respondents were predicted as much by their racial presentations as by their 'care' status.

The situation of Hinkley's White respondents was very different. A differential of

44% was found between the 88% of 'care', and 44% of 'non-care' Whites who expressed low status career expectations. Thus, 'care' status appeared to be a much more reliable predictor than racial presentation of these young people's career expectations. Whilst this contradicts the study's findings for the Borough's Black respondents it should cause no surprise. In a White dominated society the existence of widespread racism threatened to do equal damage to the employment prospects of Black 'care' and 'non-care' respondents, and in so doing it provided them with a shared concern which ensured that their career expectations were almost the same.

Nevertheless, the response pattern described by Table 20.3. indicates conformity with measures of career expectations already reported which have consistently described 'care' respondents as more frequently expecting to enter low status careers than their 'non-care' counterparts. This continues to be regarded as, in part, a product of the social definition's power to inhibit the development of the self-esteems of young people in 'care'.

In Ingleby racial presentation was the most reliable predictor of Ingleby's Black respondents' career expectations; the Table shows that the same proportions (27%) of the Borough's Black 'care' and 'non-care' respondents expressed high status expectations.

In contrast, 'care' status was a more reliable predictor than racial presentation of Ingleby's White respondents' career expectations, i.e. only 10% of those in 'care' expected to enter primary sector employment compared with 80% of their 'non-care' counterparts. This imbalance was reflected in the distribution of low status career expectations held by 90% of 'care' and 20% of 'non-care' respondents.

Research findings repeat in Ingleby the pattern found in Hinkley with the comparative importance of 'care' status and racial presentation as predictors of expectation varying with respondents' specific racial presentations. The expectations of White respondents divided downs lines of 'care' status with low status career expectations more often expressed by those in, than not in 'care'. In contrast, the career expectations of Black 'care' and 'non-care' respondents were not divisible by their differing 'care' status. The expectations of these young people were very nearly the same, something attributed to their consciousness of racism and its potential effects on the employment opportunites of them all.

20.2(h.). Career Aspirations: Racial Presentation.

The distribution of career aspirations among young people in Hinkley indicated that a larger proportion of all White, than of all Black respondents had ill-defined, or restricted career aspirations. Thus, Table 20.4. shows that 66% of all White, compared with 57% of all Black respondents in Hinkley were either vague about, or expressed limited career aspirations. On the other hand, 36% of all the Borough's Black, compared to 34% of all its White respondents, had more ambitious career aspirations.

This pattern is repeated when the responses received from the young people are examined in terms of 'care' category. A differential of 11% was discovered between the 64% of Hinkley's Black 'care', and the 75% of its White 'care' respondents with limited career aspirations. These aspirations were shared by 50% of the area's Black, and 56% of its White 'non-care' respondents.

The research also revealed that 21% of Black, and 25% of White 'care' respondents in Hinkley aspired to high status employment - a 4% differential between the groups in this regard. With 50% of Black, and 44% of White local 'non-care' respondents who expressed the same type of career aspirations a slightly larger differential of 6% was found.

In addition a differential of 14% separated the proportions of Hinkley's Black 'care' status groups and of 19% between the proportions of its White 'care' and 'non-care' samples whose aspirations were limited. Table 20.4. also shows that the research found a differential of 29% separating the proportions of Hinkley's Black 'care' and 'non-care' samples who aspired after high status careers. The differential between local White 'care' and 'non-care' respondents who reported the same aspirations narrowed to 19%.

With respondents' 'care' status showing a consistently stronger association, than racial presentation with their career aspirations the conclusion that 'care' status was their main predictor is plausible. The Hinkley findings provide a consistent indication that 'care' respondents, irrespective of their racial presentation, had a weaker sense of self-potency than did their 'non-care' counterparts, and while this may in part stem from the damage done to the self-esteems of young people in 'care', by society's definition of them it is interesting to recall that a larger proportion of Black respondents - a stigmatized group in a society inculcated with racism - had higher career status aspirations than their White counterparts. Whilst the 2% differential between the groups of young people is marginal it is indicative of the relative strength of Black respondents' sense of self-potency. The reasons for this seemed to be summarized by one young person:

> *"If you're Black people are gonna give you problems so if you want to succeed you have to try harder than others, believe in yourself and not let anyone put you down".*
>
> (Hinkley Black 'Non-Care' Respondent).

Research data (see Table 20.4.) shows that 41% of all Ingleby's Black, and 25% of all its White respondents had no clear career aspirations or aspired to low status occupations. Conversely, 65% of all the Borough's White respondents expressed more ambitious aspirations as did 54% of all its Black respondents.

The 16% differential in the proportions of the Borough's Black and White samples with limited aspirations is equivalent to 3.52 Black, or 3.2 White respondents. As young Black people most often expressed aspirations of this type they appeared to be more strongly associated with being Black than White.

On the other hand, the 11% differential in the proportions of Ingleby's Black and White respondents with ambitious career goals equated to just 2.45 Black, or 2.2 White respondents. It seems that while these aspirations were more readily expressed by White respondents racial presentation played a less important role, than was the case with restricted aspirations, in predicting the frequency with which they were voiced.

Yet, the study found only equivocal evidence of the part played by 'care' status in determining the career aspirations of Ingleby's respondents. As with career expectations, it appeared that the influence of 'care' status on career aspirations differed with the racial presentation of respondents. As far as Black respondents were concerned racial presentation was always more closely associated with career aspirations than was their 'care' status.

However, the situation with respect to Ingleby's White respondents was more complex with 'care' status appearing to have mixed implications for their career aspirations. The 10% differential between White 'care' and 'non-care' respondents with low status aspirations was less than that of 16% separating Black and White 'non-care' respondents in this regard. As a result the career aspirations of 'non-care' Whites appeared more in tune with those of their White counterparts in 'care' than they were with those of Black respondents of the same 'care' status.

In contrast, the career goals of White 'care' respondents with limited aspirations seemed to be almost equally circumscribed by their racial presentation and 'care' status with the 15% differential between them and Black 'care' respondents being nearly the same as that between White 'care' and 'non-care' respondents.

When attention is turned to the differential impact racial presentation and 'care' status had on the frequency with which young people in Ingleby reported having primary sector orientated career goals, Table 20.4. shows that with the same proportions (55%) of Black 'care' and 'non-care' respondents expressing aspirations of this type the frequency with which they did so was not noticably influenced by their differing 'care' status.

However, this was not the case with regard to Ingleby's White respondents with a 30% variation between the 50% of 'care', and 80% 'non-care' Whites who aspired to high status employment. This differential easily exceeded that of 5% between Black and White 'care' respondents and of 25% between their 'non-care' counterparts. Thus, it seems that the frequency with which ambitious career goals were returned by Ingleby's White respondents were predicted more by their 'care' status than racial presentation.

In summary, the career aspirations of respondents, irrespective of their 'care' status, indicated that those who were Black were more likely to express ill-defined or low status career aspirations than their White counterparts. Moreover, the similarity in the proportions of White 'care' (50%), Black 'care' (55%) and Black 'non-care' (55%) samples expressing ambitious career aspirations implies that the self-image, and associated sense of self-potency of each group was similarly restricted by the social definitions applied to young people in 'care' and to members from ethnic minority communities. With the same proportions of Black 'care' and 'non-care' respondents expressing high status career aspirations the suggestion is that the impediments imposed on the former's career aspirations as a result of racist stereotyping were a more powerful limiting factor than those presented by the social definition of young people in 'care'.

20.3. Indicator G2: Respondents' Self-Value.

I have explained that, for the purpose of this thesis, self-value is interpreted as arising out of the feelings of approval received from others for conforming with social mores and society's expectations. In other words, self-value is treated as a function of self-esteem, as a reflection of the consensual validation individuals receive.

As measurements made of experimental variables B., C. and E. provide indications of respondents' differing perceptions of their self-value, of their varying levels of self-esteem discussion of G2. will be brief, being limited to summarizing the pertinent research findings relating to these earlier variables in an attempt to make explicit that which was previously implicit.

20.3.1. Respondents' Self-Value: Review Of Experimental Variable B. (Offending).

20.3.1(a.). Number Of Arrests: 'Care' Status.

Tables 16.1. and 16.2 revealed that 46 arrests were recorded by 'care' respondents and only 13 by those not in 'care'. As a result, it seems safe to assume that young people in 'care' were less likely to be the recipients of consensual validation than their 'non-care' counterparts. The risk this posed of impoverishing 'care' respondents' sense of self-value was only partially alleviated by their feelings of victimization by the police, something they felt impotent to change.

20.3.1(b.). Number Of Arrests: Borough Of Residence.

Examination of Tables 16.1. and 16.2. also revealed that the 'care' status of respondents was a much more powerful predictor of their liability to arrest than was their borough of residence. Consequently, the impression of 'care' respondents as being deprived of consensual validation is reinforced.

28.3.1(c.). Number Of Arrests: Gender - Hinkley.

Although Hinkley's males were more likely to suffer arrest than the Borough's females this finding was scewed by the presence of 4 'care' respondents for whom 26 arrests were recorded. In comparison, 6 arrests were reported by females in Hinkley's 'care' while 'non-care' females and males recorded 4 and 7 arrests, respectively. Therefore, if number of arrests suffered has a negative correlation with self-value that of males in Hinkley's 'care' must be regarded as being the most threatened.

20.3.1(d.). Number Of Arrests: Gender - Ingleby.

Table 16.1. show that while males and females in Ingleby's 'care' were more prone

to arrest than members of its 'non-care' gender sub-samples to which they were matched, the proportion of males in the Borough's 'care' who had been arrested was so high that they formed an isolated group. The arrest record of their female counterparts displayed greater affinity with the records of 'non-care' males and females than with that of local males of the same 'care' status. As it may reasonably be assumed the members of this sub-sample probably suffered deficit of consensual validation, relative to the members of the Table's other sub-samples, their sense of self-value was likely frailest of all Ingleby's 'care' status and gender groups.

20.3.1(e.). Number Of Arrests: Racial Presentation - Hinkley.

Table 16.2. shows how 'care' status interceded to separate out respondents from the same ethnic backgrounds. As a result, it is concluded that 'care' respondents, irrespective of their differing racial presentations, were at a much greater risk of arrest than their 'non-care' counterparts with those who were Black and in 'care' running the greatest risk of all.

20.3.1(f.). Number Of Arrests: Racial Presentation - Ingleby.

Chapter 16 described a pattern of arrests in Ingleby which was a partial reversal of that found in Hinkley with, proportionately, more White, than Black 'care' respondents having been arrested.

Whilst this indicates that Black 'care' respondents do not necessarily receive less consensual validation than other young people the, arrest records of respondents' suggests that 'care' status was again, more closely associated with its deprivation.

20.3.1(g.). Number Of Convictions: 'Care' Status.

Analysis of respondents' convictions indicated that those in 'care' had nearly five times as many convictions as their 'non-care' counterparts (i.e. 24 and 5 convictions, respectively). This differential was accounted for by the presence of 3 persistent offenders in 'care' whose unusually high number of convictions was not representative of the number received by other young people of the same 'care' status. Unfortunately, as individual young people in 'care' tend to be judged, not on their own merits, but on those of their mythical social stereotype. Thus, the conviction rate of these 3 respondents had a 'ripple' effect which, not only, witnessed the withdrawal of consensual validation from them, but also from their counterparts in 'care'.

20.3.1(h.). Number Of Convictions: Borough Of Residence.

Respondents' convictions observed a pattern of convergence with, over time, the rates of proven offending (i.e. convictions) of 'care' and 'non-care' becoming increasingly similar. However, this is considered to have done little to improve the self-esteem of young people in 'care' as it is the product of how society believes them to be, not of how they actually are. The ability of the social definition of young people in 'care' to erode their sense of self-value is uneffected. It is an ability which does not rely on the accuracy of this definition, but upon the willingness of people to believe it.

20.3.1(i.). Number Of Convictions: Gender - Hinkley.

Hinkley's males received considerably more convictions than any other group of young people. Whilst this was interpreted as arising out of the relatively high number of arrests experienced by these young men and may have reflected police harassment receipt of a criminal conviction represents the clearest possible withdrawal of social validation from them. Furthermore, due to the 'ripple' effect, referred to above, this withdrawal effected all 'care' respondents, threatening the self-value of them all.

20.3.1(j.). Number Of Convictions: Gender - Ingleby.

Ingleby's 'care' females and males had the same number of convictions as did their 'non-care' counterparts. Whilst this calls into question the legitimacy of presenting young people in 'care' as more prone to offend than their 'non-care' peers their susceptibility to attacks on their sense of self-value is not reduced. Attacks of this type are, as has already been pointed out, not linked to the accuracy of this presentation, but to the belief placed in it by the definers of young people in 'care'.

20.3.1.(k.). Number Of Convictions: Racial Presentation - Hinkley.

While only 1 conviction separated the number of convictions received by Hinkley's Black and White 'care' respondents, those who were Black had more than twice the total number of arrests than did those who were White. It seems that although Black 'care' respondents were not significantly more likely to be convicted of an offence than their White 'care' counterparts they were much more readily sucked into the criminal justice system. As a result, they appeared in court far more frequetly than local White 'care' counterparts. The ability of this process to deprive and supress an individual's sense of self-value is considerable, as it defines its victims as threats to social order and so not worthy of concensual validation.

20.3.1(l.). Number Of Convictions: Racial Presentation - Ingleby.

More of Ingleby's White 'care' and 'non-care' respondents received convictions than did Black respondents of the same 'care' status. Contrasting with the Hinkley situation, these findings indicated that the racial presentation of respondents was less influential in determining the self-value of young people in Ingleby.

However, Hinkley's and Ingleby's 'care' respondents received more convictions than local 'non-care' respondents of the same racial presentation. The impression is, therefore, created of 'care' status as overriding the importance of racial presentation in the development of respondents' sense of self-value with being in 'care' correlated with its erosion.

20.3.1 (m.). Last Arrest/Conviction: 'Care' Status.

Tables 16.5. and 16.6. show an underlying similarity in the recency of 'care' and 'non-care' respondents offending behaviour with the last arrest, or conviction, for both groups, being concentrated in the period spanning 13-25+ months period prior to the start of the fieldwork phase of the study.

Whilst this finding challenges that part of the social definition of young people in 'care' which implies that 'offending' behaviour on their part will always be more recent than that of those who are not, it does not falsify it. Indeed, Chapter 16's discussion of the research findings lent restricted support to the claim that the 'offending behaviour' of young people in 'care' is more current than that of those not. In doing so a further reason is identified for believing that 'care' respondents sense of self-value is undermined by a lack of consensual validation.

20.3.1(n.). Last Arrest/Conviction: Borough Of Residence.

In Ingleby it was a 'non-care' respondent who had most recently encountered trouble with the law indicating that it cannot be assumed that the 'offending behaviour' of young people in 'care' is always more recent than that of their 'non-care' counterparts.

Nevertheless, if 'care' respondents continued to be confronted by the belief that they are always more likely than others young people to be engaged in 'offending', the level of consensual validation they received from society will be supressed and sense of their self-value debased.

20.3.1(o.). Last Arrest/Conviction: Gender - Hinkley.

Previous discussion of the research results recorded in Table 16.5. concluded that 'offending behaviour' could only be considered an on-going activity on the part of a small number of males in Hinkley's 'care'. This was interpreted as the product of the high number of arrests they suffered which bore no relation to the much lower number of convictions they received. The implication of these findings for the self-value of these respondents are grave for they depict males in the Borough's 'care' as innately delinquent, as 'fair game' for the police who could arrest them at will without due regard to their ability to show that these young people were guilty of an offence. The a priori assumption appeared to be that to be male and in 'care' meant that you could not be trusted.

20.3.1(p.). Last Arrest/Conviction: Gender - Ingleby.

With only 1 Ingleby respondent, a 'non-care' male, encountering trouble with the law in the 12 months prior to the study taking place, offending behaviour was not a current activity among any of the Borough's 'care' status-gender sub-samples.

20.3.1(q.). Last Arrest/Conviction: Racial Presentation - Hinkley.

Only members of Hinkley's Black 'care' sub-sample had been arrested, or convicted in the 12 month period prior to being interviewed. Chapter 16's explanation of this phenomenon depicted the seemingly on-going nature of their offending as the product of the unique, binary disadvantages they suffered of being both Black and in 'care'. Whilst the implications of this are destructive to the self-value of these young people that of their 'non-care' counterparts also appeared to be undermined by the disadvantages they experienced as a result of being Black in a White dominated society.

20.3.1(r.). Last Arrest/Conviction: Racial Presentation - Ingleby.

The distribution of last arrests/convictions among Ingleby's respondents did not differ markedly between young people of different racial presentations and 'care' status. Thus, the Borough's Black 'care' respondents did not emerge as an eccentric group of current offenders. Differences of this type between Ingleby and Hinkley point to the influence local factors had on research findings.

To conclude, it is stressed that the overwhelming majority of respondents, regardless of their 'care' status, borough of residence, gender and racial presentation encountered no trouble with the law. It is considered significant that only a few marginal individuals had records of proven offending, as denoted by the receipt of convictions.

Yet, the essential similarity detected between 'care', and 'non-care' respondents offers no assurance that both groups of young people will be regarded in the same way by society. If the 'self' is a social product and individuals' sense of self-value is built upon the consensual validation they receive what matters for young people in 'care' is not how the reality of their 'offending' behaviour compares with that of those not in 'care', but how it is believed to compare. The role the social definition of young people in 'care' plays in sustaining a fiction which perpetuates an axiomatic belief in their abnormally high level of criminality must eventually stifle the development of these young people's sense of self-value, making it particularly difficult for them to acquire a balanced sense of 'self'.

20.3.2. Respondents' Self-Value: Review Of ExperimentalVariable C. (Family Relationships).

The six dimensional approach previously adopted to the measurement of respondents' family relationships is considered too ornate, as not all the indicators used (indicators C1. to C6.) made reference to the inter-active component of these relationships. Therefore, the following discussion will address only those indicators which did i.e. C4. (Respondents' Relationships With Parents), C5. (Respondents' Sibling Relationships) and C6. (Respondents' Relationships With Grandparents).

An inherent problem in the use of intra-family relationships as indicators of respondents' perceptions of their self-value concerns the public repute of their families. Families do not exist in a social vacuum, they are subjected to public appraisal which discriminates between, so called, 'good' and 'bad' families. As a result, individuals coming from families with internal relationships apparently conducive to the promotion of a strong sense of self-value may, nevertheless, develop a weak sense of self-value if their families are regarded as 'bad' and accorded a pariah status.

Unfortunately, as this thesis has repeatedly shown, the families of young people in 'care', no matter how virtuous, are habitually dubbed as 'bad', blunting their ability to promote the self-value of their members. An appreciation of this problem needs to inform the reader's consideration of what follows and it is pointed out that the families of 'care' and 'non-care' respondents were in most respects similar.

20.3.2(a.). Respondents' Relationships With Parents: 'Care' Status.

Contrary to the social definition of young people in 'care' Chapter 17's revealed that 84% of 'care' respondents' assessed their relations with their parents positively. When this is considered alongside the favourable reports most of these young people also made about the quality of their parental contact it appears that the majority of them had relationships with their parents which conributed to their sense of self-value.

This conclusion repudiates an important element of the social definition of young people in 'care' and, more controversially runs counter to the literature's consistent assertion that these young people tend to receive limited support from their family networks. However, it is also a conclusion which is restricted in its application, applying only to those young people who took part in the research study at the time it took place. In addition, it takes no account of the low public regard accorded to the families of 'care' respondents and the limitations this placed on the ability of the parents of these young people to promote their sense of self-value.

20.3.2(b.). Respondents' Relationship With Parents: Borough Of Residence.

Chapter 17 made clear that respondents' views of their relationships with their parents differed more in terms of locality than 'care' status. It appeared that the ability of parents to provide their children with relationships capable of nurturing their sense of self-value was correlated more closely to borough of residence than to respondents' 'care' status. This points to the need to look outside of the family when trying to account for the differing degrees of success young people have in developing an integrated, balanced 'self'.

20.3.2(c.). Respondents' Relationships With Parents: Gender - Hinkley.

Table 17.4. showed that in Hinkley respondent gender and 'care' status were correlated to approximately the same degree to the frequency with which respondents returned positive reports about the quality of relationships with their parents. Regardless of differing 'care' status and, or genders the respondent groups referred to in the Table were about as likely as one another to describe their relationships with their parents as either 'very good', 'good', or 'fair'. As a result, 'care' status failed, once again, to emerge as a factor which predetermined the contribution respondents' relationships with their parents made to the sense of self-value acquired by young people of differing 'care' status.

20.3.2(d.). Respondents' Relationships With Parents: Gender - Ingleby.

The research findings contained in Table 17.4. also revealed that in Ingleby, as in Hinkley, 'care' and gender appeared to exert a roughly equal influence on respondents' relationships with their parents. This finding gives credence to the idea that young people in 'care' do not necessarily have poorer relationships with parents than do their 'non-care' counterparts. As a result, the assumption that 'care' subjects are invariably deprived of an important source of their sense of self-value in the form of good relationships with their parents appears 'unreliable'.

20.3.2(e.). Respondents' Relationships With Parents: Racial Presentation - Hinkley.

When the quality of respondents' relationships with their parents were examined in terms of the young people's racial presentation, no evidence was found to support the proposition that young people in 'care' have unusually poor relationships with their parents. Similar proportions of Hinkley's Black and White respondents, irrespective of 'care' status, returned positive evaluations of these relationships.

20.3.2(f.). Respondents' Relationships With Parents: Racial Presentation - Ingleby.

Ingleby's Black and White 'care' and 'non-care' respondents asserted a positive view of their relationship with parents. In this respect, the Ingleby and Hinkley findings were the same; data gathered in both Borough's failed to suggest that the development of these young people's sense of self-value was impeded by the quality of their relationships with their parents.

20.3.2(g.). Respondents' Sibling Relationships: 'Care' Status.

Analysis of Tables 17.6. and 17.7. reveal a differential of 22% separating the 98% of 'non-care', and 76% of 'care' respondents who rated their relationships with siblings as either 'very good', 'good' or 'fair', indicating that 'care' status differentiated respondents' evaluations of these relationships. However, as a majority of those in, and not in 'care' attached a form of positive rating to their sibling relationships their views exhibited a considerable amount of overlap.

20.3.2(h). Respondents' Sibling Relationships: Borough Of Residence.

Although previously discussed research finding indicated that Hinkley's and Ingleby's 'non-care' respondents more frequently returned positive evaluations of their sibling relationships than did their local 'care' counterparts no clear association between being in 'care' and a reduced likelihood of satisfactory relationships with siblings was established. Instead it was discovered that, once again, a majority of each respondent group's members, regardless of 'care' status and borough of residence, regarded their sibling relationships positively. Consequently, it appeared that most young people in the 'care' of Hinkley and Ingleby derived some sense of their own self-value from these relationships.

20.3.2(i.). Respondents' Sibling Relationships:Gender - Hinkley.

Table 20.6. revealed that the qualitative ratings Hinkley's respondents offered of their sibling relationships were differentiated more in terms of 'care' status than gender, with young people in 'care' offering positive evaluations less frequently than those who were not. However, the underlying unity between all the Borough's respondents remained undisturbed with a majority of each local 'care' status-gender sub-sample rating their sibling relationships positively. Thus, most 'care' males and females, like most 'non-care' males and females in Hinkley had sibling relationships which contributed to their sense of self-value.

20.3.2(j.). Respondents' Sibling Relationships: Gender - Ingleby.

Research findings in Ingleby concerning respondents' sibling relationships, when considered in terms of respondents' gender, observed the same general pattern found in Hinkley. Thus, whilst positive evaluations of these relationships were more frequently reported by Ingleby's 'non-care' females and males than they were by their gender counterparts in 'care', the majority of each of these groups offered evaluations of this type. It seems that in Ingleby, as in Hinkley, the quality of 'care' and 'non-care' males' and females' sibling relationships contributed to the development of a positive sense of self-value on the part of a majority of these sub-samples.

20.3.2(k.). Respondents' Sibling Relationships:Racial Presentation - Hinkley.

Table 17.7. shows that Hinkley's respondents' evaluations of their sibling

relationships were predominantly favourable indicating a unanimity among respondents, regardless of their racial presentation and 'care' status. It was observed that the differential of 16% separating the proportions of Black 'care' and 'non-care' respondents who provided this evaluation was nearly the same as that of 15% separating differing proportions of White 'care' and 'non-care' respondents who did the same. This emphasizes that most respondents, regardless of racial presentation and 'care' status, viewed their sibling relationships in a way which denoted the capacity of these to contribute to these young people's sense of self-value.

20.3.2(l.). Respondents' Sibling Relationships: Racial Presentation - Ingleby.

Table 17.7. repeats the now familiar theme showing that the majority of each of the Table's respondent sub-samples viewed their sibling relationships with favour. Again, it seems that these relationships offered most Black and White respondents in, and not in 'care' endorsement of their self-value.

20.3.2(m.). Respondents' Relationships With Grandparents: 'Care' Status.

Nearly all 'care' and 'non-care' respondents evaluated their relationships with their grandparents positively. As no significant differential was detected in the frequency with which these groups of young people provided positive evaluations 'care' status appeared to play a negligible role in determining the availability to them of relationships with their grandparents which might reasonably be regarded as capable of promoting respondents' sense of self-value.

20.3.2(n.). Respondents' Relationships With Grandparents: Borough Of Residence.

Previous discussion of Tables 17.8. and 17.9. made clear that as the overwhelming majority of both 'care' and 'non-care' respondents in Hinkley and Ingleby made positive assessments of their relationships with their grandparents no evidence evidence was found to indicate that local factors effected the frequency with which these assessments were provided. In general, Hinkley's and Ingleby's respondents felt the same about their grandparents.

20.3.2(o.). Respondents' Relationships With Grandparents: Gender - Hinkley.

Gender emerged as a more important predictor than 'care' status of Hinkley's respondents' evaluations of their relationships with their grandparents. As a result, it is not possible to hold to a simple notion which depicts young people in 'care' as, by definition, prone to poor relationships with grandparents and thereby to the loss of the personal endorsement this important group of relatives provides.

20.3.2(p.). Respondents' Relationships With Grandparents: Gender - Ingleby.

In Ingleby, as in Hinkley, research results showed respondents' relationships with their grandparents were more strongly associated with gender than 'care' status. The implications of this for respondents' senses of self-value are regarded as being the same in both Boroughs with the research calling into question the idea that young people in 'care' invariably have worse relationships with grandparents than do others of their age.

20.3.2(q.). Respondents' Relationships With Grandparents: Racial Presentation - Hinkley.

The majority of Hinkley's Black and White respondents evaluated their relationships with their grandparents positively, and the frequencies with which they did differed slightly (the equivalent of 1 respondent). However, racial presentation emerged as a more reliable indicator than 'care' status of the quality of these relationships. Thus, research results again failed to bear out the assumption that 'care' respondents had worse relationships with grandparents than other young people and, as a result, be deprived of a valuable source of self-value.

20.3.2(r.). Respondents' Relationships With Grandparents: Racial Presentation - Ingleby.

The situation the research found in Ingleby echoed that discovered in Hinkley with the majority of Ingleby's respondents, regardless of racial presentation and 'care' status, evaluating favourably their relationships with their grandparents. Moreover, as in Hinkley, in Ingleby racial presentation was more strongly associated with the provision of these ratings than 'care' status. As a result, no firm link being established between being in 'care' and poor relationships with grandparents and, as a corollary of this, the erosion of 'care' respondents sense of self-value.

In summary, the reappraisal of the quality of respondents relationships with their parents, siblings and grandparents leads to the conclusion that the quality of these relationships and the contribution they made to respondents' acquisition of a sense of their own value did not hinge on their 'care' status. Respondents' borough of residence, gender and racial presentation were frequently as important, or more important predictors of the quality of these relationships and, thereby of the contribution they made to these young people's sense of self-value.

The quality of human relationships and the effect they have on the individuals who participate in them is a complex matter. To assert that young people in 'care', simply because they are in 'care', have intrinsically worse relationships with their family members, than do other young people, is to take an enormous risk with the truth. The central finding arising out of the analysis of respondents' family relationships is the apparent fallacy of this position with a majority of 'care' and 'non-care' respondents indicating that their sense of self-value was enhanced by their relationships with their parents, siblings and grandparents.

20.3.3. Respondents' Self Value: Review Of ExperimentalVariable E. (Socialization).

Chapter 18's analysis of the Functionalist formulation of socialization stressed that improperly socialized individuals are deviants who represent a threat to social order. From this perspective it seems that the perceived adequacy of individuals' socialization is an important factor in the determination of their social reflections and, thereby, of their self-value.

Therefore, measures taken of respondents' socialization will be examined to discover what they denote about their self-value. However, as measurements of indicator E1. (respondents' relationships with parents) have already been refered to in this Chapter further comment will be confined to briefly summarizing what they denoted about the ability of respondents' parents to act as the socializers of these young people and the implications of this for their sense of self-value. Measurements of indicator E3. (respondents' histories of offending) will not be reassessed as the relationship between offending and self-value has already been adequately discussed (see 20.3.1.). As a result, the following will focus upon what indicator E2. (respondents' relationships with teachers) revealed about respondents' perceptions of their own value.

20.3.3(a.). Respondents' Relationship With Parents.

Previous examination of respondents' relations with their parents made it clear that most of them, regardless of 'care' status, gender and racial presentation, rated their relationships with their parents in positive terms. Whilst the imprecision of E1. as a measure has been recognized it was concluded that most parents of these young people were effective socializers of their children.

Therefore, it may be reasonably assumed that as 'care' respondents had imprinted on them by their parents an awareness of socially acceptable norms, values and roles they would be provided with a social reflection that enables them to derive a positive sense of their self-value. However, if this is to occur the problem of, what I have called, 'belief' has to be overcome; it is a problem which will be returned to later.

20.3.3(b.). Respondents' Attitudes Towards Teachers: 'Care' Status.

The comparison previously made in Chapter 18. between Tables 18.1. and 18.2. showed that 49% and 82% of 'care' and 'non-care' respondents, respectively, expressed favourable attitudes towards their teachers while negative attitudes were recorded for 51% of 'care', and 17% of 'non-care' respondents. As a result, it appeared that 'care' status was strongly associated with the types of attitudes respondents displayed towards their teachers with young people in 'care' being much more critical of them than were their 'non-care' counterparts.

With less than half the responses supplied by 'care' respondents indicating that they had a positive attitude towards teachers it was, not surprisingly, concluded that this lead to the dilution of their socialization and inhibited their ability to absorb, serve and perform accepted norms, value and roles. As a result the social reflection young people in 'care' receive is inevitably tarnished and, degrades their sense of self-value.

However, Chapter 18 made clear that concern with the attitudes of respondents towards teachers was largely irrelevant when considering the socialization of young people. Whilst teachers have a role to play in this respect they act only as the agents of the education system and it is the enduring power of that system to socialize which is of greatest interest. Thus, despite the criticisms of young people in 'care' teachers can still act as effective socializers. Consequently, the research found no evidence of any firm connection between the attitudes toward teachers and a reduction of self-value.

20.3.3(c.) Respondents' Attitudes Towards Teachers:Borough Of Residence.

Research findings indicated that borough of residence was a more reliable predictor than 'care' status of respondents' attitudes towards teachers. Regardless of 'care' status, Ingleby's respondents were much more enthusiastic about their teachers than Hinkley's, demonstrating the need to look at more than 'care' status when considering the ability of teachers to socialize young people and its implications of this for their development of a favourable sense self-value.

20.3.3(d.). Respondents' Attitudes Towards Teachers:Gender - Hinkley.

Chapter 18 showed that, in Hinkley, the relative strength of association respondent 'care' status and gender with attitudes towards teachers was variable. For example; the rate at which males returned double positive responses was determined more by their 'care' status than gender while gender was a more important factor with regard to females. When the distribution of single positive responses was turned to this pattern was, substantially, reversed.

The research detected no significant difference in the frequency with which Hinkley's 'care' and 'non-care' males provided responses which classified their attitudes as single negative. On the other hand, the distribution of this type of response among local females was more closely associated with their 'care' status than gender.

Double negative responses displayed a distribution which indicated that 'care' status was a more important predictor than genders of the relative frequencies with which this response was returned by all Hinkley's 'care' status-gender sub-samples. Members of the male and female 'care' sub-samples gave this form of response more often than did members of either gender 'non-care' groups.

Although, these results seem not to bode well for Hinkley's 'care' respondents sense of self-value they may be misleading. The majority of males and females in the Borough's 'care' expressed positive attitudes towards their teachers, creating the impression that most of these young people were successfully incorporated into a process of socialization which would enable them to receive approving reflections of themselves from society. However, this will only occur if society is able to cast aside its preconceptions about these young people and confront the 'problem of belief'.

20.3.3(e.). Respondents' Attitudes Towards Teachers: Gender - Ingleby.

The differing importance of 'care' status and gender as predictors of the frequencies with which Ingleby's respondents registered single, or double positive attitudes towards their teacher was patchy. However, the study again found that most of these young people, irrespective of their 'care' status and gender, expressed approval of their teachers.

Consequently, the majority of respondents in Ingleby's 'care' appeared receptive to the socializing influence of their teachers and were imbued with an understanding of what were acceptable social norms, values and roles. As a result, they were not set on pursuing a socially deviant existence which would deny to them the opportunity of gaining the social reinforcement they required if they were to develop a positive sense of their own self-value.

20.3.3(f.). Respondents' Attitudes Towards Teachers: Racial Presentation - Hinkley.

In Hinkley racial presentation was more weakly associated than 'care' status with the attitudes respondents expressed about their teachers. However, this disguised the considerable overlap in the attitudes of respondents most of whom, regardless of racial presentation, borough of residence and 'care' status', displayed positive attitudes, indicating that they were receptive to the transmission, and imprinting of required social learning by teachers. As a result, these young people were in a position, in terms of their socialization, to receive from society an image of themselves which conveyed to them a positive sense of their self-value.

20.3.3(g.). Respondents' Attitudes Towards Teachers: Racial Presentation - Ingleby.

Replies from Ingleby's respondents, as did those from Hinkley's, indicated that their attitudes towards teachers were influenced more by their 'care' status than their racial presentation. However, the main point to emerge from the research was, once again, the similarity in the attitudes expressed by respondents of differing 'care' status and racial presentations. The majority of these were positive showing that most Black and most White 'care' respondents were receptive to the socializing influence of teachers and could, therefore, be expected to develop a positive sense of their self-value. Unfortunately, things are never that simple as the 'problem of belief' makes clear.

20.3.3(h.). A Problem Of Belief.

Society needs to believe that individuals are socialized in ways of which it approves if it is to reward them with reflections of themselves from which they can derive a positive sense of their self-value. It may be that young people in 'care' are every bit as 'well' socialized as those who are not in 'care', but unless society believes this to be the case its affirmation of the former will continue to be witheld. The ironic and inevitable corollary of this is that it is not the extent to which individuals respect social norms, values and roles which determines the social reflection they receive of themselves, but merely the degree to which they are believed to observe the social rules. What counts is not whether or not an individual is socialized, but whether or not they are believed that they are. In this sense a myth which is believed in is more potent than a fact which is not.

The problem confronting young people in 'care' as they try to establish a constructive sense of their self-value is how they overcome a social definition which precludes them from being viewed as anything other than deviant. Within a society ingrained with sexism and racism this 'problem of belief' is particularly acute for those of these young people who are Black and, or female. Yet, they and all in local authority residential 'care' need to be believed in by a society which seems incapable of doing so if their sense of self-value is to be enhanced.

20.4. Indicator G3: Respondents' Self-Potency As Indicated By Their Reasons For Leaving School.

The decision to leave school sets in train a major life transformation having profound and long lasting implications for school-leavers. For research purposes, the decision to leave school was conceived as falling into two general categories. The first concerned decisions taken to leave on the grounds that work was felt to offer a better chance, than did school, of attaining the specific goals individuals had set themselves. Such decisions will be referred to as 'planned'.

The second category of decisions to leave school concerned those situations where this decision was taken by default or where it reflected a simple desire to escape school, as opposed to a judgement made about the relative advantages it and work offered. Decisions of this typed will be referred to as 'reactive'.

These two categories of decision taking were used in the course of the research study to indicate the differing levels of respondents' self-potency. Respondents who appeared to be, primarily, 'planned' decision takers were regarded as exhibiting more of potency than those who were 'reactive' decision takers as the capacity to plan was positively correlated with the ability to act autonomously.

In order to elicit this information four classes of reasons - Financial, Vocational, Social and Developmental - for leaving school were formulated each of which was sub-divided into a 'planned' and a 'reactive' reason for leaving. These were put to respondents who were asked to state which most closely represented their reasons for leaving school. Their responses, are recorded in the Tables which follow in this section.

20.4(a.). Respondents' Self-Potency: 'Care' Status.

Analysis of Tables 20.5. and 20.6. show that with all 'care' and all 'non-care' respondents recording 95 and 101 'planned' reasons, respectively, for leaving school there was no significant difference, in terms of this limited measure, in their comparative senses of self-potency. As a result, 'care' respondents begin to emerge as young people whose 'self' is validated in terms of its potency in the absence of its unambiguous validation (due to the 'problem of belief') by others. Two of these young people made this clear:

Table 20.5. Reasons For Leaving School: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Gender.

REASONS FOR LEAVING SCHOOL.	'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
	HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)
Financial:								
p. I want to earn money.	12(75%)	8(57%)	11(79%)	6(86%)	13(81%)	10(71%)	13(93%)	7(100%)
r. I/my family need all the money I can earn.	4(25%)	6(43%)	3(1%)	1(14%)	3(19%)	4(29%)	1(7%)	
Vocational:								
p. I have a job lined up.		1(7%)						1(14%)
r. I want to get away from school.	16(100%)	13(93%)	14(100%)	7(100%)	16(100%)	14(100%)	14(100%)	6(86%)
Social:								
p. I can make more friends at work.	5(31%)	3(21%)	8(57%)	1(14%)	5(31%)	3(21%)	5(36%)	2(29%)
r. My friends are leaving school.	11(69%)	11(79%)	6(43%)	6(86%)	11(69%)	11(79%)	9(64%)	5(71%)
Developmental:								
p. Work offers me a better chance of getting on in life .	13(81%)	11(79%)	10(71%)	6(86%)	15(94%)	11(79%)	10(71%)	6(86%)
r. Staying on in school won't do me any good.	3(19%)	3(21%)	4(29%)	1(14%)	1(6%)	3(21%)	4(29%)	1(14%)

p. = 'planned' reason for leaving school.
r. = 'reactive' reason for leaving school.

Table 20.6. Reasons For Leaving School: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Racial Presentation

REASONS FOR LEAVING SCHOOL.	'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
	HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)
Financial:								
p. I want to earn money.	9(64%)	11(69%)	9(82%)	8(80%)	10(71%)	13(81%)	10(90%)	10(100%)
r. I/my family need all the money I can earn.	5(36%)	5(31%)	2(18%)	2(20%)	4(29%)	3(19%)	1(9%)	
Vocational:								
p. I have a job lined up.		1(6%)						1(10%)
r. I want to get away from school.	14(100%)	15(94%)	11(100%)	10(100%)	14(100%)	16(100%)	11(100%)	9(90%)
Social:								
p. I can make more friends at work.	3(31%)	5(31%)	4(36%)	5(50%)	4(29%)	4(25%)	3(27%)	4(40%)
r. My friends are leaving school.	11(79%)	11(69%)	7(64%)	5(50%)	10(71%)	12(75%)	8(78%)	6(60%)
Developmental:								
p. Work offers me a better chance of getting on in life .	10(71%)	14(88%)	9(82%)	7(70%)	12(75%)	14(88%)	9(82%)	7(70%)
r. Staying on in school won't do me any good.	4(29%)	2(13%)	2(18%)	3(30%)	2(14%)	2(13%)	2(18%)	3(30%)

p. = 'planned' reason for leaving school.
r. = 'reactive' reason for leaving school.

> *"I can do well at work, be as good as anyone else, but I can't be that at school. I'm known there you see as another of those kids in care".*
>
> (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent)

> *"The way I see it is that there are more chances to move up the ladder when I get into a job".*
>
> (Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).

20.4.(b.) Respondents' Self-Potency: Borough Of Residence.

Although no difference was found between the proportions of Hinkley's and Ingleby's respondents who left school for 'planned' Vocational reasons, a narrow range of differentials emerged between these young people with regard to all remaining categories of reasons for leaving i.e. 17% and 11% more of Ingleby's, than Hinkley's respondents left for 'planned' Financial and Social reasons, respectively, while 7% more of Hinkley's than Ingleby's gave 'planned' Developmental reasons. These differentials indicated that there was no consistent relationship between borough of residence and the provision of all types of 'planned' reasons for leaving school. The receipt of such reasons being predicted more by respondents' 'care' status than borough of residence.

However, the distribution of 'planned' Finacial reasons contradict this conclusion with the proportions of respondents giving this reason deviating more in terms of borough of residence than 'care' status. Thus, the differentials of 10% between the proportions of Hinkley's 'care' and 'non-care' respondents and of 14% between their Ingleby counterparts who reported 'planned' Financial reasons were less than those of 14% separating Hinkley's and Ingleby's 'care' respondents, and of 18% between those not in the 'care' of the Boroughs.

The scatter of 'planned' Vocational responses observed a different pattern with the greatest degree of affinity recorded between young people whose 'care' status and Borough of residence differed. The implication of this is that neither 'care' status nor borough of residence displayed a consistent association with respondents' taking this type of decision for leaving school' a seeming anomalous finding attributed to the small number of young people who provided this response.

Tables 20.5. and 20.6. show that with the same proportions of Hinkley's 'care' and 'non-care' respondents offering 'planned' Social reasons for leaving school their differing 'care' status had no impact on the frequency with which they left for these reasons. On the other hand, the proportions of Ingleby's 'care' and 'non-care' respondents who also left school for the same reasons differed by 6%, indicating that for these young people 'care' status had a slightly stronger association with provision of 'planned' Social reasons than did borough of residence.

With 76% of Ingleby's 'care', and the same proportion of its 'non-care' respondents stipulating 'planned' Developmental reasons for leaving school their differing 'care' status seemed to have no impact on the supply of this response. With a differential of just 6% between the 80% of Hinkley's 'care' and 86% of its 'non-care' respondents in this regard, the same conclusion appears to hold for them, emphasizing the relative importance of local factors in determining the types of reasons young people had for leaving school.

Yet, it is still more important to note that with a differential of just 4% between the proportions of Hinkley's 'care' and both Ingleby's 'care' status groups who gave 'planned' Developmental reasons for leaving, their propensity to do so was not sharply differentiated by either their 'care' status nor borough of residence. With respect to this, and all other categories of response it proved remarkably difficult to disentangle the effects 'care' status and borough of residence had on respondents' reasons for leaving school as both appeared to have roughly equivalent associations with the reasons they gave.

20.4(c.). Respondents' Self-Potency: Gender - Hinkley.

The glimpse research findings give of the comparative influence Hinkley's respondents gender and 'care' status exerted over their propensity to leave school for 'planned' Financial reasons is equivocal. This is illustrated by Table 20.5. which shows that with 75% of 'care' females, and 71% of 'non-care' males stipulating this type of reason the differential between them was less than that between any other combination of respondents' groups with respect to this issue.

Nevertheless, the proportions of females and males in 'care' who gave 'planned' Financial reasons for leaving were smaller than the proportions of 'non-care' males and females who also did so. The implication of this seems to be that 'care' does not facilitate the development of the type of 'planned' reasons for leaving school.

Unfortunately, the depressed state of the local labour market when the study was conducted made it very difficult to identify the relative impact the gender and 'care' status of Hinkley's respondents had on their leaving school for 'planned' or 'reactive' Vocational reasons. The fact that only 1 respondent (a male in Hinkley's 'care') had a job waiting on leaving school was more a reflection of the economic ills of the area than of the inability of its respondents to take 'planned' Vocational reasons for leaving.

The decision respondents took to leave school at a time when they knew jobs were in short supply was interesting. It was indicative of 'reactive' decision taking, of a situation in which the desire to escape school, on the parts of nearly all Hinkley's respondents, regardless of 'care' status and gender, overrode the fear of unemployment.

Research findings also show that the distribution of responses indicating whether, or not respondents had 'planned' or 'reactive' Social reasons differed more in terms of their gender than 'care' status. Thus, Table 20.5. reveals that the proportions of 'care' and 'non-care' females who left school for 'planned' and 'reactive' reasons were the same as for 'care' and 'non-care' males.

Finally, the research indicated that all Hinkley's 'care' status-gender sub-samples took 'planned' decisions to leave school for Developmental reasons more frequently than they did for any other category of reasons. As a result, it was the category which most clearly expressed their sense of self-potency.

However, Table 20.5. shows that while the same proportions of Hinkley's 'care' and 'non-care' males who gave 'planned' and 'reactive' Developmental reasons for leaving school the responses of their female counterparts were differentiated by their 'care' status. While 94% of 'non-care' females stated they had 'planned' reasons for leaving, only 81% of 'care' females did so. This was reflected in the finding that 19% of 'care' compared with 6% of 'non-care' females gave 'reactive' Developmental reasons for leaving. Consequently, the image of the Hinkley's 'non-care' respondents as 'planned' decision takers and as having a surer sense of their self-potency than those in its 'care' is reinforced.

Yet, more important was the discovery that females, irrespective of 'care' status, took 'planned' Developmental reasons for leaving school more often than did 'care' and 'non-care' males. Gender, not 'care' status was the primary predictor of respondents' ability to take 'planned' decisions as reference to all other categories of reasons for leaving (with the exception of Vocational reasons) shows.

Therefore, the image of 'non-care' respondents as 'planned' decision takers, as having a surer sense of their own self-potency than those in 'care' is misleading; gender was a more important factor than 'care' status. In Hinkley 'care' and 'non-care' females reporting 'planned' reasons more often than local males of either 'care' status. In so doing, female respondents demonstrated a greater sense of their self-potency than the Borough's males.

20.4(d.). Respondents' Self-Potency: Gender - Ingleby.

The differentials found between all Ingleby's female and male respondents who provided 'planned' Financial, Vocational, Social and Developmental for leaving were 18%, 7% and 18% and 11%, respectively. As is shown in Table 20.5., these figures indicate that local females were keener to earn money and more confident of their ability to find a social niche for themselves in the work place than were the Borough's males.

However, as the proportions of Ingleby's males who gave 'planned' Vocational and

Developmental reasons for leaving school exceeded those of local females it seemed that they made more extensive eforts to find a job (see Chapter 21) before leaving school, and more readily regarded work as offering them an opportunity to get on in life.

The research also found that the proportions of Ingleby's 'care' and 'non-care' males for whom 'planned' Financial reasons for leaving were recorded differed by 14% as did the varying proportions females of different 'care' status, who also gave this reason. In contrast, a differential of only 7% was discovered between respondents of the same 'care' status, but different gender. These figures point to 'care' status exerting more influence than gender over the frequency with which respondents gave 'planned' Financial reasons for leaving school.

The response pattern described the differing frequencies with which Ingleby's 'care' status-gender sub-samples reported 'planned' and 'reactive' Vocational reasons for leaving school was, essentially, the same as in Hinkley, although it was a male 'non-care', as opposed to male 'care', respondent who had a job lined up and waiting for him on leaving school. As the the implications of these pattern have already been discussed, albeit in relation to Hinkley, they shall not be repeated here (see section 20.4(c.).).

The distribution of Ingleby's respondents with 'planned' Social reasons for leaving school shows that the differential of 7% in the proportions of its male and female 'non-care' samples who cited this reason was smaller than that of 15% between 'non-care' and 'care' males, and of 21% between their female counterparts.

However, all these disparities were 'outweighed' by that of 43% between males and females in the Borough's 'care'. This substantial difference reflects the oddity of a situation in which females in 'care' gave 'planned' Social reasons for leaving more often than any other respondent group whilst males in 'care' gave this reason most rarely. The implication of this is that the frequency with which 'care' respondents expressed these reasons was predicted more by their difference of gender than their similarity of 'care' status. On the other hand, the slight difference in the frequencies with which 'non-care' males and females gave this reply indicated that gender differences made no substantial impact on their varying propensities to leave school for this reason.

'Planned' Developmental reasons for leaving school were recorded by the same proportions (71%) of Ingleby's 'care' and 'non-care' females and the same proportions of its 'care' and 'non-care' males (86%). This symmetry was reflected in the distribution of 'reactive' Developmental reasons for leaving and reflected a situation in which 'care' status made no apparent impact on the types of Developmental reasons respondents gave for leaving school.

In contrast to Hinkley, Ingleby's males more often gave 'planned' Developmental reasons for leaving than did its females. As a result, across the two Boroughs, no consistent relationship was found between gender and frequency with which this type of reason for leaving school was given. It is a conclusion which is echoed throughout all categories of reasons for leaving school showing that the distribution of 'planned' reasons was much less reliably predicted by respondent gender in Ingleby than in Hinkley.

20.4(e.). Respondents' Self-Potency: Racial Presentation - Hinkley.

Although Hinkley's White respondents more frequently reported 'planned' Financial, Vocational and Social reasons for leaving school than did their Black counterparts who reversed this position with regard to 'planned' Developmental reasons no profound difference in their abilities of both groups to act in a 'planned' way was detected. Table 20.6. shows that the proportions of the Borough's Black and White respondents who did so varied form 3% to 8% across all categories (Financial, Vocational, Social and Developmental) of reasons for leaving school. The differentials between Black and White respondents who gave 'reactive' reasons for leaving were correspondingly narrow.

In addition, a differential of 12% was discovered between Hinkley's White 'care' and 'non-care' respondents, and of 7% between its Black 'care' and 'non-care' respondents who had 'planned' Financial reasons for leaving school. In comparison differentials of 5% and 10% were found between the Borough's Black and White 'care' respondents and between Black and White 'non-care' respondents, respectively, who also gave this reason for leaving. As a result the influence respondents' racial presentations and 'care' status had on the frequency with which Hinkley's respondents gave 'planned' Financial reasons for leaving school was comparable.

Unfortunately, the dearth of job opportunities at the time when the research study took place makes it extremely difficult to arrive at any reliable conclusions about the relative reliability of 'care' status and racial presentation as predictors of the frequency with which Hinkley's respondents left school for 'planned' Vocational reasons. The fact that the overwhelming majority of these young people, regardless of their 'care' status and racial presentation, did so for 'reactive' Vocational reasons and at a time when many knew they could only expect unemployment reflected their strong desire to 'escape' the education system.

With a differential of only 6% between the proportions of Hinkley's White 'care' and 'non-care' respondents who stated 'planned' Social reasons for leaving school it seems that their differing 'care' status made little difference to the relative frequencies with which they returned this reply. This was even more the case with regard to the Borough's Black respondents with the proportions of its Black 'care' and 'non-care' sample groups who offered this type of reason differing by just 2%.

Furthermore, Table 20.6. shows that a differential of only 4% between the proportions of Hinkley's Black and White 'non-care' respondents who returned 'planned' Social reasons for leaving, while the proportions of their 'care' counterparts who did so was the same, denoting that racial presentation was even more weakly associated with this type of response than was 'care' status.

However, the distribution of 'planned' Developmental reasons for leaving school indicates that the racial presentation of respondents was slightly more influential than 'care' status in predicting the frequency with which this reason was given. As a result, more similiarity was found in the rates at which respondents gave this reason for leaving when their racial presentations were the same and 'care' status differed than when it was their racial presentations which differed and 'care' status was the same (see Table 20.6.).

Nevertheless, the research failed to demonstrate that respondents' racial presentation had an unbreakable association with their propensity to leave school for 'planned' Developmental reasons. With differentials of only 17% and 13% in the proportions of Hinkley Black and White 'care' and Black and White 'non-care' respondents, respectively, who gave such reasons it cannot be maintained that racial presentation determined which respondents would take the decision to leave school for reasons of this type.

20.4(f.) Respondents' Self-Potency: Racial Presentation - Ingleby.

A larger proportion of Ingleby's White, than Black respondents recorded 'planned' Financial, Vocational, and Social reasons for leaving school, while it was latter group of young people more frequently returned 'planned' Developmental reasons for doing so. However, despite these differences the rate at which the Borough's respondents took these types of decisions were not profoundly effected by their differing racial presentations. Table 20.6. demonstrates this point showing that the differentials between all of Ingleby's White and Black respondents who acted in a 'planned' way ranged from 4% to 13% across all categories of reasons.

However, the 20% differential in the proportions of Ingleby's White 'care' and 'non-care' respondents who gave 'planned' Financial reasons for leaving school, contrasted with the differentials of 2% between the Borough's Black and White 'care', and 10% between its the matching 'non-care' samples who also offered this reason for leaving.

Only Ingleby's Black 'non-care' respondents deviated from a response pattern that portrayed 'care' status as a more important predictor than racial presentation of the frequency with which individuals left school for 'planned' Financial reasons. For this group racial presentation was the slightly more important predictive factor with the differential of 8% between it and the Borough's Black 'care' sample being less than that of 10% between Black and White 'non-care' respondents who were not.

However, it is a mistake to linger too long on the differences between respondent groups. The primary message of the research is of the overwhelming similarity between them, irrespective of respondents' racial presentations and 'care' status, in the frequency with which their members reported 'planned' Financial reasons for leaving school. The majority in all respondent groups reported that they decided to leave for reasons of this type (see Table 20.6.).

Whilst no comment will be made on the relative frequencies with which Ingleby's respondents of different 'care' status and racial presentation left school for 'planned' Vocational reasons, due to prevailing labour market conditions at the time of the research study, the Social reasons they gave for leaving school are of interest. The distribution of these in their 'planned' form show that with differentials of 9% in proportions of the Black 'care' and 'non-care' samples, and 10% in the proportions of the White 'care' and 'non-care' samples, the frequency with which respondents provided such reports was associated more with their racial presentation than with their 'care' status.

Table 20.6. shows differentials of 13% and 14% separating the proportions of Black and White 'non-care' and Black and White 'care' respondents, respectively, who left school for 'planned' Social reasons. These results appear to contradict the pattern found for Financial reasons for leaving school, implying that White respondents, whether in or not in 'care', had a surer sense of their self-potency than did either group of Black respondents.

Yet, the research also lends support to the idea that young people in 'care' have a well developed sense of their self-potency, relative to that they have of their self-value. For example, Ingleby's Black and White 'care' respondents reported 'planned' Social reasons for leaving school more frequently than did their 'non-care' counterparts of the same racial presentation.

Of particular interest is the distribution of 'planned' Developmental responses. It is an interest which arises out of the absence of any differential between the proportions of respondent groups of the same racial presentation, but different 'care' status giving this response. Table 20.6. shows that 82% of each of Ingleby's Black sub-samples provided this reason for leaving school as did 70% of the both the Borough's White sub-samples.

Therefore, racial presentation emerged as more closely linked, than 'care' status, with Ingleby's respondents deciding to leave school for 'planned' Developmental reasons Nevertheless, research findings also pointed to, once again, an overriding similarity between all respondent groups with the majority of each citing such reasons when asked to indicate why they had chosen to leave.

To conclude, measures taken by G1., G2., and G3. collectively indicate that attempts made to locate the 'selves' of 'care' and 'non-care' respondents in the dimensions of goodness and potency point to an imbalance of 'self' being more pronounced among 'care', than 'non-care' respondents. It appears that whilst 'care' respondents do not lack an appropriate sense of their own potency they are, relative to those not in 'care', deprived of the consensual validation required to promote their acquisition of sufficient self-esteem to ensure that their 'selves' are in balance. In searching for the reasons underpinning the denial of such validation we do not have to look far: if the 'self' is a social product and if the regard in which society holds those in 'care' is reflected in its definition applied to these young people the withholding of consensual validation from them is certain. In view of the seemingly mechanical inevitability of this the areas of similarity between the 'selves' of 'care' and 'non-care' respondents was surprising.

Chapter 21.

Job Search And Respondent Unemployment: Variables J. And N.

21.1. Introduction.

A possible explanation of the unusually high level of unemployment experienced by young people in 'care' is that they do not look for work so attentively as their 'non-care' peers. It is a proposition rooted in those aspects of the social definition of them which alleges that;

1. the, supposedly, poor socialization of these young people means they fail to observe the work ethic, while;

2. their low self-esteems depresses the estimations they make of their employability.

Therefore, this Chapter will analyse those research findings which provide measures of the comparative assiduousness of the job search efforts of 'care', and 'non-care' respondents. In so doing, the validity of the claim that the job search of young people in 'care' is not as thorough as that of those not in 'care' will be tested.

In setting about this undertaking interest will be focused on the differing degrees to which the young people who participated in the study suffered from search unemployment. It is an approach considered particularly appropriate as its central concern is with the time and effort individuals put into finding work; those who suffer from this form of unemployment being active job seekers.

The theory of search unemployment (1.) emphasizes;

1. that the choice of a suitable job requires a great deal of information on alternative types of employment;

2. that time and effort is put into searching for information about jobs, and;

3. the search activity is often carried out on a full-time rather than part-time basis.

To gain some idea of the effort with which respondents sought work the research attempted to gauge the relative levels of search unemployment suffered by those in, and not in 'care'. This was accomplished in the course of three interviews with these young people - the first took place just before they left school, the second approximately six months later and the third at the end of their first year on the labour market. These interviews allowed the measures of respondents' job search to be taken in terms of the following indicators:

J1. Primary Sources Of Information On Jobs Vacancies: By focusing on the primary sources respondents used to find out about job vacancies this indicator provided a measure of the effort they put into gaining information about employment opportunities. However, as the indicator did not take into account of the secondary sources of information it was limited in its scope. Nevertheless, this is considered acceptable as concentration on primary sources of information revealed those respondents were most dependent on for news of available work.

J2. Number Of Jobs Applied For: It is possibile for unemployed individuals to undertake a pseudo form of job search in which the claim to be looking for a job is not accompanied by the submission of job applications, condemning the unemployed to continued unemployment. Thus, this indicator goes beyond suggesting how much time respondents spent looking for work to provide a measure of how 'real' their job search efforts were.

J3. Geographical Extent Of Job Search: This indicator tested out whether, or not, respondents' job searches were restricted to their local labour markets.

As some respondents found work quickly and the research study suffered limited respondent attrition results obtained by the use of the above indicators gave a distorted impression of respondents'job search. To warn the reader against this the Tables which accompany the following discussion make clear those parts of the respondent groups which were employed or had dropped out of the study at the time when each of the three interviews took place. Therefore, measurement of indicators J1., J2. and J3. went beyond assessing the job search efforts of 'care' and 'non-care' respondents to monitor their comparative levels of unemployment as denoted by indicators N.1, N2. and N3.

21.2. Indicator J1: Primary Sources Of Information On Job Vacancies.

Measurement of this indicator made use of a list of primary sources of information on job vacancies (see Tables 21.1. and 21.2.) which was put before respondents at each interview, when they were asked to select from it that they considered was most important to them. Derived from Shaw's and Valaam's (2.) study of 5th. form pupils and the pilot study this listing contained most of the major sources school-leavers use to find out about jobs openings enabling it to provide a fair indication how the study's respondents went about doing so.

21.2(a.). Primary Sources Of Information On Job Vacancies: 'Care' Status.

The use 'care' respondents made of social workers as primary sources of information on job vacancies dwindled rapidly with 20% of these young people using them in this way at the first interview compared with 4% at the second while none did so at the time of the third interview. This decline in the use of social workers as primary sources of information suggests they proved ineffectual in this respect. However, some 'care' respondents indicated that social workers were helpful in directing them towards training schemes. Where social workers failed was in the provision of information about vacancies on the open labour market. One respondent remarked:

> *"They're (social workers) keen to get you into work and they tried to get me on this youth training programme for the unemployed, but I didn't want that. I wanted a proper job and they didn't seem to have much idea where I could get one".*
>
> (My Brackets) (Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).

Table 21.1. Primary Sources Of Information On Job Vacancies: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Gender.

PRIMARY SOURCES.		'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
		FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)
Social Workers.	1st. Interview.	4(25%)	2(14%)	2(14%)	2(29%)				
	2nd. Interview.	1(6%)	1(7%)						
	3rd. Interview.								
Teachers.	1st. Interview.	2(13%)	3(21%)	3(21%)	2(29%)		3(21%)	2(14%)	
	2nd. Interview.								
	3rd. Interview.								
Careers Office/Job Centre.	1st. Interview.	6(38%)	5(36%)	6(43%)	3(43%)	4(25%)	2(14%)	4(29%)	4(57%)
	2nd. Interview.	4(25%)	3(21%)	2(14%)	1(14%)	1(6%)	1(7%)	2(14%)	2(29%)
	3rd. Interview.	1(6%)	2(14%)				2(14%)	2(14%)	
Relatives.	1st. Interview.	1(6%)	2(14%)	1(7%)		3(19%)	5(36%)	4(29%)	1(14%)
	2nd. Interview.	1(6%)	1(7%)	1(7%)		1(6%)	2(14%)		
	3rd. Interview.		2(14%)						
Friends.	1st. Interview.	1(6%)	1(7%)			2(13%)	3(21%)	2(14%)	1(14%)
	2nd. Interview.		3(21%)	1(7%)	1(14%)		2(14%)		
	3rd. Interview.	2(13%)	3(21%)	2(14%)			1(7%)		
News-papers.	1st. Interview.	1(6%)				3(19%)	2(14%)	2(14%)	
	2nd. Interview.	2(13%)	1(7%)	2(14%)	2(29%)	3(19%)	1(7%)	2(14%)	
	3rd. Interview.	2(13%)		2(14%)	3(43%)	2(13%)			
Other.	1st. Interview.	1(6%)	1(7%)	2(14%)		2(13%)	1(7%)		1(14%)
	2nd. Interview.	1(6%)	2(14%)			1(6%)			
	3rd. Interview.				1(14%)				
Employed.	1st. Interview.								
	2nd. Interview.	6(38%)	3(21%)	8(57%)	3(43%)	10(63%)	8(57%)	9(64%)	5(71%)
	3rd. Interview.	10(63%)	7(50%)	10(71%)	3(43%)	14(88%)	11(79%)	11(79%)	7(100%)
Respondent Lost To Research.	1st. Interview.								
	2nd. Interview.	1(6%)						1(7%)	
	3rd. Interview.	1(6%)						1(7%)	

Table 21.2. Primary Sources Of Information On Job Vacancies: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Racial Presentation.

PRIMARY SOURCES.		'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
		BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)
Social Workers.	1st. Interview.	3(21%)	3(19%)	1(9%)	3(30%)				
	2nd. Interview.		2(13%)						
	3rd. Interview.								
Teachers.	1st. Interview.	2(14%)	3(19%)	2(18%)	3(30%)	1(7%)	2(13%)		2(20%)
	2nd. Interview.								
	3rd. Interview.								
Careers Office/Job Centre.	1st. Interview.	5(36%)	6(38%)	6(55%)	3(30%)	4(29%)	2(13%)	6(55%)	2(20%)
	2nd. Interview.	4(29%)	3(19%)	2(18%)	1(10%)	1(7%)	1(6%)	3(27%)	1(10%)
	3rd. Interview.	2(14%)	1(6%)			2(14%)		1(9%)	1(10%)
Relatives.	1st. Interview.	1(7%)	2(13%)		1(10%)	4(29%)	4(25%)	2(18%)	3(30%)
	2nd. Interview.	1(7%)	1(6%)		1(10%)	1(7%)	2(13%)		
	3rd. Interview.		2(13%)						
Friends.	1st. Interview.	1(7%)	1(6%)			3(21%)	2(13%)	2(18%)	1(10%)
	2nd. Interview.	2(14%)	1(6%)	2(18%)		2(14%)			
	3rd. Interview.	4(29%)	1(6%)	2(18%)			1(6%)		
News-papers.	1st. Interview.		1(6%)			1(7%)	4(25%)		2(20%)
	2nd. Interview.	1(7%)	2(13%)	1(9%)	3(30%)	1(7%)	3(19%)	1(9%)	1(10%)
	3rd. Interview.		2(13%)	2(18%)	3(30%)	1(7%)	1(6%)		
Other.	1st. Interview.	2(14%)		2(18%)		2(14%)	1(6%)	1(9%)	
	2nd. Interview.	2(14%)	1(6%)				1(6%)		
	3rd. Interview.			1(9%)					
Employed.	1st. Interview.								
	2nd. Interview.	4(29%)	5(31%)	6(55%)	5(50%)	9(64%)	9(56%)	6(55%)	8(80%)
	3rd. Interview.	8(57%)	9(56%)	6(55%)	7(70%)	11(79%)	14(88%)	9(82%)	9(90%)
Respondent Lost To Research.	1st. Interview.								
	2nd. Interview.		1(6%)					1(9%)	
	3rd. Interview.		1(6%)					1(9%)	

Although the use 'care' respondents made of social workers as primary sources of information on job vacancies went into steep decline the use they and their 'non-care' counterparts made of teachers fell even more dramatically with no respondents nominating them as primary sources of information by the time of the second interview. The reason for this is obvious for when this interview took place all respondents had left school and so had lost contact with their teachers. As they had been used by 20% of 'care' and 10% of 'non-care' respondents as their primary sources at the time of the first interview leaving school meant the loss of this important source.

The distribution of respondents who described their local Careers Offices/Job Centres as their main sources of information on vacancies fell steadily throughout the period of the study, but they remained the most important primary sources for young people in 'care' at the first and second interviews. 'Non-care' respondents appeared less dependent on Careers Offices/Job Centres which were their most important sources at the time of the first interview only.

The greater reliance of 'care', than 'non-care' respondents on Careers Offices/Job Centres was reflected in the finding that 39% of young people in, compared to 27% of those not in 'care' cited these as primary sources of information at the first interview; by the time of the second round of interviews these proportions had declined to 20% and 12%, respectively. At the end of the fieldwork phase of the study only 6% of 'care' and 8% of 'non-care' respondents continued to describe Careers Offices/Job Centres in this way. Remarks made by unemployed respondents at the end of their first year on the labour market pointed to a profound lack of faith in them as means of gaining work:

> *"I used to go up there (Careers Office/Job Centre), but all the jobs were rubbish and it got really depressing so I don't hardly bother now".*
>
> (My Brackets) (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).

> *"It's a waste of time going to the Job Centre. You'll never find work through one of them".*
>
> (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).

> *"The Careers service is hopeless and Job Centres are no better. They make you feel like giving up".*
>
> (Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).

> *"I've given up on them (Careers Offices/Job Centres).*
>
> (My Brackets) (Ingleby 'Non-Care' Respondent).

At the conclusion of the first round of interviews a clear distinction could be identified in the 'formality' of the primary sources of information used by 'care', and 'non-care' respondents. With their greater reliance on social workers (not available to 'non-care' respondents), teachers and Careers Offices/Job Centres for information 'care' respondents appeared to rely more on 'formal' sources of information than did their 'non-care' counterparts.

On the other hand, Tables 21.1. and 21.2. show that at the first interview informal sources were more frequently used by 'non-care', than 'care' respondents. The difference between these young people in this respect is marked with differentials of 17%, 12% and 12% separating the proportions of them who described, relatives, friends and newspapers, respectively, as their primary sources of information.

In view of the dominance of 'non-care' respondents, at the first round of interviews, in the use of informal sources for information on job vacancies, the steady assumption of this dominance by 'care' respondents, over the next two rounds of interviews, seems surprising. The reason for this development can be explained, in part, by reference to the differing proportions of the 'care' and 'non-care' samples employed when these interviews took place.

Tables 21.1. and 21.2. show that 39% of 'care' and 63% of 'non-care' respondents were working at the time of the second round of interviews while at the end of the fieldwork phase of the study only 59% of 'care' compared to 84% of 'non-care' respondents had found employment. Therefore, as the research progressed there were far more 'care', than 'non-care' respondents who might nominate informal sources as their primary means of gaining information on job vacancies. It was the far higher rate of unemployment among 'care', than 'non-care' respondents which emerged as the most worrying feature of the Tables .

21.2(b.). Primary Sources Of Information On Job Vacancies: Borough Of Residence.

When first interviewed 20% of Hinkley's, and 19% of Ingleby's 'care' respondents cited social workers as their primary source of information on job vacancies. The second round of interviews revealed a widening of this differential with 7% of Hinkley's, and none of Ingleby's 'care' respondents still reliant on social workers to find out about vacancies. Although, only slight this differential implies that the former group of young people were a little more dependent than the latter on social workers for information on jobs. However, this dependence should not be over emphasized as all 'care' respondents had ceased using social workers in this way by the time the third interview took place.

Tables 21.1. and 21.2. show that when first interviewed 10% of Hinkley's and the same proportion of Ingleby's 'non-care' respondents reported that teachers were their primary sources of information. As a result borough of residence did not differentiate the frequency with which this reply was received from these young people. 'Care' status was a more important differentiating factor with 17% of Hinkley's, and 24% of Ingleby's 'care' respondents describing teachers as their most important sources of information. By the time of the second interview this situation had changed with none of the study's respondents referring to teachers in this way. With the third interview repeating this finding it seems that once respondents left school both 'care' status and borough of residence ceased to differentiate the use they made of teachers as their main means of finding out about vacancies.

The differing use respondents in Hinkley's 'care', and both Ingleby's samples made of Careers Offices/Job Centres as primary sources of information was not significantly delineated by 'care' status or borough of residence. In contrast, Hinkley's 'non-care' respondents emerged as an eccentric group isolated by a gulf of 17% between it and local 'care' respondents and by differentials of 23% and 18% between the proportions of it and young people in and not in, respectively, Ingleby's 'care'.

However, the second round of interviews discovered that the inter-borough differential separating the varying proportions of all Hinkley's (15%) and all Ingleby's (17%) respondents who continued to use Careers Offices/Job Centres as their main sources of information on job vacancies had shrank to 2%.

The third round of interviews, showed that respondents' declining, but converging use of Careers Offices/Job Centres continued with only 8% of all Hinkley's, and 5% of all Ingleby's respondents using them as their primary sources of information. Convergence was most marked between Hinkley's 'care' and Ingleby's 'non-care' respondents with 10% of each believing Careers Offices/Job Centres were the best way to find out about vacancies. A similar proportion, 7%, of young people not in Hinkley's 'care' thought likewise. Respondents in Ingleby's 'care' made least use of Careers Offices/Job Centres with none of them describing these as their primary sources of information.

Borough of residence appears not to have been so closely associated as was 'care' status with the use respondents made of relatives as primary sources of information. Tables 21.1. and 21.2. show that at the first and second interviews the differential between the proportions of Hinkley's and Ingleby's 'care' respondents who made this use of relatives was smaller than those between respondents of differing 'care' status, but same borough of residence. This pattern was broken when the findings of the third interview showed Hinkley's 'care' sample to be something of an oddity with 7% of its members continuing to nominate relatives as their main sources of information on job vacancies while no members of any other group did so.

An interesting aspect of the use respondents made of relatives as sources of information is its decline. This was most marked with regard to the 'non-care' respondents of both Boroughs with the initially high proportions of these young people who used relatives in this way quickly evaporating. An important component of any explanation of this appears to be the success those who used relatives in this way had in gaining work (see Tables 21.1. and 21.2.).

The frequencies with which respondents reported friends as primary sources of information shows that, with the exception of the first interview, 'care' respondents in both Boroughs more often made this of friends than did their local 'non-care' counterparts. Thus, the research indicated that 'care' was a better predictor than borough of residence of respondents' propensities to find out about job openings through friends.

Furthermore, Tables 21.1. and 21.2. show that 'care' status also more reliably predicted respondents use of newpapers as primary sources of information at the time of the first interview than did borough of residence. In contrast the second round of interviews indicated that, once employed respondents and those lost to the research are discounted, with a differential of only 7% covering the varying proportions both Hinkley's 'non-care' and both Ingleby's 'care' status sub-samples the 'care' status and boroughs of residence had similar strengths of association with these young people's use of newspapers to get a job. By the time respondents came to the end of their first year on the labour market the unemployed members of the study's sub-samples made more disparate use of newspapers with 17% of those in, and 10% of those not in Hinkley's 'care' doing so as did 63% of Ingleby's remaining 'care', but none of their local 'non-care' counterparts.

However, while respondents' use of 'other' primary sources of information (e.g. notice boards, speculative enquiries direct to employers, local radio etc.) does not reveal that their use was more strongly associated with 'care' status than with borough of residence, the comparative employment records of respondents shows that 'care' status was much more closely linked with unemployment than borough of residence e.g. 83% of Hinkley's and 86% of Ingleby's 'non-care' respondents were employed when interviewed for a third time, compared to 57% of Hinkley's, and 62% of Ingleby's 'care' respondents. It seems that young people in 'care', irrespective of borough of residence, ran a far higher risk of finding themselves unemployed than did their 'non-care' peers, with those in Hinkley's 'care' running the highest risk of all.

21.2(c.). Primary Sources Of Information On Job Vacancies: Gender - Hinkley.

Table 21.1. shows that the differential of 11%, at the time of the first round of interviews, between the 25% of females and 14% of males in Hinkley's 'care' who considered social workers their primary source of information on vacancies fell to 1% at the second round when 6% of females and 7% of males in 'care' reported using social workers in this way. The third interview revealed this decline in the use of social workers was sustained with none of these young people describing them as primary sources of information.

Analysis of respondents use of teachers shows that respondents' gender appeared to be associated with these young peoples use of of them to find out about vacancies with a 15% differential separating the 6% of all Hinkley's females and 21% of all its males who did so. However, on closer scrutiny of Table 21.1. it appears that whilst their shared gender united the frequencies with which the 21% of males in the Borough's 'care' and the same proportion of those who were not gave reports to this effect the responses of females divided down lines of 'care' status with 13% of those in 'care' and none who were not citing teachers as their primary source of information.

The first and second rounds of interviews also discovered that the frequencies with which respondents of the same gender, but different 'care' status used Offices/Job Centres as primary sources of information varied considerably. The first round revealed differentials of 13% between Hinkley's 'non-care' and 'care' females, and of 22% between their male counterparts who did so; at the second round these differentials stood at 19% and 14%, respectively. As these were greater than the differentials separating respondents of the same 'care' status, but different genders 'care' status appeared more strongly associated than gender with their use of Careers Offices/Job Centres. However, results obtained from the third round of interviews indicated that the pattern of respondents' use of these sources changed and converged more in terms of their gender than 'care' status.

Respondents use of relatives as primary sources of information on job vacancies warns against too easily assuming that 'care' respondents had, by definition, fewer informal sources available to them than did their 'non-care' peers. Table 21.1. shows that whilst at the time of leaving school the proportions of 'non-care' females and males who use relatives as primary sources surpassed the proportions of their gender counterparts in 'care' who did so the two groups of young people whose responses displayed the greatest degree of unanimity in this regard were 'non-care' females and 'care' males.

The second round of interviews found that 6% of both Hinkley's 'non-care' and 'care' females continued to regard relatives as their main sources of information on vacancies as did 7% of 'care' males. It seems that by the time these young people had been on the labour market for 6 months neither differing 'care' status, nor gender had a significant differential impact on the frequency with which they used this source. The use of relatives was most widespread among 'non-care' males, but with only 14% (equivalent to 2 respondents) of these young people nominating relatives as their primary source they too appeared reluctant to rely on them for information. At the third round of interviews the only respondents who continued to describe relatives as their primary sources of information on job vacancies were 2 (14%) males in Hinkely's 'care'.

As the research progressed, Hinkley's 'care' male and female respondents' use of friends to find out about jobs overtook that of their 'non-care' gender counterparts. In so doing, attention is drawn to 'care' respondents' shift from formal to informal methods of job search and to the availability to them of informal sources.

Respondents' use of newspapers point to the greater reliance on them by Hinkley's 'care' and 'non-care' females than by the same gender 'non-care' samples, to find out about vacancies. As a result, with the exception of the first interview respondents' use of newspapers varied more in terms of gender than 'care' status.

Table 21.1. shows that at the first interview the use of 'other' primary sources of information on job vacancies did not divide down lines of respondent 'care' status or gender. With the same proportions (7%) of Hinkley's 'care' and 'non-care' males and 6% of its 'care' females using 'other' primary sources their 'care' status and gender appeared to have roughly similar strengths of association with their use of

such sources.

However, with 13% of the Hinkley's 'non-care' females also making use of 'other' primary sources the useage they and females in the Borough's 'care' made of them appeared to be differentiated by their differing 'care' status. Conversely with the same proportions (7%) of the Borough's 'care' and 'non-care' males reporting that they favoured using 'other' primary sources when trying to get information on job vacancies 'care' status did not appear to predict frequency with which they did so.

This situation changed by the time of the second interview with 6% of 'care' and 'non-care' females citing 'other' sources and thereby indicating how their shared gender had overcome the divisive effects of their different 'care' status ensuring that the same proportions of each used these sources. For males the reverse of this was true with no 'non-care' compared to 14% of 'care' males using sources of this type. At the third interview with no respondents continuing to use 'other' sources, no differential was found in the impact respondents' 'care' status and gender had on their use.

Finally, Table 21.1. makes clear that when the second and third interviews took place females and males in 'care' had a far higher rate of unemployment than did their 'non-care' peers of the same gender. At the times of these interviews the proportions of the various respondent groups in work was influenced more by 'care' status than by gender with those in 'care' doing much worse on the labour market than those who were not.

21.1(d.). Primary Source Of Information On Job Vacancies: Gender - Ingleby.

When first interviewed a differential of 15% was found between the 14% of females and 29% of males in Ingleby's 'care' who described social workers as their primary source of information on job vacancies. However, unlike Hinkley, no young people in Ingleby's 'care' were still using social workers in this way at the second interview.

Reports of the use made of teachers as primary sources of information on vacancies were confined to the first interview and showed that Ingleby's 'care' respondents, irrespective of gender, made most use of teachers in this way; the frequency with which these young people did so being predicted more by their 'care' status than by their gender. This was particularly true for Ingleby's males with 29% of those in, and none of those who were not in 'care' describing teachers as their primary sources.

The proportions of all Ingleby's males and females who regarded Careers Offices/Job Centres as their main sources of information differed by 14% at the first round of interviews, but closed to 7% at the second and third rounds, with the use of them by all 'care' status-gender sub-samples falling throughout respondents' first year on the labour market. At the first interview 36% of Ingleby's females described them as their primary sources of information compared to just 7% at the third. This decline was even more marked for local males of whom 50% cited Careers Offices/Job Centres as their primary sources of information at the first interview, while none did so at the third.

Ingleby's respondents' use of Careers Offices/Job Centres also shows that at each interview the same proportions of females and males in its 'care' considered them their primary sources of information. Consequently, the impression is created of the common 'care' status of these young people as being more important than their genders in predicting the frequency with which they returned to Careers Offices/Job Centres as their main means of finding out about vacancies.

The use Ingleby's respondents made of relatives as primary sources of information was much more concentrated than in Hinkley. The use of this source was most widespread among Ingleby's respondents prior to leaving school, but even then males in Ingleby's 'care' made no reports to this effect. 'Non-care' females made greatest use of relatives with 4 (29%) of them regarding relatives as their best source of advice on jobs compared with 1 (7%) 'care' female and 1 (14%) 'non-care' male. With only a single female in Ingleby's 'care' continuing cite relatives as her primary source of information at the time of the second round of interviews and no respondents doing so when finally interviewed neither gender nor 'care' status appeared to be strongly associated with the Borough's respondents use of relatives to find out about job vacancies.

Table 21.1. also shows that at the first interview 'care' status was more important than gender in predicting the frequency with which respondents used friends as primary sources of information on vacancies with the same proportions (14%) of Ingleby's 'non-care' females and males making reports to this effect, while none were provided by their counterparts in 'care'.

However, the second round of interviews indicated that the differing frequencies with which respondents nominated their friends as primary sources of information was reversed with males and females in Ingleby's 'care' making greatest use of this source. With no local 'non-care' respondents making replies to this effect their shared 'care' status appears to be a more reliable predictor than gender of their use of friends to find out about vacancies. On the other hand, the 7% differential between males and females in Ingleby's 'care' suggests that gender may have played a small part in differentiating the frequencies with which they also made this use of friends.

At the third interview only 14% of Ingleby's 'care' females continued to cite friends as their primary source of information; all other respondent groups had given up their use. Consequently, neither 'care' status nor gender appeared to distinguish the frequencies with which local 'non-care' males and females and 'care' males described their friends as primary sources of information; the responses of 'care' females suggested that this source was more persistent than for all other respondents' groups.

Respondents' use of newspapers to find out about job vacancies points to the greater reliance placed on them by Ingleby's 'care' males than any other local respondent group. As a result, with the exception of the first interview respondents' use of newspapers was found to vary more in terms of gender than 'care' status.

When attention is turned to the frequency with which 'other' sources were considered by respondents to be their primary means of finding out about job vacancies Table 21.1. shows that scant use was made of them, regardless of Ingleby's respondents gender and 'care' status.

Only 43% of males in Ingleby's 'care' were employed at the times of the second and third interviews, meaning they were much more likely to be unemployed than any other of the Borough's respondent groups. With 57% and 71% of 'care' females in work at the times of the second and third interviews, respectively, gender appears to have played an important part in differentiating 'care' respondents' chances of finding work. The third round of interviews indicated that the employment rates of Ingleby's 'care' and 'non-care' females differed by only 8%, reflecting the strength of association between gender and the ability to find work. In contrast, the employment rates of 'care' and 'non-care' males makes plain that their respective employment rates were differentiated by their 'care' status.

21.2(e.). Primary Source Of Information On Job Vacancies: Racial Presentation - Hinkley.

At the first interview 21% of Hinkley's Black and 19% of its White 'care' respondents regarded social workers as their primary sources of information on job vacancies. With a differential of only 2% in the proportions of these groups supplying racial presentation did not significantly effect the frequency with which respondents provided it. However, the reliance White 'care' respondents placed on social workers for job information was slightly more durable than that of their Black counterparts, with 13% of of the former, compared to none of the latter, citing social workers as their primary source of such information at the second round of interviews.

The first round of interviews also detected a 12% differential between the 7% of all Hinkley's Black and 19% of all its White respondents who regarded teachers as their primary sources of information on vacancies. In addition, Table 21.2. shows that with the same proportions (19%) of White 'care' and 'non-care' respondents making this use of teachers, the differing 'care' status of these young people made no difference to the frequency with which they did so. The same cannot be said for

Black respondents with 14% of those in, and none of those not in 'care' describing teachers as their primary sources of information.

Over the course of the first two rounds of interviews the differing proportions of Hinkley's Black and White respondents who considered Careers Offices/Job Centres, to be their primary sources of information narrowed from 7% to 6% before opening up to a gap of 11% at the third round. Black respondents remained, at all times, the main users of Careers Offices/Job Centres but the proportion of them who did so declined from 32% at the first interview to 14% at the third; the proportions of White users fell from 25% to 3% over the series of interviews.

The use of relatives as primary sources of information on job vacancies was most widespread at the time of the first interview among Black (29%) and White (25%) respondents not in Hinkley's 'care'. With a differential of only 4% separating the proportions of these groups who made this use of relatives, their shared 'care' status was more reliable than their contrasting racial presentations, in predicting the frequencies with which they sought information from this source. Similarly, while only 7% of Black, and 13% of White 'care' respondents regarded their relatives as primary sources the frequencies with which they used them in this way was associated more with their 'care' status than with their racial presentations.

The comparative influence of racial presentation and 'care' status on the reliance respondents placed on friends for information on job vacancies at the time of the first interview also indicated that 'care' status was the most reliable predictor of this. However, at the second interview respondents' use of friends converged more in terms of racial presentation than 'care' status.

The third round of interviews revealed that with 6% of Hinkley's 'care' and none of its White respondents continuing to use friends as primary sources of information differing 'care' status was not apparently associated with the likelihood of these young people doing so. In contrast, a chasm opened-up in the proportions of local Black 'care' and 'non-care' respondents who considered their friends to be their most important means of finding out about vacancies; none of the Borough's Black 'non-care' respondents made reports to this effect compared to 29% of their counterparts in 'care'. The proportion of Black 'care' respondents who cited friends as their primary source of information on vacancies represents a significant increase from the 7% of them who did so at the first interview and may, in part, be attributable to their loss of faith in more formal job search methods as their declining use of Careers Offices/Job Centres also implies.

Respondents' use of newspapers to find out about job vacancies points to the low level of reliance placed on them by Hinkley's Black respondents, irrespective of their 'care' status. While White respondents made a greater aggregate use of this source at the time of the first round of interviews only 6% of Whites in 'care' did so; the same proportion of 'non-care' Whites reported using this source at the third round of interviews.

'Other' sources were made limited use of as a primary means of finding out about vacancies. Table 21.2. shows that at the times of the first and second interviews the frequencies with which respondents turned to such sources aligned more in terms of racial presentation than 'care' status with those who were Black being their main users. However, by the time the third interview took place all respondents had abandoned the use of 'other' sources.

With a 2% differential between the 46% of Hinkley's Black, and 44% of its Whites respondents working at the time of the second round of interviews and a differential of 4% between the 68% of all Hinkley's Black, and 72% of all its White respondents employed at the end of the field work phase of the study the differing racial presentations of these young people appeared to make little difference to their employment chances.

Nevertheless, the rate of employment among Black and White respondents reveals the very high levels of unemployment suffered by all Hinkley's respondent groups. This was particularly severe among Hinkley's Black and White 'care' respondents of whom only 57% and 56%, respectively, had found work when the research study came to an end. In comparison 79% of the Borough's Black, and 88% of its White 'non-care' respondents were employed.

The the scale of unemployment suffered by all Hinkley's respondents was so high that it might reasonably be assumed that they had ineffective job search methods and were not looking hard enough for work. The words one respondent offers a telling rebuttal of this proposition.

> *"I look and I look but I can't find no job. I go every where and see everyone every day. There's just nothing".*
>
> (Hinkley Black 'Care' Respondent).

21.2(f.). Primary Source Of Information On Job Vacancies: Racial Presentation - Ingleby.

The near parity found in Hinkley's Black and White 'care' respondents use of social workers as primary sources of information on job vacancies was not repeated in Ingleby. There the first round of interviews discovered a differential of 21% between the 9% of Black, and 30% of White 'care' respondents who described social workers in this way.

Nevertheless, this differential is deceptively large as the small sample sizes meant that it translated into a difference of just 2 respondents. At the second and third rounds of interviews racial presentation did not differentiate the respondents' replies with none of them continuing to use social workers as their main means of finding out about job openings.

The first round of interviews also discovered that with 18% of Ingleby's Black and 30% of its White 'care' respondents compared with 20% of its White and none of its Black 'non-care' respondents citing teachers as their primary sources of information on vacancies, responses were neither unified by respondents' 'care' status nor their racial presentations. What these findings show is the greater reliance Black and White 'care' respondents placed on teachers for information about jobs than did their 'non-care' counterparts. However, with no young people at either the second or third interviews describing teachers as primary sources the differences between all respondent groups disappeared after they left school.

The use all Ingleby's Black and White respondents made of Careers Offices/Job Centres shows that, as in Hinkley, responses received traced a pattern of increasing convergence. Thus, the differential of 29% in the proportions of Ingleby's Black and White respondents who regarded Careers Offices/Job Centres as their primary sources at the end of the first round of interviews, narrowed to 13% by the time the second round took place and had vanished at the end of the field work phase of the study.

Table 21.2. also makes clear that the first and second rounds of interviews indicated that the proportions of each respondent group considering Careers Offices/Job Centres to be their primary sources of information deviated more in terms of racial presentation than 'care' status. As a result we find that the same proportions (55%) of Ingleby's Black 'care' and 'non-care' respondents, at the first interview, described Careers Offices/Job Centres in this way as did the same proportions (10%) of the Borough's White 'care' and 'non-care' respondents at the second interview. Only at the third interview did 'care' status appear to be more important that racial presentation, with a negligible 1% differential emerging between the 9% of Black, and 10% of White 'non-care' respondents, while all those in 'care' had ceased using Careers Offices/Job Centres.

The use Ingleby's respondents made of relatives as primary sources of information on vacancies was, as in Hinkley, most widespread at the time of the first interview. This was most notable with regard to the 18% of Black and 30% of White 'non-care' respondents who reported this use of family members. The 12% differential between these groups of young people indicated that racial presentation delineated the comparative frequencies with which they made reports of this type.

In the course of the second round of interviews only 1 respondent described her relatives as her main means of finding out about vacancies, while no respondents gave this form of reply in the third round of interviews. As a result, it is concluded, that no substantial differences existed in the frequencies with which respondents, irrespective of their 'care' status and racial presentations, reporting this use of relatives at either of these interviews with the decline in their use being more dramatic among all respondent groups in Ingleby than in Hinkley.

When first interviewed the comparative influence racial presentation and 'care' status had on the reliance Ingleby's respondents placed on friends for information on job vacancies converged more in terms of respondents' 'care' status than racial presentations. However, the findings of the second and third rounds of interviews point to a sharp decline in this reliance, with only 18% of local Black 'care' respondents, in each of these rounds continuing to describe friends as their primary sources of information on jobs.

Newspapers were used erratically by Ingleby's respondents to find out about job vacancies. The first interview discovered that while 20% of the Borough's 'non-care' Whites described them as their primary sources of information no members of its other 'care' status-gender groups did so.

The second round of interviews revealed a changed situation with 9% of Ingleby's Black 'care' and 'non-care' respondents citing newspapers as their primary sources of information as did 10% of its White 'non-care' respondents. While the proportions of respondents using newspapers for this purpose was not significantly differentiated by their varying 'care' status and racial presentations the proportion of local White 'care' respondents who did so was, at 30%, unusually large.

Yet, by the time of the third interview respondents' use of newspapers had changed once again with their frequency of use being defined more in terms of respondents' 'care' status than racial presentations. While no 'non-care' respondents used newspapers as primary sources of information 18% of Ingleby's Black, and 30% of its White 'care' respondents continued to describe newspapers in this way. However, the 12% differential between these groups of young people suggests that despite their shared 'care' status, their use of newspapers was also associated with their racial presentation.

Respondents made limited use of 'other' sources as their primary means of finding out about vacancies being confined at the time of the first round of interviews to

Ingleby's Black 'care' and 'non-care' respondents with 18% and 9% of them respectively, reporting using sources of this type. As a result to be Black and in Ingleby's 'care' was associated with the greatest likelihood of making use of 'other' sources of information.

The second round of interviews failed to uncover any respondents using 'other' sources of information while the third detected only one, a young Black person in Ingleby's 'care'. Thus, it is concluded that at the final two rounds of interviews the use Ingleby's respondents groups made of 'other' sources of information was not significantly differentiated by their 'care' status or racial presentation.

As in Hinkley, the numbers of Ingleby's young people found to be in work at the times of the second and third rounds of interviews represents cause for concern. The second round revealed that only 55%, 55% and 50% of local Black 'non-care', Black 'care' and White 'care' respondents, respectively, had found employment, compared with 80% of the Borough's 'non-care' Whites. The comparative employment levels of these sub-samples point to the differing 'care' status of Black respondents as making no difference to their ability to gain employment, while the 25% differential between the proportion of Black, and White 'non-care' respondents in work suggests the existence of labour market racism.

Yet, the proportion of White 'care' respondents working at the time of the second round of interviews was, at a mere 50%, the lowest for all Ingleby's sample groups. The reasons for this cannot be explained in terms of racism. The 30% differential between them and the 80% of local 'non-care' White respondents with work is only explicable in terms of their differing 'care' status. While the failings of the 'care' system may have fueled the employment problems of 'care' respondents the stigmatizing character of the social definition applied to these young people appears bound to restrict their chances of finding work (see Chapter 25.).

However, the differential of just 8% separating the 82% and 90% of Ingleby's Black and White 'non-care' respondents, respectively, employed at the time of the third round of interviews provides a warning against too readily assuming that the employment chance of the former were curtailed by labour market racism. Table

21.2. shows that 'care' status was found to be a more reliable predictor than racial presentation of the employment levels of all respondent groups by the end of their first year on the labour market.

21.3. Indicator J2: Number Of Jobs Applied For.

The research study attempted to identify how frequently the wish of respondents to be employed was translated into applications for specific jobs. As it was considered unrealistic to expect respondents to keep a precise count of jobs they had applied for they were asked to provide their best estimates of this number.

However, a problem encountered when attempting to equate the number of job applications made with the efforts respondents put into finding work was the varying effectiveness of respondents' job search. This meant that some young people made comparatively few job applications and quickly found work while others made many more, but consistently unsuccessful applications. To alert the reader to the potentially confounding effects of this problem the Tables which follow in this section will show what parts of the respondent groups were employed when each round of interviews took place.

21.3(a.). Number Of Jobs Applied For: 'Care' Status.

Respondents put little effort into finding work when still at school with those not in 'care' being particularly lackadaisical in this respect. Of these young people 22%, compared to 4% of 'care' respondents made no job applications before leaving school. A further 45% of all 'care' and 41% of all 'non-care' respondents made only 1 to 4 applications when first interviewed indicating that, in this regard, they had persued employment with near equal vigour.

However, whereas an additional 43% of all 'care' respondents applied for 5 to 9 jobs prior to leaving school only 37% of their 'non-care' counterparts did so. With another 8% of all 'care' and no 'non-care' respondents applying for 10 to 14 jobs

Table 21.3. Number Of Jobs Applied For: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Gender.

NUMBER OF JOBS APPLIED FOR.*		'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
		FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)
0.	1st. Interview.	2(13%)				7(44%)		3(21%)	1(14%)
	2nd. Interview.								
	3rd. Interview.		2(14%)					1(7%)	
1-4.	1st. Interview.	6(38%)	7(50%)	6(43%)	4(57%)	4(25%)	8(57%)	6(43%)	3(43%)
	2nd. Interview.								
	3rd. Interview.	1(6%)		1(7%)	1(14%)		2(14%)		
5-9.	1st. Interview.	7(44%)	6(43%)	6(43%)	3(43%)	5(31%)	6(43%)	5(29%)	3(43%)
	2nd. Interview.		1(7%)			2(13%)	1(7%)	2(14%)	
	3rd. Interview.	2(13%)	4(29%)	3(21%)	2(29%)	1(6%)	1(7%)	1(7%)	
10-14.	1st. Interview.	1(6%)	1(7%)	2(14%)					
	2nd. Interview.	1(6%)	3(21%)	2(14%)		3(13%)	2(14%)	2(14%)	1(14%)
	3rd. Interview.	1(6%)	1(7%)		1(14%)	1(6%)			
15-19.	1st. Interview.								
	2nd. Interview.	2(13%)	5(36%)	1(7%))	2(29%)	1(6%)	2(14%)		1(14%)
	3rd. Interview.	1(6%)							
20-24.	1st. Interview.								
	2nd. Interview.	6(38%)	2(14%)	3(21%)	2(29%)		1(7%)		
	3rd. Interview.								
Employed.	1st. Interview.								
	2nd. Interview.	6(38%)	3(21%)	8(57%)	3(43%)	10(63%)	8(57%)	9(64%)	5(71%)
	3rd. Interview.	10(63%)	7(50%)	10(71%)	3(43%)	14(88%)	11(79%)	11(79%)	7(100%)
Respondent Lost To Research.	1st. Interview.								
	2nd. Interview.	1(6%)						1(7%)	
	3rd. Interview.	1(6%)						1(7%)	

* Job applications counted at 1st interview are those made in respondents last year at school.
Job applications counted at 2nd interview are those made between it and the 1st interview.
Job applications counted at the 3rd interview are those made between it and the 2nd interview.

Table 21.4. Number Of Jobs Applied For: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Racial Presentation.

NUMBER OF JOBS APPLIED FOR.*		'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
		BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)
0.	1st. Interview.		2(13%)			1(7%)	5(31%)	3(27%)	2(20%)
	2nd. Interview.								
	3rd. Interview.	1(7%)	1(6%)			1(7%)			
1-4.	1st. Interview.	5(36%)	8(63%)	3(27%)	7(70%)	6(43%)	7(44%)	5(45%)	3(30%)
	2nd. Interview.								
	3rd. Interview.	1(7%)		2(18%)		1(7%)			1(10%)
5-9.	1st. Interview.	7(50%)	6(38%)	8(73%)	1(10%)	7(50%)	4(25%)	3(27%)	5(50%)
	2nd. Interview.	1(7%)				2(14%)	1(6%)	1(9%)	1(10%)
	3rd. Interview.	3(21%)	3(19%)	2(18%)	3(30%)	1(7%)	1(6%)	1(9%)	
10-14.	1st. Interview.	2(14%)			2(20%)				
	2nd. Interview.	2(14%)	2(13%)	2(18%)		2(14%)	3(19%)	2(18%)	1(10%)
	3rd. Interview.	1(7%)	1(6%)	1(9%)			1(6%)		
15-19.	1st. Interview.								
	2nd. Interview.	3(21%)	4(25%)	1(9%)	2(20%)	1(7%)	2(13%)	1(9%)	
	3rd. Interview.		1(6%)						
20-24.	1st. Interview.								
	2nd. Interview.	4(29%)	4(24%)	2(18%)	3(30%)		1(6%)		
	3rd. Interview.								
Employed.	1st. Interview.								
	2nd. Interview.	4(29%)	5(31%)	6(55%)	5(50%)	9(64%)	9(56%)	6(55%)	8(80%)
	3rd. Interview.	8(57%)	9(56%)	6(55%)	7(70%)	11(79%)	14(88%)	9(82%)	9(90%)
Respondent Lost To Research.	1st. Interview.								
	2nd. Interview.		1(6%)					1(9%)	
	3rd. Interview.		1(6%)					1(9%)	

* Job applications counted at 1st interview are those made in respondents last year at school.
Job applications counted at 2nd interview are those made between it and the 1st interview.
Job applications counted at the 3rd interview are those made between it and the 2nd interview.

the research indicated that those in 'care' tried hardest to find work while still at school. Possible reasons for this include; a.) 'care' respondents' greater sense of urgency about the need to find a job; b.) the efforts made by social workers to ensure that these young people looked for work, and; c.) the promise work offered as an anonymous arena in which these young people could succeed. The following comments made by Hinkley's and Ingleby's 'care' respondents empahasize these points:

> *"It won't be long before I'm gonna have to take care of myself and to do that I need a job".*
>
> (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).

> *"When I think about leaving school I know I have to think about leaving care and getting my own place which will take money and they (the local authority) won't give it to me".*
>
> (My Brackets) (Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).

> *"For the past few months they (residential social workers) have been pushing me hard to get work. Last school holiday they threw me out at 11.00am. and wouldn't let me back in (the residential establishment) until 3.00pm. to make me look around for work. My keyworker even took me to the Careers Office and made sure I applied for anything that seemed all right".*
>
> (My Brackets) (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).
>
> *"They (residential social workers) make you sit down and apply for jobs. Still, they do help with the application forms".*
>
> (My Brackets) (Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).

> *"Cause I'm in care I've never been allowed to get on at school, but it will be different at work where no one will know me".*
>
> (Hinkley Care Respondent).

> *"When I start work I won't tell them that I'm in care and then I will be accepted for what I can do".*
>
> (Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).

By the time the second round of interviews took place all respondent groups were making more job applications than they had previously. If respondents who found work or become lost to the study are excluded from analysis we discover that of those who remained none limited themselves to applying for less than 5 jobs while 28% and 44% of 'non-care' respondents reported that they had made from 5 to 9 and from 10 to 14 applications, respectively. In comparison, just 3% of all unemployed young people in 'care' made 5 to 9 applications while another 20% of them made 10 to 14 applications.

However, 33% of all unemployed 'care' and 22% of all unemployed 'non-care' respondents applied for 15 to 19 jobs. Unemployed 'care' respondents also dominated the 20 to 24 applications category with 43% of them, compared to only 6% of unemployed 'non-care' respondents, applying for numbers of jobs which fell into this range.

In summary, the second round of interviews, as did the first indicated that 'care' respondents were more prolific job applicants than 'non-care' respondents. Whilst larger proportions of Hinkley's and Ingleby's 'non-care', than 'care' respondents made from 5 to 9 and from 10 to 14 aplications the 'care' respondents of each Borough held sway in the 15 to 19 and 20 to 24 application ranges. Thus, the study's findings dealt a blow to the idea of young people in 'care' as being 'work-shy' and to those aspects of the social definition which perpetuate this myth.

Yet despite the effort 'care' respondents put into applying for jobs the second round of interviews also revealed that with only 39% of them compared with 63% of 'non-care' care respondents employed the former were much less successful in finding work than the latter. While this may partially be explained if it is assumed (perhaps, unfairly) that 'non-care' respondents had more efficient job search strategies this is not sufficient to explain why, despite making more job applications, the second interview discovered that 24% less 'care', than 'non-care' respondents were employed. A more satisfactory explanation of this must incorporate the preparation young people need for starting working-life, the sources of information available to them on job vacancies and, crucially, how they are viewed by potential employers.

The most striking feature of the third round of interviews was the collapse in the number of job applications submitted by all remaining jobless respondents. This was most marked among unemployed 'care' respondents, of whom 10% made no job applications, 15% made from 1 to 4 applications, 55% made 5 to 9, 15% made 10 to 14 applications and 5% made 15 to 19 applications since the second round of interviews. In comparison, 14% of all unemployed 'non-care' respondents made no applications, 29% made 1 to 4 applications, 43% made 5 to 9 applications while the remaining 14% of these young people made 10 to 14 applications.

The reduction in the rates at which respondents submitted applications denoted that those who remained unemployed may have gradually given up hope of ever finding a job. They appeared to be the victims of a vicious circle in which the seeming hopelessness of getting a job steadily decreased the number of applications they made to reducing still further their chances of finding work and thereby reinforcing their feelings of hopelessness. With 20 of all 'care', and 7 of their 'non-care' counterparts unemployed at the end of the fieldwork phase of the study the deleterious implications of this situation were far greater for those in, than not in 'care'.

When the number of jobs applied for by respondents over the course of the three interviews are considered collectively it can be seen that they describe the same wave form for all respondent group. The number of applications each made started off low at the first interview, peaked at the second before falling back at the third. It is a pattern that is described by Fagin in his account of the costs unemployment imposes on the 'mental health' of the unemployed (see Chapter 10).

21.3(b.). Number Of Jobs Applied For: Borough Of Residence.

With 56% of all Hinkley's and 55% of all Ingleby's respondents applying for 4 jobs or less, the same proportions (40%) of them applying for 5 to 9 jobs and 3% of Hinkley's compare with 5% of Ingleby's making 10 to 14 job applications prior to leaving school the first round of interviews indicated that the effort they put into finding work was associated more with their 'care' status than boroughs of residence (see Tables 21.3. and 21.4.).

As we have already seen, the second round of interviews indicated that 'care' had a negative correlation with the success of job applications. In Hinkley this was particularly pronounced with only 30% of all young people in the Authority's 'care' compared with 60% of those who were not employed by the time they were half way through their first year on the labour market. In Ingleby 52% of its 'care', and 67% of its 'non-care' respondents were also employed at this time.

The second round of interviews also found that with the increased job search of respondents all of them abandoned the 0 to 4 applications category. Instead Tables 21.3. and 21.4. show that of Hinkley's unemployed 'care' respondents 5% made 5 to 9 applications and 20% made from 10 to 14 job applications since first being interviewed. In addition, another 35% of these young people made 15 to 19 applications in this period while the remaining 40% of them made 20 to 24 applications. Of the Borough's 'non-care' respondents 25% made 5 to 9 applications while 42% made 10 to 14 applications since first being interviewed. A further 15 to 19 applications were made by 25% of these young people of whom another 8% made 20 to 24 applications.

A similar situation was discovered in Ingleby with 33% of its unemployed 'non-care' respondents, but none of those in the Borough's 'care' making another 5 to 9 job applications since first being interviewed. In addition, 50% of Ingleby's' non-care', and 20% of its 'care' respondents made a further 10 to 14 applications while 17% and 30% of them, respectively, applied for 15 to 19 jobs. The remaining 50% of unemployed 'care' respondents, reported applying for 20 to 24 jobs.

Thus, the distribution of job applications submitted by 'non-care' and 'care' respondents in Hinkley and Ingleby at the time of the second interview shows that the proportions of unemployed respondents in each of Tables 21.3's and 21.4's categories of number of applications varied more in terms of 'care' status than borough of residence. In this respect, the outcome of the first and second rounds of interviews were the same.

The results of the third round of interviews reflect the previously noted collapse in the job search of unemployed respondents, regardless of their 'care' status and borough of residence. None of Ingleby's respondents who remained jobless made more than 10 to 14 applications while none of their Hinkley counterparts applied for more than 15 to 19 jobs. In all 76% and 90% of all unemployed respondents in Hinkley and Ingleby, respectively, made only 0 to 9 job applications between the second and third interviews.

Of Hinkley's unemployed respondents 75% of those in 'care' compared with 60% of those who were not reported making more than 4 job applications in the period leading up to the third round of interviews. In Ingleby these proportions stood at 75% and 50%, respectively. As these figures differ more in terms of respondents' 'care' status than borough of residence the number of job applications submitted by them was, once again, found to be predicted more by their 'care' status than borough of residence. The great disparity in the success 'care' and 'non-care' respondents had in finding work applied equally across the two Boroughs, re-emphasizing the strong association 'care' status between being in 'care' and inability to get a job.

21.3(c.). Number Of Jobs Applied For: Gender - Hinkley.

As might be expected, research findings pointed to females and males in Hinkley's 'care' as being more attentive job applicants than their 'non-care' counterparts at the time of the first round of interviews. A member from each of the gender 'care' samples applied for 10 to 14 jobs when these interviews took place while, in contrast, the Borough's 'non-care' females were slow to start their job search with 44% of them having made no job applications by the time they left school.

The second round of interviews revealed a sharp increase in the number of job applications made by Hinkley's unemployed females. Of those not in the Borough's 'care' 33% applied for 5 to 9 jobs, 50% made 10 to 14 applications and another 17% enquired after 15 to 19 jobs. The job search efforts of Hinkley's unemployed 'care' females was even more strenuous with 67% of them applying for 20 to 24 jobs.

The rate at which Hinkley's unemployed males made job applications also accelerated. Of 'non-care' males 17% applied for 5 to 9 jobs, 33% applied for 10 to 14 jobs as did another 33% who made 15 to 19 applications, while a further 17% made 20 to 24 applications. The proportions of unemployed males in 'care' who submitted numbers of job applications which fell into each of these ranges was 9%, 27%, 45% and 18%, respectively. As a result, the second round of interviews indicated that 'care' status was less important than gender in predicting the number of job applications made by unemployed males than females.

However, Table 21.3. shows that 'care' status was more important than gender in determining the success of respondents' job search efforts. Only 38% of females, and 21% of males in Hinkley's 'care' were employed at the time of the second round of interviews compared with 63% and 57% of the Borough's 'non-care' females and males, respectively.

The higher rate of employment among 'non-care' respondents meant that the collapse in the number of jobs applied for by the unemployed between the second and third rounds of interviews most profoundly affected them, irrespective of their gender. While some of these young people continued to look for work intensively when the fieldwork phase of the study came to an end only 2 females and 3 males not in 'care' were unemployed compared with 5 females and 7 males in 'care'.

21.3(d.). Number Of Jobs Applied For: Gender - Ingleby.

Table 21.3. shows that when first interviewed none of Ingleby's 'care' respondents compared with 21% and 14% of its 'non-care' females and males, respectively, fell into the Table's zero job applications category, indicating that its membership was more closely associated with respondents' 'care' status than with their gender.

Yet, Table 21.3. also shows that while the same proportions (43%) of Ingleby's 'care' and 'non-care' females and 'non-care' males had made 1 to 4 applications before leaving school a larger part (57%) of its male 'care' group had done so. Consequently, while gender did not differentiate the proportions of 'non-care' respondents who applied for this number of jobs it was a more influential differentiating factor with regard to those in the Borough's 'care'.

However, this situation was reversed with respect to the distribution of respondents who reported making 5 to 9 job applications when first interviewed. The responses of 'non-care' respondents who fell into this category at this time were differentiated by gender while those of young people in 'care' were not.

Although, no respondents applied for more than 10 to 14 jobs when first interviewed the second round of interviews discovered that a burst of job search activity took place once they had left school. Of unemployed respondents those in Ingleby's 'care' seemed the most active job seekers; 33% of unemployed 'care' females made 10 to 14 applications since first being interviewed, a further 17% reported applying for 15 to 19 jobs in this period while the remaining 50% claimed to have submitted 20 to 24 applications. In contrast, unemployed 'non-care' females appeared to have a much less active search with 50% of them making only 5 to 9 applications and a further 50% applying for 10 to 14 jobs.

The divergence in the numbers of job applications made by unemployed males of differing 'care' status, though not as pronounced as for females displayed a pattern which pointed to unemployed males in Ingleby's 'care' putting more effort into making applications than did their 'non-care' gender counterparts. Research findings reveal that while the 50% of both Ingleby's 'care' and 'non-care' males made 15 to 19 applications the remaining 50% of the latter applied for 10 to 14 jobs. In comparison, the same proportion of males in 'care' made 20 to 24 applications.

The effort females in Ingleby's 'care' appeared to have put into applying for jobs appeared to pay off with 57% of them reporting that they were employed when interviewed for a second time. However, with females in 'care' making more job applications than their 'non-care' counterparts those made by the former had a higher failure rate than did those of the latter.

The comparative levels of employment of males in, and not in Ingleby's 'care' most vividly illustrated the differing receptions job applications from young people of differing 'care' status met with from prospective employers. Only 43% of males in 'care' were working when interviewed for a second time, the lowest employment rate of all Ingleby's 'care' status-gender respondents' groups. In comparison 71% 'non-care' males had jobs, even though they made fewer applications than males in 'care'.

As occurred in Hinkley, for some reason job applications by males and females in Ingleby's 'care' were not as well received by employers as those made their 'non-care' counterparts. This may have been because 'care' respondents were not so good at completing application forms, or asking employers for jobs, or coping with interviews etc.

Yet, given the similar levels of educational attainment of all the young people who took part in the study and the help available to those in 'care' from social work staff these reasons do not amount to 'good enough' explanation of the high failure rate of their job applications. The need to investigate the possibility that the social definition of young people in 'care' may have unfavourably pre-conditioned employers' responses to them, is once again demonstrated and will be considered later in this thesis (see Chapter 23.).

The fall in the number of jobs applied for by Ingleby's respondents in the period between the second and third round of interviews meant that 50% of unemployed 'non-care' females made no job applications, while the same proportion of them applied for 5 to 9 jobs. In comparison, 25%, 50% and 25% of unemployed 'care' females reported making 1 to 4, 5 to 9 jobs and 10 to 14 job applications, respectively, in this period. As all local 'non-care' males were employed at the end of the fieldwork phase of the study they had ceased to make job applications, but some males in 'care' remained jobless. Of these 25% made 1 to 4 applications, 50% made 5 to 9 applications and 25% submitted 10 to 14 applications.

21.2(e.). Number Of Jobs Applied For: Racial Presentation - Hinkley.

Prior to leaving school 7% of Hinkley Black 'non-care' respondents failed to make any job applications, 43% made from 1 to 4 applications and 50% applied from 5 to 9 jobs. In comparison, the Borough's Black 'care' respondents appeared to put more effort into their early job search with 36% of them making 1 to 4 applications, 50% making 5 to 9 applications and 14% making 10 to 14 applications.

The situation with regard to Hinkley's White respondents was similar with those in 'care' making more applications before leaving school than did their 'non-care' peers. Table 21.4. shows that 13% of White 'care' and 31% of White 'non-care' respondents made no applications before the first interview while 44% of the former and 63% of the latter made 1 to 4 applications. More significantly, only 25% of White 'non-care', compared to 38% of White 'care' respondents made from 5 to 9 job applications.

The second round of interviews showed that of Hinkley's unemployed Black 'non-care' respondents 20% had applied for 5 to 9 jobs since first being interviewed, 27% made 10 to 14 applications with the same proportion of them applying for 15 to 19 jobs. Although only 10% and 20% of the Borough's unemployed Black 'care' respondents made 5 to 9 and 10 to 14 job applications, respectively, another 30% of these young people made 15 to 19 applications, while a further 40% reported applying for between 20 and 24 jobs. These figures testify to the increase in the job search of Black 'care' and 'non-care' respondents after they had left school.

The job search of Hinkley's unemployed White 'non-care' and 'care' respondents also increased once they left school with those in 'care' making more job applications than those who were not. Of 'non-care' Whites 14% made 5 to 9 applications, 43% made 10 to 14 applications, 29% applied for 15 to 19 jobs while the remaining 14% of these young people reported making 20 to 24 applications. Of the Borough's unemployed White respondents 20% had submitted 10 to 14 applications since first being interviewed and another 40% had applied for an additional 15 to 19 jobs, while the same proportion of these young people made 20 to 24 in this period.

The second round of interviews also revealed that the frequency with which job applications were made was predicted more by respondent's 'care' status than by their racial presentation. The varying employment rates of respondent groups was also more closely associated with respondents' 'care' status than racial presentations with the job search of Hinkley's Black and White 'non-care' respondents being much more sucessful than that of Black and White 'care' respondents (see Table 21.4.).

The third round of interviews found, yet again, a slump in the number of jobs applied for, since the second round, by respondents who remained unemployed at the end of their first year on the labour market. It was a decline evidenced in all respondent groups, irrespective of 'care' status and racial presentation.

At the end of the research period the employment differential identified by the second round of interviews, between Black and White 'care' and 'non-care' respondents had become entrenched. Table 21.4. shows that at this time there were much lower, almost identical levels of employment amomg Hinkley's Black and White 'care' respondents than among those, regardless of racial presentation, not in the Borough's 'care'.

21.3(f.). Number Of Jobs Applied For: Racial Presentation - Ingleby.

Table 21.4. shows, as might now be expected, that Black and White 'care' respondents made more job applications than their 'non-care' peers while still at school. The surge in the number of job applications recorded in the course of the second round of interviews was contributed to by all respondent groups. Unemployed Black respondents not in Ingleby's 'care' were all actively searching for work with 25% of them having applied for 5 to 9 jobs since the first interview. A further 50% of these young people made 10 to 14 applications in this period while another 25% applied for 15 to 19 jobs.

Ingleby's unemployed Black 'care' respondents were even more assiduous in their search for work; 40% of them applied for 10 to 14 jobs, 20% for 15 to 19 jobs while the remaining 40% made 20 to 24 applications. This additional effort appeared to pay off with the same proportions of the Borough's Black 'care' and 'non-care' respondents being employed when the second round of interviews took place.

Nevertheless, the success rate of job applications made by Black 'care' respondents was lower than that of those made by their 'non-care' counterparts.

Only two of Ingleby's 'non-care' Whites were jobless when the second round of interviews took place. Of these, one made 5 to 9 job applications since first being interviewed while the other made 10 to 14 additional applications. In comparison the Borough's White unemployed 'care' respondents had been much more energetic about finding work with 40% of them having made 15 to 19 job applications and 60% applying for 20 to 24 vacancies once they had left school.

Nevertheless, the effort White respondents in Ingleby's 'care' put into finding work was to be nullified by the high failure rate of their job applications. The differential between the 80% of White 'non-care' and 50% of White 'care' respondents employed at the time of the second round of interviews is symptomatic of the disadvantage the latter were at on the labour market.

However, with only 55% of Ingleby's 'non-care' Black respondents employed half way through their first year on the labour market it seems that labour market racism depressed their employment prospects. Unfettered by this problem the employment rate of the Borough's 'non-care' Whites, as we have seen above, was far higher.

The characteristic decline in the number of job applications made by all unemployed respondents in the period leading up to the third round of interviews was accompanied by a shift in the pattern of their employment. Table 21.4. shows that by the end of the fieldwork phase of the study, 82% and 90% of Ingleby's Black and White, 'non-care' respondents, respectively, were employed compared to 55% of the Borough's Black, and 70% of its White 'care' respondents indicating, the 'care' status and racial presentation of Black 'care' respondents combined to give them a particularly low employment rate.

21.4. Indicator J3: Geographical Extent Of Job Search.

Measurement of J3. involved asking respondents to estimate the distance, in miles, between them and the most distant employers to whom they had applied for work in the period leading up to each round of interviews. While this approach did not register how many applications were made to employers at specified distances it provided an indication of the willingness of respondents to travel to work and of their dependence on local labour markets.

21.4(a.). Geographical Extent Of Job Search: 'Care' Status.

Tables 21.5. and 21.6. show that when first interviewed, 40% of Hinkley's, and 43% of Ingleby's 'care' respondents restricted their job search to a radius of 2 miles even larger proportions of 'non-care' respondents did so i.e. 80% of Hinkley's, and 95% of Ingleby's. Respondents with such a confined geographical extent of job search often attributed this to their delaying the attempt to find work until they had left school.

Nevertheless, whereas a majority of all 'non-care' respondents had not applied for work further than 2 miles from where they lived only a minority of young people in 'care' had limited their efforts to find employment in this way, with 59% of them applying for more distant jobs. The reasons for this disparity appears to have been the efforts residential social workers put into trying to ensure young people in 'care' had a job to go to on leaving school and their awareness of the urgent need to get a job if they were to sustain their looming independence. Thus, when these young people were asked how far they would be prepared to travel to work the phrase "as far as I need to" kept recurring.

The characteristically limited geographical extent of nearly all 'non-care' respondents' job search prior to leaving school contrasted with its expansion at the time of the second round of interviews when none of these young people, and only 1 'care' respondent continued to restrict their job applications to employers within a range of 2 miles.

Table 21.5. Geographical Extent Of Job Search: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Gender.

GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT OF JOB SEARCH: MILES.*		'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
		FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)	FEMALE (n=16)	MALE (n=14)	FEMALE (n=14)	MALE (n=7)
0-2.	1st. Interview.	7(44%)	5(36%)	7(50%)	2(29%)	14(88%)	10(71%)	13(93%)	7(100%)
	2nd. Interview.			1(7%)					
	3rd. Interview.								
3-5.	1st. Interview.	6(38%)	3(21%)	5(36%)	3(43%)	1(6%)	4(29%)	1(7%)	
	2nd. Interview.	2(13%)	1(7%)	1(7%)		1(6%)	1(7%)	1(7%)	
	3rd. Interview.	1(6%)	2(14%)						
6-8.	1st. Interview.	2(13%)	5(36%)	1(7%)	2(29%)	1(6%)			
	2nd. Interview.	6(38%)	5(36%)	1(7%)	2(29%)	3(19%)	3(21%)	2(14%)	1(14%)
	3rd. Interview.	1(6%)	1(7%)		1(14%)	2(13%)	2(14%)		
9-11.	1st. Interview.	1(6%)	1(7%)						
	2nd. Interview.		3(21%)	1(7%)	1(14%)	1(6%)			
	3rd. Interview.	1(6%)	1(7%)	2(14%)	2(29%)				
12-12+	1st. Interview.			1(7%)					
	2nd. Interview.	1(6%)	2(14%)	2(14%)	1(14%)	1(6%)	2(14%)	1(7%)	1(14%)
	3rd. Interview.	2(13%)	3(21%)	2(14%)	1(14%)		1(7%)	2(14%)	
Employed.	1st. Interview.								
	2nd. Interview.	6(38%)	3(21%)	8(57%)	3(43%)	10(63%)	8(57%)	9(64%)	5(71%)
	3rd. Interview.	10(63%)	7(50%)	10(71%)	3(43%)	14(88%)	11(79%)	11(79%)	7(100%)
Respondent Lost To Research.	1st. Interview.								
	2nd. Interview.	1(6%)						1(7%)	
	3rd. Interview.	1(6%)						1(7%)	

* Job applications counted at 1st interview are those made in respondents last year at school.
Job applications counted at 2nd interview are those made between it and the 1st interview.
Job applications counted at the 3rd interview are those made between it and the 2nd interview.

Table 21.6. Geographical Extent Of Job Search: 'Care' Status/Borough Of Residence/Racial Presentation.

GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT OF JOB SEARCH: MILES.*		'CARE' (n=51)				'NON-CARE' (n=51)			
		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)		HINKLEY (n=30)		INGLEBY (n=21)	
		BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)	BLACK (n=14)	WHITE (n=16)	BLACK (n=11)	WHITE (n=10)
0-2.	1st. Interview.	7(50%)	5(31%)	4(50%)	5(50%)	11(93%)	13(63%)	11(93%)	9(90%)
	2nd. Interview.			1(9%)					
	3rd. Interview.								
3-5.	1st. Interview.	3(21%)	6(38%)	5(45%)	3(30%)	3(21%)	2(13%)		1(10%)
	2nd. Interview.	2(14%)	1(6%)	1(9%)			2(13%)	1(9%)	
	3rd. Interview.	2(14%)	1(6%)						
6-8.	1st. Interview.	4(29%)	3(19%)	1(9%)	2(20%)		1(6%)		
	2nd. Interview.	7(50%)	4(25%)		3(30%)	3(21%)	3(21%)	1(9%)	2(20%)
	3rd. Interview.	1(7%)	1(6%)	1(9%)		3(21%)	1(6%)		
9-11.	1st. Interview.		2(13%)						
	2nd. Interview.	1(7%)	2(13%)	1(9%)	1(10%)	1(7%)			
	3rd. Interview.	1(7%)	1(6%)	2(18%)	2(20%)				
12-12+	1st. Interview.			1(9%)					
	2nd. Interview.		3(19%)	2(18%)	1(10%)	1(7%)	2(13%)	2(18%)	
	3rd. Interview.	2(14%)	3(91%)	2(18%)	1(10%)		1(6%)	1(9%)	1(10%)
Employed.	1st. Interview.								
	2nd. Interview.	4(29%)	5(31%)	6(55%)	5(50%)	9(64%)	9(56%)	6(55%)	8(80%)
	3rd. Interview.	8(57%)	9(56%)	6(55%)	7(70%)	11(79%)	14(88%)	9(82%)	9(90%)
Respondent Lost To Research.	1st. Interview.								
	2nd. Interview.		1(6%)					1(7%)	
	3rd. Interview.		1(6%)					1(7%)	

* Job applications counted at 1st interview are those made in respondents last year at school.
Job applications counted at 2nd interview are those made between it and the 1st interview.
Job applications counted at the 3rd interview are those made between it and the 2nd interview.

Thus, the surge of job applications which occurred between the first and second rounds of interviews was accompanied by an expansion in the geographical extent of respondents' search for work e.g. the proportion of unemployed 'care' respondents whose search ranged from 6 to 8 miles climbed from 20% at the first round of interviews to 47% at the second while the proportion of 'non-care' respondents who had this range of search increased from 2% to 50% over the same period.

The frequency with which 'care' and 'non-care' respondents reported having a job search of 6 miles or more calls into doubt simplistic ideas about school leavers dependence of local labour markets, as nearly all employers at this distance were located outside of the boroughs in which these young people lived. It needs to be recognized that there are no labour markets which are definitively local and that they and the local economies, of which they are part, stretch out beyond borough boundaries to overlap and coalesce with macro labour markets and economies. In essence, there is only one labour market and it is geographical accessibility, not geographical vicinity, which determines that part which falls into young peoples' radius of job search. The following young person summarized the views of many respondent in this regard:

> *"I don't mind what I do and I don't mind having to travel to a job. I just want a job, but if I get something that is too far away I will have to use the bus or underground and that takes forever".*
>
> (Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).

Although the third round of interviews witnessed a drop in the number of job applications made by all respondent groups Tables 21.5. and 21.6. show it was also marked by a further increase in the geographical extent of the job search made by those young people who remained unemployed. With 40% of all such young people in, and 43% of those not in 'care' reporting that they had applied for jobs with firms at a distance of 12, or more miles larger proportions of jobless 'care' and 'non-care' respondents sought work beyond the confines of their own and neighbouring boroughs than at any other time in the research study. Whilst this may have been an act of desperation it also reflected a learning process whereby the preparedness of young people to extend their job search increased as they discovered the problems of gaining employment close to their homes.

21.4(b.). Geographical Extent Of Job Search: Borough Of Residence.

At the time of the first interview 40% and 80% of Hinkley's 'care' and 'non-care' respondents, respectively, compared with 43% of Ingleby's 'care' and 95% of its 'non-care' respondents limited their job search to a range of 2 miles. Consequently respondents' limitation of their job search to this range differed more in terms of their 'care' status than borough of residence.

When attention is turned to the proportions of the sample groups who applied for jobs up to a distance of 5 miles when first interviewed a differential of 13% separated Hinkley's 'care' and 'non-care' respondents with this geographical extent of job search. The proportions the 'care' status groups who did likewise differed by 33%.

In comparison, differentials of 8% and 12% were found between the proportions of Hinkley's and Ingleby's 'care' and 'non-care' respondents, respectively, whose search reached from 3 to 5 miles. As the differential between the proportions of same 'care' status samples having this extent of search was less than that between the different 'care' status samples from the same borough the first round of interviews indicated that respondents' distribution in the 3 to 5 miles range was predicted more by their 'care' status than their borough of residence.

The frequency with which respondents reported, when first interviewed, making job applications to employers located 6 to 8 miles from where they lived was also more strongly associated with 'care' status than borough of residence. A 20% gap was discovered between the 23% of Hinkley's 'care' and 3% of its 'non-care' respondents who had applied for jobs at this distance. In Ingleby 14% of 'care', but none of their 'non-care' counterparts had this range of search.

As only 2 respondents, both in Hinkley's 'care', had a job search which extended from 9 to 11 miles when first interviewed it is impossible to state with any confidence whether or not this was more reliably predicted by their 'care' status than by their borough of residence. The same is true for the sole respondent, a young person in Ingleby's 'care', whose search fell into the 12 to 12+ range. However, the generally more extensive geographical job search of 'care' respondents, compared to those not in 'care', prior to leaving school suggests that their 'care' status was more closely associated with the geographical extent of their job search than was borough of residence.

The second round of interviews discovered only 1 respondent (a female in Ingleby's 'care') who continued to limit her job search to 0 to 2 miles. When respondents who were employed or lost to the research are discounted a narrow inter-borough differential appeared between the 16% of all Hinkley's and 13% of all Ingleby's remaining respondents who had applied for work with employers located from 3 to 5 miles from their homes since first being interviewed.

The second round of interviews also revealed that of unemployed respondents 55% and 50% of those in and not in Hinkley's 'care', respectively, together with 50% of Ingleby's 'non-care' and 30% of its 'care' respondents had a job search extending from 6 to 8 miles. As the same, or nearly the same proportions of the first three of these sub-samples reported having a job search of this extent, it seems that willingness and ability to look, and apply for work at this distance was not discernibly affected by 'care' status or borough of residence. The comparatively small proportion of young people in Ingleby's 'care' who reported applying for jobs at a distance of 6 to 8 miles makes them appear an atypical group who are separated out in this category of geographical extent of job search from Ingleby's 'non-care' respondents by their 'care' status and by their their borough of residence from both the Hinkley sub-samples.

The proportions of the respondent groups, at the second round of interviews, falling into the 9 to 11 miles job search range were mixed. Of those who remained unemployed and continued to participate in the study only 15% of Hinkley's 'care' and 8% of its 'non-care' respondents, together with 20% of those in Ingleby's 'care' looked for work at this distance while none of its 'non-care' respondents did so. As these figures describe a series of differentials which are smaller between respondents from different boroughs, but of the same 'care' status than the differentials between respondents from the same borough, but of different 'care' status it seems 'care' status was more strongly associated than borough of residence with approaches to employers located 9 to 11 miles from respondents' homes.

However, 15% of Hinkley's 'care' and 25% of its 'non-care' samples also reported they had applied for work with employers 12 to 12+ miles away compared with 27% of Ingleby's 'care' and 33% of its 'non-care' respondents. Thus both Hinkley's 'care' status samples appeared less willing to look for work at this distance than did their Ingleby counterparts. Although it is not clear why this occurred it may be partially explained by the poor public transport systems servicing Hinkley which was, and is the only Inner London Borough without an Underground link.

When the third round of interviews took place 25% of unemployed respondents in Hinkley's 'care' continued to restrict the geographical extent of their job search to a range of 3 to 5 miles. As all local 'non-care' respondents and all young people in Ingleby's 'care' and 'non-care' respondents had abandoned this range of search it seems that the 'care' status and borough of residence of Hinkley's 'care' respondents were jointly associated with the limited range of their job search.

However, while none of Ingleby's 'non-care' respondents reported a search extending from 6 to 8 miles, 13% of its 'care' respondents, along with 17% and 60% of young people in, and not in Hinkley's 'care', respectively, did so. The implication of these findings is that while the third round of interviews revealed a significant inter-borough differential in the frequency with which unemployed 'non-care' respondents were found to have this extent of job search, no substantial difference was discovered between the Boroughs' 'care' respondents.

Yet, distribution of respondents in the 9 to 11 miles category was the reverse of that just described; none of Hinkley's and Ingleby's 'non-care' respondents applied for jobs at this distance while 17% of Hinkley's, and 50% of Ingleby's 'care' respondents had done so. When these findings and those for the 6 to 8 miles job search category are taken together it appears that with the passage of time 'care' status started to exert an almost random influence on the extent of this search. This is considered attributable to the steadily shrinking number of respondents who remained active job seekers as their peers either gained employment, or were lost to the research; the 50% of Ingleby's 'care' respondents whose job search extended from 9 to 11 miles at the time of the last interview consisted of just 4 individuals.

The 'skewing' of research results is most clearly demonstrated in the varying proportions of unemployed 'care' and 'non-care' respondents whose job search extended up to 12 or more miles at the time of the third interview. The differing sizes of the Hinkley and Ingleby samples meant that although only 1 of Hinkley's, and 2 of Ingleby's 'non-care' respondents claimed this having applied for jobs at this distance, since the second round of interviews, these young people were equivalent to 20% and 100%, respectively, of all such young people who remained unemployed in each Borough.

Moreover, while 3 of Ingleby's, and 5 of Hinkley's 'care' respondents slotted into the 12 to 12+ miles category they only accounted for 38% and 42%, respectively, of the young people who formed part of the enduring unemployed rump of the original sub-samples. Once again, that at the end of the fieldwork phase of the styudy the rate of unemployment among young people in Hinkley's and Ingleby's 'care' was much higher than that of their local 'non-care' counterparts.

21.4(c.). Geographical Extent Of Job Search: Gender - Hinkley.

As might be expected, Table 21.5. shows that at the first round of interviews the tendency of respondents to limit the geographical extent of their job search from 0 to 2 miles varied more in terms of 'care' status than gender with smaller proportions of 'care' respondents than their 'non-care' gender counterparts restricting their search to this range.

An 8% (equivalent to 1 respondents) differential was detected between the proportions of males in, and not in Hinkley's 'care' who reported a geographical extent of job search ranging from 3 to 5 miles. In contrast a differential of 32% (equivalent to 5 respondents) separated the 38% 'care' and 6% of 'non-care' females whose job serach was also of this range. Therefore, it seems that although 'care' status did not significantly differentiate the frequencies with which male respondents applied for jobs at this distance, it exercised a much stronger influence where females were concerned.

Conversley, at the first interview membership of the 6 to 8 miles extent of job search category was the reverse of that just described. 'Care' status appeared to be associated with the proportions of Hinkley's 'non-care' (0%) and 'care' (36%) males located in this category, but was less important with regard local females with a differential of 7% (equivalent to 1 respondent) separating the proportions of those in and not in 'care' having this extent of search.

The first interview also discovered that while 6% and 7% of Hinkley's female and male 'care' respondents, respectively, applied for jobs 9 to 11 miles from where they lived no local 'non-care' respondents did so. As a result, the willingness of respondents to look for work at this distance at the time of this interview was predicted more by their 'care' status than gender.

The second round of interviews revealed that of unemployed respondents the same proportions (17%) of males and females not in Hinkley's 'care' looked no further than 3 to 5 miles for a job since first being interviewed compared with 22% of unemployed females and 9% of unemployed males in the Borough's 'care'. It seems that while 'care' status was more indicative of 'non-care' respondents' propensity to look for work at these distances, gender was an important predictive factor with regard to those in 'care'.

The willingness of unemployed respondents to apply for jobs at a distance of 6 to 8 miles at the time of the second round of interviews was demonstrated by a significant proportion of all respondent groups since leaving school. Table 21.5. shows that 50% and 67% of jobless 'non-care' and 'care' females, respectively, along with 50% of 'non-care', and 45% of 'care' males without work had job searches which extended up to 8 miles. This distribution of respondents describes a pattern which indicates that whilst membership of this category of geographical extent of job search was most closely associated with the 'care' status of 'non-care' respondents for those in 'care' gender proved, again, the most reliable predictor of their membership of it.

In addition, while none of Hinkley's 'care' females and 'non-care' males and only 1 of its 'non-care' females had a job search which stretched from 9 to 11 miles 3 (27%) males in its 'care' had looked this far for work. The domination of this category of job search by unemployed 'care' males goes some way to explaining their appearance as the minority group in some of those already discussed.

It was also found, at the second round of interviews, that the number of respondents having a job search range of 12 or more miles was evenly divided between respondents of differing 'care' status, but same gender. Hence, Table 21.5. shows that 1 'care' and 1 'non-care' females fell into this category along with 2 'care' and 2 'non-care' males. Whilst this suggests that gender was more important than 'care' status in determining the frequency with which respondents applied for work with firms at least 12 miles from their homes, these young people represented 17% and 11% of all unemployed 'care' and 'non-care' females, respectively, and 18% of 'care' and 33% of 'non-care' males without work. As a result, the frequencies with which males and females in Hinkley's 'care' and its 'non-care' females looked for employment at this distance emulated one another while the Borough's 'non-care' males made the most pronounced effort of all unemployed respondents to look for work this far away.

The third round of interviews found, in short, that the proportions of unemployed respondents in each category of geographical extent of job search varied more with 'care' status than gender. At the time these interviews took place more of Hinkley's 'non-care' males and females were employed than were their gender counterparts in 'care'. However, these young people were not in retreat, they had not given up the hope of getting a job with 40% of unemployed females and 43% of unemployed males in 'care' having a geographical extent of job search which extended to at least 12 miles.

21.4(d.). Geographical Extent Of Job Search: Gender - Ingleby.

With 93% of Ingleby's 'non-care' females and all its 'non-care' males confining their job search to a radius of 2 miles, when first interviewed, the differing genders of these young people was weakly associated with their respective tendencies to restrict their search to this distance.

Gender was a more important predictive factor with regard to 'care' respondents with a differential of 21% between the 50% of females and 29% of males in the Borough's 'care' who looked no further than 2 miles for work. However, as this differential was less than that separating them from their 'non-care' gender counterparts with this extent of job search membership of the 0 to 2 mile category, for all respondents groups, was linked more to their 'care' status than gender.

In addition, at the time of the first round of interviews 36% of Ingleby's 'care' and 7% of its 'non-care' females had a job search range of 3 to 5 miles as did 43% of males in the Borough's 'care' but no 'non-care' males. As a result, 'care' status was more closely associated with possession of this range of search than was gender.

Gender appeared to be a more important factor with regard to 'care' respondents' membership of Tables 21.5.'s 6 to 8 miles category. Only 7% of 'care' females compared with 29% of their male counterparts had applied for jobs at this distance when first interviewed. In contrast no 'non-care' females and males had a job search of this geographical extent.

No respondents at the time of the first interview applied for jobs between 9 to 11 miles away from where they lived while the only individual to have a job search of 12 or more miles was a female in Ingleby's 'care'. As a result of the paucity of respondents in these categories it is not considered that anything can be concluded about the relative importance gender and 'care' status as predictors of young people's membership of them.

Table 21.5. shows that by the time the second round of interviews took place the geographical extent of respondents' job search had expanded dramatically with the 0

to 2 miles category being abandoned, save a female in Ingleby's 'care'. This round of interviews also indicated that membership of the 3 to 5 miles category was influenced more by the gender of unemployed respondents than by their 'care' status; the differential of 8% (equivalent to less than 1 respondent) separating the 17% and 25% of Ingleby's unemployed 'care', and 'non-care' females, respectively, with a job search of this geographical extent was less than that between them and males of the same 'care' status, none of whom also had this extent of search.

The second round of interviews also indicated that membership of the 6 to 8 miles job search category was delineated neither by respondents' 'care' status nor gender with regard to Ingleby's unemployed 'non-care' males and females and 'care' males with 50% of each appearing in it. In contrast, only 17% of unemployed 'care' females applied for work at this distance from their homes since first being interviewed. As a result their membership of this category of extent of job search was differentiated from that of males in 'care' in terms of gender, from that of 'non-care' females in terms of their 'care' status, and from 'non-care' males in terms of both these factors.

The 9 to 11 mile job search category shows that, following the second round of interviews, with no unemployed 'non-care' females or males, but 17% and 25% of jobless 'care' females and males, respectively, having this extent of search membership of the category was predicted more by 'care' status than by gender.

A different pattern was observed with regard to the 12 to 12+ miles category with a narrow differential separating the 25% of 'non-care' females, the same proportion of males in 'care' and 33% of 'care' females whose search for work extended to this distance. In contrast 50% of local unemployed 'non-care' males were located in this category. However, with Table 21.5. showing that all other groups had as many, or more respondents in this category neither gender nor 'care' status can be classed as reliable predictors of the frequency with which respondents appeared in it.

At the end of their first year on the labour market none of Ingleby's unemployed respondents, irrespective of 'care' status and gender, appeared in Tables 0 to 2 miles and 3 to 5 miles geographical extent of job search categories, while only 1 (a male in 'care') had a search of 6 to 8 miles. Thus the status and genders of respondents could not be used to predict membership of these categories. The same also applies with regard to the 12 to 12 plus miles category with the same proportions (14%) of unemployed female 'care' and 'non-care' female and males in 'care' applied for jobs at this distance since their second interview.

With no 'non-care' respondents appearing in the 9 to 11 miles category compared with 14% and 29% of unemployed females and males, respectively, in Ingleby's 'care' these young people were more prepared to approach employers at this distance for work was greater than that of either the Borough's 'non-care' gender sub-samples. Nevertheless, the frequencies with which local jobless 'care' respondents' reported having job searches of this extent was delineated by their differing genders.

However, the most important aspect of the results derived from the third round of interviews concerns the employment levels of Ingleby's respondents. These showed, perhaps surprisingly, that the employment levels of local 'care' and 'non-care' females were comparable with 71% of the former and 79% of the latter employed. It seems the differing 'care' status of these young people did not make too much difference to their chances of getting a job by the end of their first year on the labour market.

Unfortunately the same cannot be said for Ingleby's male respondents with the full employment enjoyed by 'non-care' males contrasting starkly with employment levels of their 'care' counterparts of whom only 43% had a job by the end of the research period. This was particularly worrying as the proportion of these males in a job had not increased since the second round of interviews.

21.4(e.). Geographical Extent Of Job Search: Racial Presentation - Hinkley.

When first interviewed the geographical extent of Hinkley's 'care' respondents' job search, irrespective of their racial presentation, was greater than that of their 'non-care' counterparts. Table 21.6 shows that at the time of the first round of interviews 93% of Black, and 63% of White the Borough's 'non-care' respondents and 50% of its Black, and 31% of White 'care' respondents restricted their job search to 2 miles.

However, whilst the proportions of White 'care' and 'non-care' respondents with a job search range of 3 to 5 miles differed by 25%, no differential was found between the proportions of Black 'care' and 'non-care' sub-samples with this extent of search. It seems that although White respondents' membership of the 3 to 5 miles category was differentiated by their varying 'care' status its divisive influence was overridden, with regard to all Black respondents, by their shared racial presentation.

Yet, Table 21.6. warns against too easily assuming that the common racial presentation of Black 'care' and 'non-care' respondents unified the geographical limits to their job search. The Table's 6 to 8 miles category quickly disabuses us of such a notion, showing that when first interviewed 29% of Hinkley's Black 'care' respondents fell into this category while none of their 'non-care' counterparts did so. As White membership this category also split along lines of 'care' status this appeared to predict its membership.

The 9 to 11 miles and 12 to 12+ miles categories of job search were thinly populated at the time of the first interview. Their only occupants were 2 White 'care' respondents who claimed to have applied for jobs situated from 9 to 11 miles from the residential establishment in which they lived. As 'non-care' Whites failed to implement similarly extensive job search, 'care' status once again differentiated Hinkley's White respondent sub-samples.

The second round of interviews showed that all respondent sub-samples had expanded their job search beyond a radius of 2 miles, while Black 'non-care' respondents were also conspicuous by their absence in the 3 to 5 miles geographical extent of job search category which was occupied by 20% of unemployed Black 'care' and 10% and 29% of Hinkley's unemployed White 'care' and 'non-care' respondents, respectively. This distribution implies that membership of the category was no more closely associated with racial presentation than with 'care' status.

With 70% of Hinkley's unemployed Black 'care' respondents appearing in the 6 to 8 miles category of Table 21.6. many of these young people were looking for work beyond the Borough's boundaries. In comparison 60% of its unemployed Black 'non-care' respondents together with 43% and 40% of unemployed White 'non-care' and 'care' respondents, respectively, were found in this category. As these findings show that the proportions of the sample groups with a 6 to 8 miles extent of search differed more in terms of their racial presentation than 'care' status, it seems that membership of the category was predicted more by the former than the latter variable.

Furthermore, 20% and 10% of Hinkley's unemployed Black 'non-care' and 'care' respondents, respectively, had job searches which extended from 9 to 11 miles. In comparison, none of the Borough's unemployed 'non-care' White and 26% of its White 'care' respondents had searches of this extent.

Table 21.6. indicates that membership of its 12 to 12+ miles category was primarily White with 29% and 30% of unemployed White 'non-care' and 'care' respondents, respectively, looking this far afield for work. None of Hinkley unemployed Black 'care' and 20% its Black 'non-care' respondents extended their job searchs to this distance.

The third round of interviews revealed respondents' continued abandonment of the 0 to 2 miles category of search and while none of Hinkley's unemployed 'non-care' respondents were located within the 3 to 5 miles category, 20% and 10% of the Borough's unemployed Black and White 'care' respondents, respectively, were. As a result, membership of the category appeared to be predicted more by 'care' status than racial presentation.

Analysis of the 6 to 8 miles category reveals its popularity with unemployed Black and White 'non-care' respondents as it contained all but 1 of these young people. Membership of this category was not so popular with unemployed 'care' respondents with 17% of those who were Black, and the same proportion of those who were White, searching for work up to 8 miles away from where they lived.

With no unemployed members of Hinkley's Black and White 'non-care' samples but 17% of both unemployed Black and White 'care' respondents found in Table 21.6.'s 9 to 11 mile category, at the end of the research period its memberships was more reliably predicted by 'care' status than by racial presentation. However, the 17% differential between the proportions of each 'care' and 'non-care' sample is accounted for by just 1 unemployed respondent.

The 12 to 12+ miles category is interesting showing that with 33% of Hinkley's unemployed Black 'care' respondents slotting into it the extent of this group's job search had become polarized with the largest parts of it found, in equal proportions, at the time of the third interview, in the most restricted (3 to 5 miles) and expansive (12 to 12+ miles) ranges of search still in use.

In comparison, 50% of local unemployed White 'care' respondents reported that they had job searches which extended for at least 12 miles as did the same proportion of unemployed 'non-care' Whites. As the 12% differential between the proportions of Hinkley's unemployed Black and White 'care' respondents with this extent of job search was accounted for by 1 respondent, that person's presence in the 12 to 12+ miles category does not necessarily indicate anything about the relative importance of these young people's racial presentation and 'care' status as predictors of their willingness, or ability to look for work at this distance.

21.4(f.). Geographical Extent Of Job Search: Racial Presentation - Ingleby.

The first round of interviews in Ingleby, as in Hinkley, revealed that Black and White 'care' respondents searched more extensively for work prior to leaving school than did their 'non-care' peers. Table 21.6. shows that all of Ingleby's Black, and 90% of its White 'non-care' respondents restricted their job search to no more than 2 miles compared with 36% and 50% of the Borough's Black and White, respectively, 'care' respondents. This distribution is indicative of a situation in which membership of this category was predicted more by 'care' status than by racial presentation.

The concentration of Ingleby's 'non-care' respondents in the 0 to 2 miles category meant that their 'care' counterparts appeared more frequently in all remaining categories of geographical extent of job search listed in Table 21.6. (with the exception of the 9 to 11 miles category in which no respondents appeared). Thus, examination of the Table's 3 to 5 miles and 6 to 8 miles categories shows that, not only, were they more heavily populated by Black and White 'care', than Black and White 'non-care' respondents, but also that 'care' status was more closely associated with membership of them.

With only 1 respondent, a young Black person in Ingleby's 'care', occupying the 12 to 12+ miles category when the first round of interviews took place it cannot confidently be said that the extent of this young person's job search was more the product of her 'care' status than of her racial presentation. However, in view of the generally more extensive geographical job search efforts of 'care' than 'non-care' respondents in the period leading up to their leaving school it seems reasonable to assume that the extent of this respondent's search was positively correlated with her 'care' status.

In the intervening period between the first and second interviews only 1 respondent, a young Black person in Ingleby's 'care', continued to restrict the extent of her job search to a maximum of 2 miles while no White respondents looked less than 5 miles for work. In contrast, 20% and 25% of unemployed Black 'care' and 'non-care' respondents, respectively, had a search which ranged from 3 to 5 miles. As a result, this geographical extent of job search appears to have been more closely associated with respondents' racial presentation than with their 'care' status.

Membership of the 6 to 8 miles category was much more random. With all unemployed 'non-care' Whites and 60% of their counterparts in 'care', appearing in this category accompanied by 25% of unemployed 'non-care' Blacks, but no 'care' respondents of this racial presentation, all that can be said is that White respondents, irrespective of 'care' status, were much more likely to have this extent of job search than those who were Black. However, the differentials between the proportions of all respondent groups who reported applying for jobs located from 6 to 8 miles from their homes were so wide that all conclusions concerning the predictive powers of 'care' status and racial presentation concerning respondents' willingness to look for work at this distance must be tentative.

A point of separation between Ingleby's unemployed 'care' and 'non-care' respondents concerned those whose job search fell into the 9 to 11 miles category at the time of the second round of interviews. No unemployed Black and White 'non-care' respondents featured in this category compared with 20% of both the local 'care' sub-samples still looking for work. As a result, membership of this category seems to have been correlated more with 'care' status than racial presentation. However, if such an association existed it was weak as just 1 Black and 1 White 'care' respondent had applied for job with firms at this distance since first being interviewed.

In all 50% of Ingleby's unemployed Black 'care' and 40% of its Black 'non-care' respondents had expanded the radius of job search since first being interviewed. In comparison only 20% of White 'care' and no 'non-care' Whites had done so. Thus, the willingness to look for work at this distance appeared was more closely associated with the racial presentation of respondents than with their 'care' status.

As the fieldwork phase of the research study drew to a close, the third round of interviews found that all of Ingleby's unemployed respondents, irrespective of their 'care' status and racial presentation, had expanded the geographical extent of their job search. As a result, only 1 respondent restricted his job search to less than 9 miles.

Table 21.6. shows that with 2 (40%) unemployed Black and 2 (67%) unemployed White 'care' respondents claiming to have job searches of 9 to 11 miles the differential of 27% between them was less than that separating either from their 'non-care' counterparts in this category. Consequently, membership of it was predicted more by 'care' status than racial presentation. The same conclusion applies to the 12 to 12+ miles category of extent of job search category. A differential of 7% stood between the proportions of unemployed Black and White 'care' respondents with this extent of search in comparison to that of 60% between unemployed Black 'care' and 'non-care' respondents, and of 77% between unemployed White 'care' and 'non-care' respondents.

21.5. Summary: Experimental Variable N. - Respondent Unemployment.

Measurements of respondents' job search attempted to test out the notion, inherent in the social definition of young people in 'care', that they are unusually prone to unemployment because they do not look for work so attentively as their 'non-care' peers. The strategy adopted towards the accomplishment of this task consisted of focusing on the differing degrees to which the young people who participated in the study suffered from search unemployment and of monitoring the levels of employment of 'care' and 'non-care' respondents during their first year on the labour market.

As search unemployment is all about the time and effort individuals put into finding work it is necessarily concerned with identifying the extent to which the unemployed are active job seekers. Measurements made of the job search efforts of unemployed respondents tried to establish whether, or not they had become economically inactive.

In short, use of the indicators developed to measure the assiduousness of respondents' job search efforts seemed to invalidate the presentation of young people in 'care' as less rigourous in their search for work than others of their age. Research findings indicated that the sources of information used by 'care' and 'non-care' respondents to find out about vacancies, the number of jobs they applied for and and the extent of their job search were all comparable.

Moreover, in some respects the job search efforts of 'care' respondents were more impressive than those of their 'non-care' counterparts as was demonstrated by the effort the former put into finding a job before leaving school. In other ways research results provided some surprises as the use young people in 'care' made of relatives to find work was demonstrated.

Ultimately, the research repudiates the depiction of young people in 'care' as having a restricted job search and of being, essentially, work shy. It is a proposition which has never made much sense given the overriding imperative, shared by very few other young people, those in 'care' have to find and sustain themselves in employment if they are to cope with their imminent independence.

Yet, this Chapter has shown that the level of unemployment among 'care' respondents remained, stubbornly, much higher than that of their 'non-care' counterparts. There may be a number of explanations for this and one of them might be that its is a reflection of the way these young people are perceived by their teachers, prospective employers and the public. These are matters which will now be turned to Part 3.2. of this thesis.

PART 3.2

RESEARCH FINDINGS: THE TARGET GROUPS

Introduction.

Discussion of the study's findings has so been confined to those arising out of the use of its 'tracer' groups (i.e. 'care' and 'non-care' respondents) which allowed; a.) some of the assumed differences between young people in, and not in 'care' to be tested; b.) an examination of the validity of defining young people in 'care' as unusually deviant to be provided, and; c) an assessment made of the implications this definition had for the number of job opportunities available to them.

From Part 3.1. it should be clear that 'care' respondents' were not fundamentally different from their 'non-care' counterparts. Indeed, respondents' borough of residence, gender and racial presentation were often more important than 'care' status in differentiating them with regard to the previously discussed experimental variables. Therefore, the study's findings dispute the validity of defining young people in 'care' in a way which portrays them as innately different from others of their age. In general, 'care' and 'non-care' respondents proved to be more similar than dissimilar.

Yet, the study's 'care' respondents found it much harder than their 'non-care' counterparts to get a job. While the anomic nature of the social definition applied to the former may have contributed to this the information gained through the use of the 'tracers' does no more than suggests that this was the case. More convincing 'proof' can only be provided by members of powerful defining groups whose perception of these young people are capable of influencing the employment chance available to them. To acquire such 'proof' teachers, employers and the public were 'targeted' and it is their opinions of young people in 'care' which are of most interest to the study.

Although, the selection and importance of the 'target' groups have previously been discussed two further points need to be made with respect to them:

1. As the 'target' groups were used as a means of measuring how young people in 'care' are defined, no attempt was made to question the members of these groups about young people not in 'care'.

2. Questions asked of 'target' groups' members did not require them to differentiate between young people in 'care' in terms of their borough of residence, gender and racial presentation. It was considered that to have asked them to do so would have caused confusion, risked the loss of their co-operation and lead to respondent overload.

This part of the thesis commences with an account of research findings derived from interviews with teachers and is followed by a discussion those gained from employers before closing with an examination of the public's perception of young people in local authority residential 'care'. Discussion will attempt to make clear the methodological approach taken with regard to each of the 'target' groups and, in so doing the debt owed to the pilot study is acknowledged.

Chapter 22.

'Target' Group: Teachers.

22.1. Introduction.

The link between educational attainment and employment, the dependence of school leavers on teachers as providers of job references, and the emphasis the literature and 'expert' opinion place on teachers' perceptions of young people in 'care' as determinants of their employment prospects, demanded that the research study attempted to identify teachers' views of these young people. Consideration was given to undertaking this task by interviewing all the staff at the schools attended by the study's 'care' respondents but as this would have taken an inordinate amount of time and strained the goodwill of the education authority, it was decided to adopt a less ambitious approach and restrict interviews to the form teachers of these young people. Although this represented something of a compromise it was considered acceptable as these teachers had more contact with them than did their colleagues.

As the participation of all schools in the fieldwork phase of the main study was conditional on their anonymity being respected they cannot be named and shall be referred to as the Hinkley, and Ingleby schools. The Hinkley schools were all, with the exception of one, large, co-educational, purpose built state comprehensives dating from the late 1960's and early 1970's which had fallen into varying states of disrepair. All the schools had a high turnover rate of staff and the level of educational attainment in Hinkley, at the time the study took place, was lower than in nearly all other parts of the ILEA area (1.).

In many respects the Ingleby's schools were similar to Hinkley's being of the same type and age. However, the level of of academic attainment achieved by Ingleby's schools was slightly higher than in Hinkley's.

Teachers questioned in Hinkley and Ingleby were asked to consider the thematic description the literature and expert opinion offer of young people in care. This provided interviews with them with the necessary minimum structure needed to focus respondents on matters of interest to the research whilst, adherence to a non-directive interview technique encouraged them to develop their own thoughts and provided the opportunity for any promising 'leads' to be followed up. It was an approach towards the task of interviewing which was not just concerned with obtaining answers to questions about young people in 'care', but also with identifying teachers' 'modalities' of thought with regard to them.

In essence the interview strategy used was that which had been pre-tested in the course of the pilot study (see Appendix 1.) which indicated it was an approach capable of eliciting from teachers the information required of them and is shown in Tables 22.1. and 22.2. These Tables make clear that teachers were asked to respond to a series of propositions which fell into two categories corresponding to; a.) propositions found in the literature and 'expert' opinion, and; b.) issues concerning teachers' perception of young people in 'care' as members of their schools' communities.

Analysis of teachers perceptions of young people in local authority residential 'care' will commence by briefly outlining their distribution across the schools in the boroughs where they lived and the previous experience the members of this 'target' group had of teaching them. The results arising out the teacher interviews held will then be discussed in detail before this Chapter concludes by summarizing the main components of the definition teachers appear to apply to young people in 'care'.

22.2. Distribution Of Young People In 'Care' In Hinkley' And Ingleby's Schools: Teachers' Experiences Of Teaching Young People In 'Care'.

The clustering of Hinkley's residential child 'care' establishments meant the Borough's 'care' respondents were distributed across five local secondary schools which received a constant inflow of pupils from these units. As a result, eleven of the Authority's teachers interviewed had previous taught such young people; of the three teachers that had not, two were recently qualified, and one had just arrived in the area from Scotland (see Table 22.1.).

Table 22.1. Teacher Interviews: Previous Experience Of Teaching Young People In 'Care' - Hinkley And Ingleby.

SCHOOLS	HINKLEY (n=14)			INGLEBY (n=12)		
	YES	NO	D/K	YES	NO	D/K
School No. 1.	1(4)		1	3(10)		
School No. 2.	4(11)			2(5)		
School No. 3.	3(5)	2		3(8)	1	
School No. 4.	1(2)			1(3)	2	
School No. 5.	2(7)			Void	Void	Void
Totals.	11(29)	2	1	9(26)	3	

x) = Number of young people in 'care' previously taught.
/K = Don't Know.

Table 22.2. Teacher Interviews: Hinkley And Ingleby Schools.

PROPOSITIONS	HINKLEY (n=14)			INGLEBY (n=12)			ALL TOTALS (n=26)		
	YES	NO	D/K	YES	NO	D/K	YES	NO	D/K
1. Children* are not often the cause of their being in 'care'.	14(100%)			9(75%)		3(25%)	23(88%)		3(12%)
2. Young people** are often the cause of their being in 'care'.	10(71%)	1(7%)	3(21%)	10(83%)		2(17%)	20(77%)	1(4%)	5(19%)
3. Most young people in 'care' live in Children's Homes or other residential establishments.	11(79%)	1(7%)	2(14%)	11(92%)		1(8%)	22(84%)	1(4%)	3(12%)
4. Residential 'care' is a place of last resort.	10(71%)	1(7%)	3(21%)	12(100%)			22(85%)	1(4%)	3(12%)
5. Residential 'care' has a penal function with respect to young people.	7(50%)	2(14%)	5(36%)	6(50%)	2(17%)	4(33%)	13(50%)	4(15%)	9(35%)
6. Young people in 'care' are more likely to be poor school attenders than other young people.	8(57%)	6(43%)		5(42%)	7(58%)		13(50%)	13(50%)	
7. Young people in 'care' are more likely to present disciplinary problems than other young people.	11(79%)		3(21%)	10(83%)		2(17%)	21(81%)		5(19%)

Table 22.2 Teacher Interviews: Hinkley And Ingleby Schools - Continued.

8. Young people in 'care' are less likely to gain academic qualifications than other young people.	10(71%)	1(7%)	3(21%)	8(67%)	1(8%)	3(25%)	18(69%)	2(8%)	6(23%)
9. Young people in 'care' are more likely to have difficult relationships with teachers than other young people.	12(86%)		2(14%)	10(83%)		2(17%)	22(84%)		4(15%)
10. Young people in 'care' are more likely to have difficult relationships with school-mates than other young people. ' care '.	9(64%)	4(29%)	1(7%)	6(50%)	3(25%)	3(25%)	15(58%)	7(27%)	4(15%)
Totals	102(72%)	16(11%)	22(16%)	87(72%)	13(11%)	20(17%)	189(72%)	29(11%)	42(16%)

* A child is defined as an individual aged under 13 years.

** A young person is defined as an individual aged 13 to 18 years. D/K = Don't Know.

In Ingleby the distribution of residential 'care' establishments was even more concentrated than in Hinkley allowing its 'care' respondents to be dispersed among just four schools which were all use to having such young people on their rolls. This was reflected in the claim made by nine of the twelve teachers interviewed in the Borough to have had experience of teaching young people in 'care'. While the remaining three teachers from the area lacked this experience, all anticpiated having a steady stream of young people in 'care' joining the forms for which they were responsible.

However, interviews with teachers revealed that all those who had previously taught young people in 'care' had gained all or most of this experience at their present schools'. Whilst this reinforced the impression of a constant flow of such young people passing through these schools, it also indicated that respondent teachers experience of those in 'care' was narrow and surprisingly limited. Table 22.1. shows this with Hinkley's and Ingleby's teachers having only taught an average of 2.07 and 2.16, respectively, young people in 'care'. There is an apparent contradiction between schools which have a wide experience of these young people and the staff groups who do not.

The explanation of this contradiction lies in the chronic teacher recruitment and retention problems faced by Hinkley and Ingleby, leading to the rapid turnover of staff who tend to work in the Boroughs for short periods before moving on. As a result the Authorities' schools have rapidly changing staff groups meaning that although individual schools gain considerable experience of dealing with young people in 'care' many of their teachers do not.

Nevertheless, responses obtained from Hinkley's and Ingleby's teachers might go beyond reflecting mere perceptions about young people in residential 'care' and represent the 'facts' about them as supported by the 'evidence' of interviewees' experience. Recognition of this must, however, be tempered with an awareness of the limitations of this experience and be balanced against the social baggage teachers bring to their posts concerning society's definition of young people in 'care'.

Therefore, the analytical task to be undertaken in this Chapter goes beyond simply reporting the responses teachers gave to a series of questions and attempts to look 'behind' their replies to adjuce the extent to which they reflected a series of the preconceived ideas about what young people in 'care' are like as opposed to opinions arising out of the experience of teaching them. It is to this task that this thesis now turns, commencing with an examination of the perceptions of Hinkley's teachers about these young people.

22.3. Teacher Perceptions Of Young People In 'Care': Hinkley.

The 10 propositions put before teachers in Hinkley are listed and summarized in Table 22.2. and will, for brevity's sake, be referred to by the numbers alloted to them in that Table. It should be noted that with the exception of proposition 1. 'yes' responses connote negative perceptions of young people in 'care', while 'no' responses imply a more positive attitude towards them. Teachers whose replies fell into the 'don't know' category are regarded as having no opinion with regard to the propositions to which they provide this reply.

22.3(a.). Proposition 1: Children Are Not Often The Cause Of Their Being In 'Care'.

Responses to this proposition indicated complete unanimity among Hinkley's teachers with all believing that children are rarely the cause of their being in 'care'. In line with the results of the pilot study, teachers perceived them as victims who the 'care' system is there to save from abuse or from poor, or inadequate parents. The following comments were typical of those received:

> *"As far as I am aware children are never brought into care for anything other than the most extreme reasons. Only things like violence towards children in the home or total family breakdown might cause this to happen".*
>
> (Hinkley Teacher).
>
> *"No, children are not often the cause of their coming into care. Their*

> *behaviour can cause problems for parents, but its the inability of parents to care, for whatever reason, for their children which is the main cause. Many parents just don't care".*
>
> (Hinkley Teacher).

> *"You can't blame children in care for being in care, they're too young. The publicity given to child abuse makes it clear that some children in care are just not safe at home. Mind you, I'm not too sure if they are much better off in the hands of social services".*
>
> (Hinkley Teacher).

While the publicity surrounding a string of tragic child abuse case's in the period leading up to the teacher interviews probably artificially inflated the frequency with which they described violence towards children a major cause of their being in 'care' the comments recited above point to some hidden worrying assumptions made by these respondents. These are as follows:

1. The portrayal of 'care' as something which rescues children carries with it the implication that the 'care' system does not play a role in the prevention of child abuse and in preserving the unity of families. Instead, it is depicted as dealing with moribund families to whom it, analogously, performs the last rights by taking their children into 'care'.

2. The perception of parents as responsible for causing their children to be brought into 'care' as a result 'poor' and, or 'inadequate' parenting or abuse suggests that children in 'care' were regarded by some respondent teachers as having 'bad' parents. This links with the notion that they come from bad families which as Chapter 15 showed is an unsafe and unfair assumption to make.

3. The remarks made by the last of the respondents above was indicative of the criticism and suspicion being heaped on social workers and social services by the media and public enquiries when the study was being conducted and of their pariah like position in society. As a result, children in 'care' run the

risk of being stigmatized because of their association with social workers and social services.

22.3(b.). Proposition 2: Young People Are Often The Cause Of Their Being In'Care'.

Whilst no teachers regarded children as often being the causes of their being in 'care' the prevalent view among respondents was that young people usually are. It seemed that when it came to assessing children's and young people's culpability for their being in 'care' teachers regarded them in opposite ways.

Accompanying, this contradiction was a change in the reasons respondents gave for 'care' when asked to stipulate these with respect to young people instead of children. The emphasis previously laid on child abuse was raised by only 1 teacher. Instead, frequent mention was made of the inability of parents to control difficult young people and of their assumed 'habit' of offending.

Thus, the contrasting attitudes of Hinkley's respondent teachers towards children and young people in 'care' was complete. While they saw children as victims rescued by the 'care' system young people were considered victimizers who the system rescued others from. The following comments clarify the perceptions most teachers in Hinkley had of young people in 'care':

> *"Some young people are beyond the control of their parents and something has to be done with them. It can be difficult for a parent to be effective if they have a 14 year old physically mature, but emotionally immature lad who won't do what he is told and is running riot. He's got to be brought under control somehow".*
>
> (Hinkley Teacher).

> *"I imagine that if parents don't want to, or can't control their teenaged children appropriately care would be called for if things became untenable. It could provide them with the discipline they need".*
>
> (Hinkley Teacher).

> *"From what I hear and the contact I have had with social workers it seems that a lot of young people in care have offended and are in care because they have done so".*
>
> (Hinkley Teacher).

> *"As I understand, young people in care often display anti-authoritarian attitudes and have problems with authority figures and the police".*
>
> (Hinkley Teacher).

Teachers regarded young people in 'care' to be, almost by definition, problems, as 'bad' rather than 'sad', as the antithesis of children in 'care'. However, it is a distinction which is not easily upheld, unless it is assumed that on crossing the brink separating childhood from the teenage years individuals undergo some kind of 'evil' metamorphosis which transforms them into atavistic anti-social entities in need of control.

Furthermore, in a society where parents are expected to control their children the stress teachers laid upon 'beyond parental control' as a reason for young people coming into 'care' can come perilously close to suggesting that their parents are ineffectual. From this position the intellectual bridge linking the difficult behaviour and offending of some young people in 'care' with 'bad', or 'inadequate', or 'poor' parents is easily established. Once this is done the fate of these young people in the margins of society is sealed with the primary causes of their 'care' liable to be perceived as pre-determined, having an inescapable genetic root that can be traced back to the failings of their parents.

However, some teachers openly acknowledged, and sympathized with the problems they felt parents faced in trying to control their young people. While implied criticism of parents was absent in their remarks (see comments of first Teacher Hinkley Schools cited in this section) the emphasis they placed on the ferociousness of young people in 'care' and their imperviousness to parental control merely transforms parents into the victims of their children's deviance.

Arising out the responses teachers gave to propositions 1. and 2. is their perception of the 'care' populations as bifuricated; as consisting of deserving children and undeserving young people. It is a perception whose longevity and popularity has previously been discussed (see Chapter 10.) and which has always disadvantaged the young people in 'care'.

22.3(c.). Proposition 3: Most Young People In 'Care' Live In Children's Homes Or Other Types Of Residential Establishments.

The uniformity of responses received from Hinkley's teachers continued with regard to this proposition with 11 of them believing that young people in 'care' usually lived in residential establishments - 1 teacher felt this was not the case and 2 didn't know. Arising out of this consensus of opinion is the repetition of a strand of thought, identified in the pilot study, which automatically associated being in 'care' with residential living.

In the course of interviews it became apparent that teachers' belief that most young people in 'care' were 'placed' residentially did not arise out of their ignorance of any alternative settings. Several respondents made reference to supported lodgings schemes and the use of foster families, which they ruled out on the grounds that; a.) young people in 'care' being too problematic for foster parents to cope with, and, or; b.) the belief that only children were fostered.

The first of the reasons given for declaring foster placements as unsuitable for the majority of young people in 'care' was interesting, confirming teachers' perception of them as unusually troublesome and raised the issue of the perceived purpose of residential 'care' (see propositions 4. and 5.). On the other hand, the view of some teachers that foster placements are only for children (i.e. pre-teenagers) finds significance in the distinction it draws between them and young people 'care', thereby pointing, once again, to respondents' bifurcated way of thinking about the 'care' population.

No mention was made by any of Hinkley's teachers of the possibility of young people in 'care' being allowed to live at home. As most of the young people in the Borough's 'care' were placed with their families, this was a glaring omission, especially as the frequency with which this kind of placement was made countered the assumptions that young people in 'care' are immune from parental discipline and that their parents are, in some sense, 'inadequate'.

However, the failure of teachers to make mention of young people in 'care' being placed with their parents might not only be explicable in terms of their lack of knowledge about this type of placement, but also in terms of their definition of what 'care' is. It may be that they restricted this definition to young people who lived in residential establishments. According to this definition young people in 'care' living at home would not be regarded as 'really' being in 'care'. Certainly, teachers' almost unanimous agreement with the proposition that most young people in 'care' are placed in some form of residential establishment is indicative of a strong positive correlation respondents appeared to make between being in 'care' and being away from home.

22.3(d.). Proposition 4: Residential 'Care' Is A Place Of Last Resort.

The stereotyped nature of teachers' responses continued with regard to this proposition with which 10 agreed, 1 disagreed and 3 had no opinion on. It is a spread of replies seemingly predetermined by the responses made to propositions 2. and 3. which combined to produce an overly simplistic view of young people's 'care' being invariably necessitated by their deviancy whilst also ruling out any form of placement for them other than residential. As a result, nearly all teachers interviewed appeared to believe residential 'care' provided for a small minority of young people whose behaviour meant that they could no longer be contained by, or allowed to stay with their families.

Therefore, residential 'care' emerged from the responses of teachers as dealing with those young people for whom there is no alternative, as being a place of last resort. Several interviewees made this clear:

"I don't know that much about how social services operates, but from my experience as a teacher I do know that some young people can be very difficult to handle and I can well imagine some I have taught needing to be taken out of the home. If that has to happen there is no real alternative to residential care, is there".

(Hinkley Teacher).

"Yes, I do think residential 'care' is a place of last resort, or often is. There's not much else you can do with difficult kids".

(Hinkley Teacher).

"I'm not too sure why young people are placed in residential care, but I can't believe its readily used. It's use can only be justified when a young person can no longer stay at home".

(Hinkley Teacher).

"Taking young people into care has always got to be a last desperate measure and if they do come into care they have to be contained somewhere. The only place this can be done is in Children's Homes".

(Hinkley Teacher).

An ironic feature of the views cited above is that while 3 respondents admitted to a lack of knowledge about the workings of the child 'care' system their ignorance did not deter them from offering an opinion on the readiness with which residential 'care' is used. Indeed, unprompted, most respondents 'care' went beyond merely identifying it as a place of last resort to suggest its function. It seemed, as was discovered in the course of the pilot study, that knowing nothing about young people in 'care' was no barrier to having opinions about them.

However, residential 'care' is not often a place of last resort for dealing with troublesome young people. As has previously been stressed, they are a heterogeneous group whose members may be in 'care' for a number of reasons and will have followed diverse routes into by being placed on court order or accommodated on a voluntary basis by local authories working in 'partnership' with families.

For some young people residential establishments are a place of last resort, a final attempt to come to grips with the difficult behaviours they might present. However, the frequency with which teachers interviewed in Hinkley perceived of residential 'care' in this way greatly reflected a perception of it's subjects which exagerated their problems. As a result respondents appeared to have a distorted view of residential 'care'.

22.3(e.). Proposition 5: Residential 'Care' Has A Penal Function With Respect To Young People.

With 7 teachers agreeing and 2 disagreeing with this proposition those who regarded residential 'care' as having a penal function were a majority of those respondents who had firm views with regard to this matter. They made the following kinds of comments:

> *"Young people are not placed in residential care as a reward for good behaviour, but as a response to their bad behaviour".*
>
> (Hinkley Teacher).
>
> *"Children's Homes are places for dealing with delinquent adolescents".*
>
> (Hinkley Teacher).
>
> *"My experience of teaching young people in care leads me to believe they are put in residential care in order to control their behaviour and to try and make them change their ways".*
>
> (Hinkley Teacher).
>
> *"I think residential care is a type of holding pen which contains young people who no one knows what to do with. A lot of them have been in trouble with the police and have offended and need to be held in check*

> *to keep the out of further trouble".*
>
> (Hinkley Teacher).
>
> *"I do know that kids can be placed in care because they have offended and if they are they have to be put somewhere. Residential care is the obvious place".*
>
> (Hinkley Teacher).

The frequency with which teachers identified residential 'care' establishments as types of penal institutions reflected their tendency to describe it as a place of last resort and raises, once again, the ways in which any problematic behaviours on the parts of some young people in 'care' appeared to be exaggerated and distorted (2.) by respondents. It is as though, what Knopf (3.) describes as a 'shotgun' approach was taken by these teachers towards these young people which emphasized the negative aspects of the behaviour of some, whilst ignoring the positive actions of most. The very strong repeating images teachers interviewed had of young people as offenders, as individuals with behavioural problems, as in need of control etc., even though these reasons did not occasion the coming into 'care' of most young people in Hinkley, testified to this.

The shared exaggerated and distorted perceptions teachers had of young people in residential 'care' became the 'accepted facts' about them. These 'facts' were so well accepted by the teachers interviewed that some appeared to lose the tenuous hold they had on the meanings of the words they used to describe young people in 'care'. What kind of, and how much offending? What are behavioural problems? How is their severity measured? How is it known they are in need of control? etc.

The certainty with which the majority of teachers viewed residential 'care' as a place of last resort and as fulfilling a penal function when coupled with their often admitted lack of knowledge about the child 'care' system and limited experience of teaching young people in 'care' point to the interviewees absorbtion of an emotionally charged social definition of these young people which depicts them as troublesome. It is a definition whose exaggerated and distorted description of those in 'care' made it easy for many of Hinkley's respondent teachers to view every 'event' with regard to them as an 'incident', every 'incident' as a 'disturbance' and every 'disturbance' as confirmation of the falsely accepted 'facts' about young people in 'care'.

22.3(f.). Proposition 6: Young People In 'Care' Are More Likely To Be Poor School Attenders Than Other Young People.

Reference to Table 22.2. shows that with 8 respondents supporting and 6 disputing this proposition the opinions of Hinkley's teachers were more evenly split with regard to it than they were with respect to all previous propositions. However, their comments indicates that this division of opinion was more apparent than real. An underlying agreement was discovered between all teachers which depicted the school attendance of young people in 'care' as something which had to be compelled; dispute between teachers on the likely attendance these young people was confined to their differing views of social workers' ability to apply the necessary compulsion. For example:

> *"On the whole, I think the school attendance of young people in, and out of care will be about the same. In fact, I wouldn't be surprised to find that young people in care had better attendance records than some of the other pupils at this school. At least they (young people in 'care') have social workers to make sure they get to school while the parents of some pupils don't seem to care if they ever come to school".*
>
> (My Brackets) (Hinkley Teacher - Disagrees With Proposition 6.).

> *"I remain to be convinced that social services are interested enough in the education of the children they are responsible for and try hard enough to ensure they get the best out of school. Until this situation is remedied young people in 'care', who are often not too concerned school, are bound to have poor attendance records".*
>
> (Hinkley Teacher - Agrees With Proposition 6.).

Hinkley's teachers attribution of the school attendance of young people in 'care' to the efforts of social workers meant that they emerged from the research as having a 'blind-spot' rendering them incapable of conceiving of young people in 'care' as able to take responsibility for getting themselves to school. Therefore, the idea of their attendance as being anything less than the product of compulsion exists in the realms of the unthinkable.

22.3(g.). Proposition 7: Young People In 'Care' Are More Likely To Present Disciplinary Problems Than Other Young People.

Nearly all teachers (11 respondents) in Hinkley (see Table 22.2.) had a definite opinion on this proposition, with all of those who did supporting it. This vividly demonstrated the uniformity with which respondents perceived of young people in 'care' as a source of trouble in schools. The qualitative component of this perception was revealed in the course of conversation with teachers in which they sketched out a detailed picture of the kinds of disciplinary problems they considered these young people might confront them with, problems which were described by some teachers as threatening the functioning of the school and the 'greatest educational good' of other pupils. This represented a mode of thought about young people which was typified by following comments:

> *"Young people in care may have problems in exercising self-control and I know of a pupil from Cazenove Road (Childrens Home) who attended this school two or three years ago who put his fist through a glass panel in the door of a class-room when told-off by a teacher. As you can imagine this created havoc and the lesson had to be abandoned".*
>
> (My Brackets) (Hinkley Teacher).

> *"I worry about young people in 'care' who are taught in the normal class-room environment. They need special help but their aberrant behaviour must remain a constant threat to the overriding professional duty teachers have to all they teach".*
>
> (Hinkley Teacher).

> *"Although I've taught several young people in care I worry about them. Their family background and delinquency make me a little apprehensive about what they might do in school and I have colleagues who these young people have caused the most awful problems".*
>
> (Hinkley Teacher).

> *"There are always young people in care attending this school and some have made it almost impossible for teachers to teach".*
>
> (Hinkley Teacher).

> *"I don't think you can regard young people in care as being like other young people, that's why they are in care. They have problems which can, I think, make it very difficult for them to settle at school and allow teachers to get on with the job of teaching".*
>
> (Hinkley Teacher).

In short, Hinkley's respondent teachers appeared to be saying that young people in 'care' represented a threat to the operational priorities of their schools. Whilst this finding replicated that of the pilot study the belief that these young people could somehow pervert the functioning of entire schools strains credulity to breaking point. The tenacity with which teachers clung to this belief is only explicable in terms of the exaggerated and distorted perception the behaviour of those in 'care'. Respondents' anecdotal mode of conversation pointed to this with them embellishing single disciplinary incidents involving a young person in 'care' and then describing them as 'typical' of the problems all such young people are 'bound' confront teachers with.

Interestingly, a similar process did not seem to affect the perceptions that Hinkley's teachers held of the disciplinary problems other people might present. It seems safe to assume that their overwhelming numerical dominance in the school populations means it is they, not young people in 'care', who create most disciplinary problems. Yet the from teachers' comments they appeared oblivious to this.

22.3(h.). Proposition 8: Young People In 'Care' Are Less Likely To Gain Academic Qualifications Than Other Young People.

The pessimism which characterized teachers' perceptions of young people in 'care' was evident in the responses given to this proposition with which 10 teachers agreed, 1 disagreed and 3 had no firm opinion on. The message arising out of this response pattern is clear; teachers did not regard these young people as the academic equals of their 'non-care' peers. It was a position which several teachers supported with convincing sounding reasons which echoed some of those mentioned by Stein and Carey (4.) in their analysis of the educational performance of young people in 'care':

> *"Care provides those who are in it with a very unsettling life style which makes it hard for them to get down to work at school".*
>
> (Hinkley Teacher).

> *"From my experience of teaching young people in care it seems they don't have much of an investment in school and just give up".*
>
> (Hinkley Teacher).

> *"Young people in care are probably more likely than other young people to want to get out of school, some that I have taught have told me that they see it as useless".*
>
> (Hinkley Teacher).

> *"They're (young people in 'care') the odd ones out in school and that can't make it easy for them to do well".*
>
> (My Brackets) (Hinkley Teacher).

However, the expectations teachers had of the relative academic success of young people in, and not in 'care' were not borne out with the study finding rough parity in the number of examination passed by its 'tracer' respondent groups. Whilst the average number of passes achieved by these young people, irrespective of 'care' status, was not particularly high Hinkley's respondent teachers appeared to be more conscious of the shortcomings of the academic performance of those in, than not in 'care'.

Only 3 teachers recognized the possibility that young people not in 'care' might also fail to fit in at school or regarded it as a waste of time or couldn't wait to start work or had unsettled backgrounds etc. Although this low number may have been attributable to the wording of the proposition, which was not designed to elicit information about these young people it was, nevertheless, surprising to find that so few teachers observed that the academic performance of pupils not in 'care' could be undermined by the same problems which that of their counterparts in 'care'.

An exaggerated and distorted image of young people in 'care' emerges once more from research findings. Teachers' blindness to the similarity in the academic performance of young people in, and not in Hinkley's 'care' and to the common factors inhibit that of both served to highten the belief, and fuel the expectation of respondents that those in 'care' were likely to gain less qualifications than those who were not. With 10 respondents firmly of this opinion the attraction of this false image is undeniable, as is the belief that the definition teachers apply to young people in 'care' is more the product of how they are perceived to be, than of how they actually are. In this sense the false exaggerated and distorted view teachers have of these young people becomes 'real' - the myth becomes reality.

22.3(i.). Proposition 9: Young People In 'Care' Are More Likely To Have Difficult Relationships With Teachers Than Other Young People.

The impressive uniformity which characterized responses to proposition 8. was surpassed by the responses received by this proposition which 12 of Hinkley's respondent teachers supported. This resonated with the views expressed by teachers interviewed in the course of the pilot study and offered partial confirmation of the suspicion that young people in 'care' were automatically assumed to be problems who presented a forbidding challenge to the ability of teachers to teach. Comments made by respondent teachers emphasized this:

> *"I believe that they (young people in 'care') find it more difficult to accept authority than others I teach... There will always be more*

friction in their relationships (young people in 'care') with teachers".

(My Brackets) (Hinkley Teacher).

"The range of disciplinary problems kids in care create and the things which brought them into care in the first place is bound to make it more difficult than normal to deal with them".

(Hinkley Teacher).

"You have to worry about how you can deal with these kids. Ordinary pupils can be difficult, but I can handle them. If a pupil of mine who was in care went off the deep-end there could be problems. I know I've always been slightly tenser than usual if their is someone in care in the class".

(Hinkley Teacher).

Perhaps, the most interesting feature of the responses to proposition 9. was the way in which a damning series of assumptions about young people in 'care' appeared to be embedded in the comments of teachers. The first of these assumptions presents the supposed inability of these young people to accept the authority of teachers as a symptom of their general rebelliousness. Whilst the research indicated that this could not be assumed, especially as a substantial proportion of Hinkley's 'non-care' respondents had came to the notice of the authorities at different times, much of the supposed anti-authoritarianism displayed by those in 'care' at school can be interpreted as part of the usual developmental process young people undergo when making the transition from childhood to adulthood. Therefore, any difficulties they present teachers with can, within limits, be regarded as normal and cannot justifiably be attributed to some underlying deviant trait.

Teachers' views about the problems they anticipated encountering in their relationships with young people in 'care' also appeared to be predicated on the assumption that these young people had come into 'care' because they were 'troublesome'. The tension which the third of the respondents cited above refers to was typically indicative of this.

In the absence of empirical evidence supporting the notion of young people in 'care' as creators of more problems for teachers than other members of their schools' communities, respondents' trepidation about their relationships with these young people seemed to be a based on some kind of folk lore; on the definition of them as latter day folk devils about whom teachers' fears were part of the wider social moral panic (cf. Cohen (5.)).

22.3(j.). Proposition 10: Young People In 'Care' Are More Likely To Have Difficult Relationships With School-Mates Than Other Young People.

Responses to this proposition showed that with 9 teachers agreeing and 4 disagreeing with it they appeared less worried about the relationships young people in 'care' might form with school-mates than they were about their own relationships with these young people. Nevertheless, respondents' views about this matter reflected widespread unease.

In the course of interviews with Hinkley's respondent teachers their reasons for suspecting that young people in 'care' were likely to experience difficult relationships with school-mates appeared to have two routes. The first of these rested on the assumption that the peculiar 'care' status of these young people would make it difficult for them to be accepted by other pupils. The second revolved around concerns about whom young people in 'care' might befriend at school. The following remarks made by teachers were typical of those received:

> *"Young people in care who attend this school stick out. There aren't that many pupils here who are in care and this makes them different from the other kids who tend to make friends with those they have most in common with".*
>
> (Hinkley Teacher).

> *"It's been my experience that young people in care mix with the more difficult of our pupils, the ones who need most control".*
>
> (Hinkley Teacher).

> *"If pushed I'd say that I think young people in care will find it difficult to fit in with most pupils and because of this they are liable to be pulled towards the 'wrong' crowd in school".*
>
> (Hinkley Teacher).

The words of the last teacher cited above show how the dual emphasis laid on the problems young people in 'care' might find in gaining the acceptance of school-mates and on their supposed tendency to befriend pupils with whom they could form a common front against school discipline, were knitted together by several respondents. A seemingly unbreakable connection is established between the perceived problems of the acceptance young people in 'care' by other pupils and their unerring formation of friendships with the dissident elements of schools populations. According to this view young people in 'care' are predestined to become part of what one of the teacher cited above referred to as the "wrong crowd".

However, the research again failed to provide evidence which suggested that Hinkley's 'care' respondents encountered exceptional difficulties in making friends at school while their disciplinary records did not indicate that they were members of groups of pupils which challenged the authority of teachers. The study's 'care' respondents may not have been the popular and best behaved pupils at their schools, but nor were they the most unpopular and worst behaved.

22.4. Teacher Perceptions Of Young People In 'Care': Ingleby.

22.4(a.). Proposition 1: Children Are Not Often The Cause Of Their Being In 'Care'.

With 9 of Ingleby's teachers agreeing with this proposition, none disagreeing and 2 offering 'don't know' replies the consensus of opinion among was that children are rarely the causes of their being in 'care'. In this respect, perceptions of teachers in Ingleby and Hinkley were similar with 75% of those in the former Borough and 100% in the latter appearing to believe that children in 'care' are hapless victims who the 'care' system rescues. This unity of view was evident by Ingleby's teacher repetition of the belief that the admission of children into 'care' is usually occasioned abuse, 'poor' parenting, family breakdown etc. Typical of comments received from local teachers were the following:

> *"I know that some parents abuse their children, in all sorts of ways, and where this is found out the poor kids must come into care until something more satisfactory can be done for them. After all care also deals with a lot of disturbed and difficult youngsters".*
>
> (Ingleby Teacher).

> *"I find it hard to think of how a child can be responsible for its being in care. Its got to be down to the parents".*
>
> (Ingleby Teacher).

> *"Being a parent isn't something you are trained for and some people just aren't able to look after their kids properly, or can't be bothered with them which, I imagine, must often lead to them being put into care".*
>
> (Ingleby Teacher).

The views expressed by a majority of Ingleby's teachers inevitably resonated to the same set of worrying assumptions which underpinned the opinions of their Hinkley counterparts. As a result teachers in both Boroughs seemed to regard a.) the 'care' system as a 'rescue' service to children whose families are moribund; b.) the parents of children in 'care' as, in some sense, 'bad' parents, who; c.). can be written-off once reception into care has taken place.

22.4(b.). Proposition 2: Young People Are Often The Cause Of Their Being In 'Care'.

With 10 of Ingleby's respondent teachers agreeing, none disagreeing and 2 having no clear opinion about this proposition they seemed confident that young people were the cause of their coming into 'care'. In this respect, teachers responses in Hinkley and Ingleby were alike with a clear majority (83% of Ingleby's, and 71% of Hinkley's teachers) in each attributing to young people responsibility for their 'care' status.

The contrasting responsibilities Ingleby's respondent teachers felt children and young people had for their being in 'care' was accompanied by a radical change in respondents' perceptions of the reasons which brought them into 'care'. References they previously made to the short-comings of parents, abuse, family breakdown etc., as commonly occasioning 'care' were replaced by stress being laid upon the difficult, deviant behaviours of young people as causative factors.

Therefore, the perception Ingleby's teachers had of the 'care' population typified children and young people as its 'deserving' and 'undeserving' sections, respectively. In this respect, the perceptions of this group of teachers resembled their colleagues in Hinkley as the following comments make clear:

> *"They (young people in 'care') are ill disciplined and won't respond to parental authority".*
>
> (My Brackets) (Ingleby Teacher).

> *"I suppose a lot of young people who end up in care have a history of offending and don't respond to their parents effort to control them, assuming that their parents try to do so".*
>
> (Ingleby Teacher).

> *"Looking at the size of some of the pupils who have gone through this school and been in care I can't believe that they have been at risk, or something like that when they were at home. It seems much more likely that they represented a risk to others".*
>
> (Ingleby Schools Teacher).

> *"When young people enter their teens they can get rebellious, but I imagine this gets out of hand with those who come into care. I have doubts about whether or not their parents try hard enough with them. I've got a fourteen year old son and he has given me a few*

headaches".

(Ingleby Teacher).

However, the distinction Ingleby's teachers drew between children and young people is not sustainable, especially with respect to 'care' sample members who were in long-term 'care'. Small in number, these individuals had come into 'care' as children and remained in 'care' as young people. According to this distinction they were originally 'deserving' members of a bifurcated 'care' population who had somehow become 'undeserving' as they aged.

Moreover, the doubt that some of the teachers expressed about the parents of young people in 'care' represents a return to the recurrent suspicion that they may be, at best, ineffectual and, at worse, collude with the 'bad' behaviour of their young people. Ingleby's teachers, as did Hinkley's, appeared to connect the supposed difficult behaviour and offending of young people in 'care' with the parental failure. In the Thatcherite and post-Thatcherite eras the renewed ideological emphasis placed upon the responsibility parents bear for the actions of their children, gives this line of reasoning a seductive appeal. If accepted, young people in 'care' and their families will become ever more marginalized by a society which attributes their plight to the failings of individuals, and not to the discriminatory and sigmatizing social structures which govern their lives.

22.4(c.). Proposition 3: Most Young People In 'Care' Live In Children's Homes Or Other Residential Establishments.

With 92% of Ingleby's respondents teachers supporting this proposition a larger proportion of them automatically associate young people and residential 'care' than did their Hinkley counterparts. The stereotyped perception Ingleby's teachers had of these young people was added to by their awareness of other forms of 'placements', but which respondents dismissed as inappropriate on the grounds that the behaviour of those in 'care' is so difficult it can only be coped with in a residential setting. It was a view which reaffirmed that of Hinkley's teachers and consolidated the definition of young people in 'care' as 'troublesome' while also emphasizing the bifurcated nature of the image teachers in Ingleby had of the 'care' population.

22.4(d.). Proposition 4: Residential 'Care' Is A Place Of Last Resort.

Reference to Table 22.2. shows that all Ingleby's teachers agreed with this proposition and, as in Hinkley, the responses received to propositions 2. and 3. appeared to pre-determine this outcome by producing a grotesque caricature of young people in 'care' as prone to criminality and so disruptive and difficult to control that they cannot be contained in the family setting.

However, whilst it came as no surprise to find that the concept of residential 'care' as a place of last resort held sway among the Ingleby's teachers it was not anticipated that all of them would hold this view. The fact that they did underlined the pessimistic certainty with which respondents saw residential 'care' as a place of last resort in which a 'hard core' of 'hopeless young people were placed. In the course of discussions with local teachers this was made plain as the following comments show:

> *"I've always imagined that residential care dealt with only the most difficult young people who can't stay at home or be fostered".*
>
> (Ingleby Teacher).

> *"There always has to be a place of last resort for anything, some place where the most needy and most difficult to help have to be put when all else has failed. If asked, I'd say that residential care is a bit like such a place".*
>
> (Ingleby Teacher).

> *"If asked (about proposition 4.) I suppose I'd have to say that residential care is a place of last resort because I imagine young people in Children's Homes have all sorts of problems which prevent them from living with their families".*

(My Brackets) (Ingleby Teacher).

> *"Its hard to see where kids who get involved in offending and won't do as they are told can be put other than in residential care".*

(Ingleby Teacher).

In view of the unanimous verdict of Ingleby's teachers that residential 'care' is a place of last resort, it is worth repeating that young people in this form of 'care' are a mixed group, especially as the Children Act 1989 was not in force when the research study was conducted, who followed many different routes into 'care' and for a host of different reasons. For some young people residential 'care' does represent a final attempt to deal with their difficult behaviours, but for most in this form of 'care' it does not.

22.4(e.). Proposition 5: Residential 'Care' Has A Penal Function With Respect To Young People.

Although all of Ingleby's respondent teachers regarded residential 'care' as place of last resort only 6 of them felt it has a penal function. The reason for this suprisingly low level of support for this proposition appears to have been partially attributable to the confusion some teachers felt about whether, or not, the residential 'care' system is about punishing or reforming:

> *"I'm really not sure (about the proposition)... Care should be something which benefits and helps those who are in it, but there have been kids at this school who have been in care because they have been found guilty of some offence".*
>
> (My Brackets) (Ingleby Teacher - No Firm Opinion With Regard To Proposition 5.).

> *"It's not the business of care to punish young people. The behaviour of some might mean that they need more control than others of their age, but they have to be helped, not punished".*
>
> (Ingleby Teacher - Disagrees With Proposition 5.).

Yet, despite the reluctance of some of Ingleby's teachers to attribute to residential care a penal function those who did were numerically dominant and made the following types of remarks:

> *"I believe that some young people in residential care are there because they have got into trouble (due to offending) and to the extent that this happens I guess residential care must have a penal function".*
>
> (My Brackets) (Ingleby Teacher).

> *"These places (residential child 'care' establishments) have to contain and control some very difficult kids and thats what they are there to do".*
>
> (My Brackets) (Ingleby Teacher).

> *"To deny that Children's Homes have a penal function seems unrealistic. It might not be a nice thing to have to acknowledge, but they are responsible for controlling the actions of some very disturbed youngsters".*
>
> (Ingleby Teacher).

The frequency with which teachers identified residential 'care' establishments as types of penal institutions repeats, in Ingleby, the 'shotgun approach' their colleagues in Hinkley took towards young people in this form of 'care'. Indicative is the way in which the responses Ingleby's teachers gave to proposition 5. combine with those they supplied to propositions 2, 3, and 4 to display their unbending adherence to a definition of these young people which stresses the negative aspects of the behaviour of some, whilst ignoring the positive actions of most.

Once again teachers emerge as imposing on young people in residential 'care' a stylized definition arising out of teachers' exaggerated and distorted perception of them. Whilst this definition may be flimsy and ill-conceived its acceptance assures that this 'fairy tale' assumes a 'factual' currency.

22.4(f.). Proposition 6: Young People In 'Care' Are More Likely To Be Poor School Attenders Than Other Young People.

With 5 teachers agreeing and 7 disagreeing with this proposition it was the only one which the majority of them opposed. Whilst this finding clashed with the gloomy view of young people in 'care' which emerged from the replies teachers gave to all previous propositions, it came as no surprise. The pilot study and work carried out in Hinkley both indicated that an unusually large proportion of teachers were likely to regard the school attendance of these young people as no worse than that of those who were not in 'care'.

Yet, further analysis reveals, again, that respondents did not necessarily regard good school attendance by young people in 'care' as reflecting well on them. The underlying consensus was that the school attendance of these young people was something that social workers compelled. As a result, any kudos arising out of good school attendance on the part young people in 'care' was not attached to them, but to their social workers. Thus, the dispute between respondents who agreed and disagreed with proposition 6. reflected, in part, their differing perceptions of social workers' ability to compel school attendance:

> *"As young people in care have social workers to get them out of bed and off to school I don't see why their school attendance should be any worse than that of other pupils... it might be better than that of many".*
>
> (Ingleby Teacher - Disagrees With Proposition 6.).

> *"If you talked to social workers I'm sure they would say that they do their level best to make sure their charges get to school regularly, but I'm doubtful. I think what really happens is that they shove kids out of the front door of the Homes they are living in each morning and tell them to go to school, but don't follow through and make certain they go. Its all pretty half hearted and these kids (young people in 'care') aren't bothered about going to school".*
>
> (My Brackets). (Ingleby Teacher - Agrees With Proposition 6.).

The association teachers in Ingleby made between regular school attendance on the part of young people in 'care' and the interest social workers have in making sure that this occurs meant they shared, with their colleagues in Hinkley, the inability to conceive of young people in 'care' as able to take responsibility for getting themselves to school. Therefore, for respondents in both Boroughs, the idea that good school attendance on part of these young people could be an act of free will, and was anything less than the product of compulsion was all, but unthinkable.

22.4(g.). Proposition 7: Young People In 'Care' Are More Likely To Present Disciplinary Problems Than Other Young People.

The research discovered that with 10 teachers supporting and none opposing this proposition about which only 2 had no clear opinion, young people in care were clearly perceived as unusually troublesome by those who taught them. Such was the degree of respondents' certainty about this matter that it seemed they had no expectation that those of their pupils who were in 'care' might be able to behave in ways considered acceptable.

Moreover, teachers in Ingleby did not simply regard young people in 'care' as posing more disciplinary problems than other pupils, they also appeared to regard the problems these young people might present as liable to be much more threatening than any their school-mates might pose. Thus, we again run into the teachers' habit of perceiving and subsequently defining young people in 'care' in ways which differed quantitatively and qualitatively from the perceptions they have of, and the definitions they applied to their 'non-care' counterparts. Comments received from teachers demonstrated this point, for example:

> *"The kind of problems which cause these youngsters to be brought into care tells me that they will probably cause me and the school more problems than other pupils".*
>
> (Ingleby Teacher).

> *"Coping with a class full of kids, many of whom don't want to be in school isn't easy, but I can just about manage to keep them interested. Problems arise when when you get particularly difficult pupils, like those who are in care who just want to disrupt. Then you have no chance of teaching".*
>
> (Ingleby Teacher).

> *"As many in care are very disturbed individuals it seems reasonable to assume that are they likely to cause more disciplinary problems than other pupils at the school".*
>
> (Ingleby Teacher).

> *"I agree (with proposition 7.) mainly because a lot of these kids (young people in 'care') come to us (the school) with histories of disruption and in class some do their best to make sure you can't do your job".*
>
> (My Brackets) (Ingleby Teacher).

Whilst the theme of young people in 'care' as able to threaten the ability of teachers to teach resurfaces in the remarks of Ingleby's respondents, the allusion many made to the pathological basis of the inability of these young people to conform to the demands of school discipline, was interesting and worrying. The reference several teachers made to the 'problems' of those in 'care' provided an apparently rational foundation on which to base the assumption that they were likely to cause more discipline problems than their 'non-care' counterparts because they are (in melodramatic terms) 'mad'.

However, when at school the disciplinary records of the research study's 'care' and 'non-care' respondents were not of different magnitudes. Ultimately, the amount of support elicited by proposition 7. from Ingleby's teachers is only explicable, as it was in Hinkley, in terms of their exaggerated and distorted perception of these young people. As a result, teachers' comments appeared to relate more to the definition they, and others, imposed on young people in 'care' than to a group of real individuals.

22.4(h.). Proposition 8: Young People In 'Care' Are Less Likely To Gain Academic Qualifications Than Other Young People.

With 8 of Ingleby's respondent teachers accepting this proposition the unremittingly dismal view of the majority of them had of young people in 'care' was once again in evidence. Only 1 of the Borough's teachers opposed the assumption that these young people were less likely than their 'non-care' school-mates to gain academic qualifications reinforcing the conclusion drawn from previously discussed research findings that the teachers interviewed did not regard those young people in 'care' as the academic equals of their 'non-care' peers. Once again, the words of interviewees provided support for this view:

> "*With the backgrounds I believe many young people in care have I'd be surprised if they passed as many exams as other kids*".
>
> (Ingleby Teacher).

> *"No matter how hard teachers try to ensure that pupils who are in care achieve as much academic success as other pupils they are often going to fail. I should think if you're in care you've got a lot of distractions in your life to do with your family and social services which means it always going to be harder for them than other pupils to apply themselves to their school work".*
>
> (Ingleby Teacher).

> *"The problems these young people (in 'care') cause in school makes it pretty obvious that they won't do so well, academically, as do others of their age. It would be surprising if this were not the case".*
>
> (My Brackets) (Teacher Ingleby Schools).

> *"They (young people in 'care') are not interested in school so they can't expect to leave with many qualifications".*
>
> (My Brackets) (Teacher Ingleby Schools).

However, previous discussion of research findings about the academic performance of Ingleby's 'care' respondents indicated that the number of academic qualifications they gained did not differ dramatically from the number gained by the Borough's 'non-care' respondents. This was precisely the situation found in Hinkley with, as a result, teachers in Ingleby also appearing to be more aware of deficiencies in the academic performance of young people in, than not in 'care'.

22.4(i.). Proposition 9: Young People In 'Care' Are More Likely To Have Difficult Relationships With Teachers Than Other Young People.

Reference to Table 22.2. shows that the 10 respondent teachers in Ingleby who had a definite opinion on this proposition, thought that their relationships with young people in 'care' were likely to be more difficult than their relationships with other young people:

> *"Pupils have to accept that teachers will tell them what to do and expect to be obeyed. It can be hard for ordinary kids to do this, but*

with young people in care I think you are bound to encounter even more resistance than normal".

(Ingleby Teacher).

"Schools have rules and as a teacher I have to enforce them. As a lot of these kids (young people in 'care') find it difficult to accept authority teachers will almost certainly experience more difficulties than usual in their relationships with them".

(My Brackets) (Ingleby Teacher).

"When I think of the background young people in care have and the disciplinary problems they are likely to, and do create it soon becomes clear that teachers will experience more difficulties in their relationships with them than with other young people".

(Ingleby Teacher).

"In schools teachers stand for authority and as I expect young people in care to have problems with authority I expect teachers to have problems with them. Its as though we are on separate sides."

(Ingleby Teacher).

The opinions teachers expressed about the troublesome relationships they expected to have with young people in 'care' were preordained by the opinions they expressed with regard to previous propositions. As a teacher, cited above, indicated if young people in 'care' are perceived as driven by an underlying deviant pathology, they will inevitably become anti-authoritarian individuals who represent a challenge to the authority of schools, as personified by its staff. It is a perception of young people in 'care' which is founded, not in a view of teachers as providers of a educational service to individual service users, but as providers of, what I have called, the 'greatest educational good'. It is a 'good' which provides an ethical foundation for the marginalization of young people in 'care' within the education system.

Yet, teachers had no reason to suspect that they would find their relationships with young people in 'care' exceptionally difficult. Delinquent behaviour was the rare exception, not the rule among these young people. For teachers to have thought otherwise was to believe a myth. It was the willingness of Ingleby's respondent teachers to accept the mythical portayal young people in 'care' as more troublesome than they are which determined the frequency with which teachers expected trouble from them. It is a myth whose attraction is hard to resist as it arises from a widely dispersed, derogatory social definition of these young people whose lineage can be traced far back into history (see Chapter 25.).

22.4(j.). Proposition 10: Young People In 'Care' Are More Likely To Have Difficult Relationships With School-Mates Than Other Young People.

Responses received to this proposition were more scattered than those most of the propositions preceding it, but with 6 of Ingleby's teachers believing that young people in 'care' were more likely to have difficult relationships with their school-mates than others of their age, half of those interviewed considered this to be yet another matter of concern. In comparison, only 3 local teachers opposed this proposition about which another 3 had no opinion.

Comments made by Ingleby's teachers who supported proposition 10. showed that their reasons for doing so were the same as those of their Hinkley counterparts i.e. they believed that the 'care' status of young people in 'care' would make it difficult for them to 'fit in' with other pupils, and they would gravitate towards those who are the most disruptive:

> *"Most of the kids who attend this school are not too sure what care is and what those who are in it are like. This is bound to make it hard for pupils who are in, and not in care to form friendships... Those who are, are a bit of an oddity".*
>
> (Ingleby Teacher).

> *"I've always thought of young people in care as having problems and as anti-authoritarian so, I suppose, I'd worry that they would only make friends with other pupils at the school who are like them".*
>
> (Ingleby Teacher).

The similarity in the types of views expressed by respondent teachers in Hinkley and Ingleby ensures that analysis of the latter's arrives at the same basic conclusions as those derived from examination of the former's. Thus, in Ingleby, the dual emphasis, also identified in Hinkley, laid on the anticipated difficulties young people in 'care' might encounter in gaining the acceptance of other pupils and their attraction to troublesome pupils is repeated. As a result, the image of young people in 'care' as outsiders within their schools and as part of a disciplinary threat, is replicated.

Nevertheless, the research indicated that there was no empirical evidence supporting the concerns permeating the views of a substantial proportion of Ingleby's respondent teachers. Therefore, it is concluded that these concerns were, in large part, a product of the respondents' exaggerated and distorted perceptions of these young people which has its origins in the social definition applied to them.

22.5. Summary and Conclusions.

The responses obtained in the course of interviews held with Hinkley's and Ingleby's respondent teachers, are summarized in Table 22.2, demonstrate a remarkable symmetry in their views. These gave unrelenting support to the themes which have been shown to run throughout the literature and to be embedded in the opinions of 'experts'. A reflection of this is provided in the sizeable majority of teachers who believed that the school performance and behaviour of young people in 'care' was likely to be worse than that of their peers, as would be their relationships with authority figures (teachers) and school-mates.

The exception to this pessimism was the apparently optimistic expectations respondent teachers had about the school attendance of young people in 'care'. However, upon analysis this optimism dissolved to reveal an underlying cynicism which regarded the attendance of these young people as having to be coerced by social workers. As a result, those in 'care' were in a 'no win' situation. If they attended school regularly this did not reflect well on them, and if they did not the need for the continuance of this coercive effort was confirmed.

Perhaps, the most vivid impression to emerge from the research was the overriding commitment teachers had to ensuring that the operational priorities of schools were observed, creating a situation in which those in 'care' were forced to fit in with the demands of their schools. It is a position reminiscent of the Poor Law and was justified by reference to what can be regarded as a Utilitarian mode of operation which most respondents saw as obliging them to provide the 'greatest educational good' to the greatest number of pupils, but to which young people in 'care' were invariably perceived as a threat.

In addition, the research discovered that teacher pessimism about young people in 'care' was intimately linked to respondents' preconceived ideas about the purpose of this mode of 'care' and the associated reasons which cause individuals to be placed in it. These were dominated by the support nearly all teachers in Hinkley and Ingleby gave to a binary concept of 'care'. For example, most teachers distinguished between the reasons leading to a child coming into 'care' as opposed to a young person. This accorded with the dominant strand of thought contained within the literature and that offered by the 'expert' organizations consulted which describes children as not responsible, and young people as responsible for their 'care' status.

Themes related to the supposed lack of maturity of young people in 'care' and their 'inability' to hold jobs, were not directly addressed in the course of interviews with teachers. However, their comments had implications for each. The dominant respondent view of these young as responsible for their being in 'care', as anti-authoritarian, as undisciplined, as needing to be compelled to attend school, as unable to form satisfactory relationships with school-mates and as inclined to fall in with subversive groups of pupils, paints a very gloomy picture of them. They are depicted as impulse ridden individuals, devoid of the maturity required if they are to act in their own long-term interests. It can only be inferred from this that they are people who will find it extremely hard to find work, while their lack of self-discipline, respect for authority and social skills means that when they do so they are unlikely to hold a job for more than a short period.

However, the attempt to analyze the views of respondent teachers is confronted with a paradox, for while information gathered on the research study's 'care' and 'non-care' 'tracers' pointed to them being more alike than the perceptions of teachers indicated. Nevertheless, as most respondent teachers had experience of teaching young people in 'care', it was possible that their pessimism represented the 'facts' about these young people based on this experience. Thus, the views of these teachers cannot be lightly dismissed.

Yet, as in the pilot study, teachers' anecdotal mode of conversation indicated that encounters they had, or heard of colleagues having, with a few unrepresentative and unusually difficult young people in 'care', played a formative role in shaping their views on all such young people. It seemed that if teachers knew of a young person in 'care' who presented the range of problems associated with their social stereotype, that young person was transformed into the archetype, the exemplification of all young people in 'care' allowing them all to be perceived and defined in the same way.

The research findings and teachers views about young people in 'care' were so incongruous that teachers sometimes appeared to lose grip of reality with their responses providing a series of exaggerated and distorted images of these young people which often entered the realms of the mythical. Thus, young people in 'care' find themselves in a situation where they where liable to be denied the opportunity of being judged on their merits , but on those of someone else. Furthermore it is likely that this 'someone else' never existed, being an abstract folk devil called a young person in 'care'.

Chapter 23.

'Target' Group: Employers.

23.1. Introduction.

The investigative task with regard to employers, as it was with teachers, consisted of surveying their perceptions of young people in local authority residential 'care' in order to identify the modalities of thought which shaped the definition they applied to them. It is difficult to overestimate the importance of this undertaking, for as the hirers and firers of labour, employers are the ultimate arbiters of the fates young people meet with on the labour market.

As in the pilot study, the starting point for the attempt to identify employer modalities of thought was provided by the Manpower Services Commission's Industrial Facts and Forecasting Survey which lists the essential characteristics employers look for in job applicants. It is a list which reveals that if the thematic social definition of young people in 'care' holds true they will be perceived by employers as possessing only six of the thirteen essential characteristics stipulated in Table 23.1., stifling their job prospects.

However, the study's attempt to ascertain employers' modalities of thought confronted the methodological problem of respondent 'honesty'. This did not reflect a belief on the part of the researcher that respondent employers would deliberately lie when interviewed, but that the views they expressed about young people in 'care' as abstract entities located in a removed public domain and as real people who intruded into the intimacy of their private business domains, might clash. Thus, the problem of respondent 'honesty' resolved itself into one of respondent consistency.

In the course of the pilot study the solution to this problem lay in asking its participant young people to alternatively play the roles of 'care' and 'non-care' job applicants and to compare the success rates, in terms of jobs and interviews offered, of applications made by players of differing 'care' status roles (see Appendix 1). However, this approach was only viable because of the limited number of young people and employers who took part in the pilot. The much larger size of the main study, coupled with limited resources with which it was conducted, meant that another strategy had to be devised. Accordingly, a two pronged test of respondent 'honesty' was devised consisting of:

1. Utilizing employers responses to a series of questions derived from the list of essential characteristics of recruits as indicative of the attitudes they displayed towards young people in 'care' when they were confined to the public domain.

2. The use of the comparative unemployment rates of 'care' and 'non-care' respondents (see Tables 21.1. to 21.6.) as measures of employers contrasting attitudes towards these groups of young people when it came to employers willingness to admit them into their private business domains.

In itself, the failure of some 'care' respondents to find work does not provide incontrovertible proof that this was attributable to the ways in which they were perceived by employers. It does no more than indicate that this may have been the case. However, where the failure to find work is associated with, a.) a much higher rate of unemployment among young people in, than not in 'care', and; b.) the expression of negative opinions about young people in 'care' by employers, the idea that an important contributor to the problems faced by these young people in finding work is the way in which potential employers view them takes on persuasive force.

As Chapter 21 has already provided testimony to employers seeming preference to offer jobs to 'non-care', than 'care' respondents, this Chapter will focus on employers attitudes towards young people in 'care' within the public domain. Research data was gathered on this matter throughout the period of the fieldwork phase of the study via the medium of telephone interviews, with individuals who took employment decisions on behalf of the firms, or types of firms approached by 'care' respondents. In the course of these interviews it was made clear to respondents that the interviewer's use of the term 'young people' referred to 16 year old school-leavers (see Appendix 7.). Unfortunately, demands on respondent employers' time meant that most interviews with them had to be brief.

Table 23.1. Employer Survey: Essential Characteristics Of All Recruits.

	Skilled Manual %	Other Manual. %	Non-Manual. %
Willingness/Attitude To Work.*	80	81	70
Basic 3 Rs.*	52	21	67
Good Level Of Numeracy.*	40	13	55
Good Level Of Physical Fitness.	50	47	27
Appearance/Tidiness.	29	39	45
Good Written English/Literate.*	21	6	67
Good Verbal Communication.*	18	18	45
Mature/Stable.*	30	20	23
Specific Educational Qualifications.*	21	2	38
Specific Personal Attributes.	27	36	7
Willingness To Join A Trade Union.	22	16	9
Past Experience.	19	7	5
Existing Trade Union Membership.	9	4	2

Source: Manpower Services Commission (1.).
* = Essential characteristics associated with the themes constituting the social definition of young people in 'care'.

However, of the 147 firms eligible to take part in the study 115 did so, providing a surprisingly high response rate of 78%. The kinds of businesses in which these firms were engaged, the labour market sectors in which they operated and the distribution of job applications from 'care' respondents among them are described in Table 23.2. The general categories of 'employer type' used in it are an adaptation of those used by the Statistical Office of the European Community, but the labels attached to employers in the main body of this Chapter will be more specific.

Table 23.2. Types Of Work Applied For By 'Care' Respondents And Labour Market Location Of Employers Approached.

TYPES OF WORK APPLIED FOR BY 'CARE' RESPONDENTS	LABOUR MARKET SECTOR LOCATION OF EMPLOYERS (n=115)		
	PRIMARY SECTOR	SECONDARY SECTOR	ALL TOTALS
Metal Manufacturing.	1	3	4
Mechanical Engineering.	2	2	4
Electrical Engineering.	3	4	7
Food Retailing.	3	4	7
Insurance.	4	1	5
Cattering.	4	6	10
Printing and Publishing.	1	3	4
Rubber and Plastics.	1		1
Building Trades.	4	9	13
Clothing and Footware.	3	9	12
Motor Vechicles.	3	5	8
Public Services.	3		3
Public Utilities.	1		1
Other Retailing.	7	12	19
Other Manufacturing.	2	7	9
Other Services.	2	5	8
Totals.	45	70	115

It should be noted that the number of eligible firms fell far short of the total number of job applications submitted by 'care' respondents. This was because some employers were approached by more than one young person, while several of them made repeated requests for work with the same firm.

Furthermore, as the study discovered that Hinkley's and Ingleby's 'care' respondents were not confined to separate, distinctive local labour markets the presentation of employers' perceptions of young people in 'care' will not distinguish between the perceptions had of these young people on a borough to borough basis, but deals with all 'care' respondents en masse. This Chapter commences with an analysis of employers' public domain perceptions of young people in 'care' followed by an attempt to trace the symmetry found between this set of perceptions with those employers exhibited in their private business domains. It is an undertaking which points to the consistency with which those who were in the position to offer 'care' respondents work adhered to a particular mode of thought about these young people and the implications of this for their job prospects.

23.2. Employers Public Domain Perceptions Of Young People In 'Care'.

An analysis of the responses employers gave to the questions listed in Table 23.3. will be provided in order to uncover their public domain perceptions of young people in local authority residential 'care'. It is an undertaking that will pay special attention to the differing frequencies with which 'better' and 'worse' responses were received, as these provided the most direct evidence of the kind of impact employers' these perceptions were likely to have on job prospects of these young people. Responses which fell into the 'don't know' category were treated as indicating the absence of any definite opinion while a 'same' category was introduced to cater for employers who saw no difference between those of differing 'care' status with regard to specific questions asked.

Finally, for analytical purposes, respondents were sub-divided into primary and secondary sector employers. Whilst the attempt to discriminate between them in this way was hampered by a lack background information on all respondent employers, this was mitigated by the use of those distinguishing features, set out in Chapter 8, of the two sectors as discriminatory criteria.

Table 23.3. Employer Interviews: Responses To Questions Asked.

QUESTIONS.	EMPLOYER RESPONSES (n=115)			
	BETTER.	WORSE.	SAME.	D/K.
1. Do you think that the attitude and willingness of young people in 'care' to work is better or worse or the same as that of other young people?	14(12%)	62(53%)	28(24%)	11(9%)
2. Do you think the ability of young people in 'care' to meet the demands employers place on workers to read, write and be numerate is better or worse or the same as that of other young people?	5(4%)	59(51%)	42(36%)	9(8%)
3. Do you think the ability of young people in 'care' to meet the physical demands of work is better or worse or the same as that of other young people?	2(2%)		107(92%)	6(5%)
4. Do you think the verbal skills of young people in 'care' are better or worse or the same as those of other young people?	7(6%)	35(30%)	32(28%)	41(35%)
5. Do you think the maturity and emotional stability of young people in 'care' is better or worse or the same as that of other young people?		78(67%)	17(15%)	20(17%)
6. Do you think the ability of young people in 'care' to get on with supervisors is better or worse or the same as that of other young people?	4(3%)	75(65%)	14(12%)	22(19%)
7. Do you think the ability of young people in 'care' to get on with workmates is better or worse or the same as that of other young people?	6(5%)	67(58%)	39(34%)	3(3%)
8. Do you think young people in 'care' represent an employment risk which is better or worse or the same as that represented by other young people?	11(9%)	83(71%)	9(8%)	12(10%)
Totals	49(5%)	459(50%)	288(32%)	124(14%)

23.2(a.). Question 1. Do You Think The Attitude And Willingness Of Young People In 'Care' To Work Is 'Better' Or 'Worse' Or The 'Same' As That Of Other Young People?

With 62 (53%) respondent employers believing that young people in 'care' had a worse attitude towards, and were less willing to work than others of their age, more than half this respondent group supported this view. Only 14 (12%) of the employers held the opposite view, while 28 (24%) of them reported that they felt 'care' status made no difference to young peoples' attitudes in this respect. As a result, the omens for a successful outcome to the job search efforts of young people in 'care' were not good.

Moreover, the importance several employers attached to school-leavers having a 'good' attitude to work and being willing workers, made the predominance of 'worse' responses particularly worrying. Comments of the kind listed below illustrate this point:

> *"When it comes to appointing school-leavers the thing I look for first is their interest in the post that they are applying for. I don't look for much else... it would be unreasonable to expect them to offer the skills which we looked for in older job applicants. However, if young people don't seem to really want the jobs I might be interviewing them for I'm not going to be interested in them. Unfortunately, I don't have great expectations of young people in care in this respect".*
>
> (Primary Sector Employer - Wood Turners).

> *"If we take on 16 year olds we expect to lose many of them within the first six months. However, it is in the company's interests to keep on those who show promise and while there are always exceptions we wouldn't expect young people in care to be as happy in their work and interested in it as others of their age".*
>
> (Primary Sector Employer - Stationers).

> *"School-leavers are always a bit of an unknown quantity. As they are new to the world of work it is difficult to be sure how well they are going to perform... The way they present themselves in writing and at interview is vital... They must seem to want the job on offer and show*

> *that they have some potential if they stand any chance of getting it. As young people in care probably have a number of personal problems which might make it difficult for them to accept that they have to do their job and do what they are told extra doubts about their attitude and willingness towards work must exist".*
>
> (Primary Sector Employer - Insurance).

> *"A lot of time and effort is put into finding suitable employees... The trouble with school-leavers is they have no previous employment history on which you can judge their likely performance if they are offered a job so their ability to demonstrate the right kind of attitude to, and an interest in the job on offer is vital. While I don't know too much about young people in care I would have more concerns about their attitude and interest than, perhaps, I might normally".*
>
> (Secondary Sector Employer - Cleaners).

Comments of the kind cited above make it clear that school-leavers are frequently appointed by firms on the basis of their potential and that attitude and willingness towards work are used as key indicators of this. Therefore, if 'care' respondents are perceived by potential employers as unusually deficient in these respects, their chances of getting a decent job may reasonably be assumed to plummet. If so, the frequency with which many employers had woven into their perceptions of young people in 'care' the image of them as poorly motivated, disinterested workers posed an enormous threat to their job prospects.

It was a threat which emerged as presenting itself most potently in the primary sector in which the decision to employ was more likely to be associated with higher follow-on costs than in the secondary sector. As a result, primary sector firms have an unusually high financial interest in ensuring that those who to whom they offer work remain in their employment. Therefore, the perception a number of these respondent employers had of young people in 'care' as having a 'worse' attitude towards, and of being less willing to work was a major obstacle to their employment in this sector.

23.2(b.). Question 2. Do You Think The Ability Of Young People In 'Care' To Meet The Demands Employers Place On Workers To Read, Write And Be Numerate Is Better, Or Worse Or The Same As That Of Other Young People?

With 59 (51%) of employers falling into the 'worse', and only 5 (4%) into 'better' categories the estimates they made of the comparative ability of young people in 'care', and not in 'care' to meet the demands employment placed on their reading, writing and numeracy contrasted starkly. Precisely, why so many employers regarded young people in 'care' as less able than others of their age, to demonstrate the basic academic skills they would require in the course of their work, was not clear, but there are only a limited number of explanations capable of explaining why this should have been so:

1. Direct experience of young people in 'care' gained through having employed them.

2. Adherence to a set of a priori assumptions which define young people in care as lacking in basic academic skills.

3. A combination of 1. and 2.

However, when attempting to assess which of the above explanations most probably accounted for the views of employers the admitted limited knowledge many had about young people in 'care' and accompanying uncertainty as to whether, or not, they had ever employed any of them, automatically rule out the first, and thereby the third of these explanations. Therefore, as most employers whose responses to Question 2. fell into the 'worse' category must have spoke from a basis of ignorance. Their responses must have been been predicated on series of a priori assumptions, like those contained within the social definition of young people in 'care'.

Moreover, the perception of many employers of young people in 'care' as less able than their 'non-care' counterparts to cope with the demands employment places on their academic skills, conceals within it a pernicious risk. It is a risk embedded in the one dimensional view of young people in 'care' engendered by a stereotyped, but false image of them as academically incompetent. It is impossible for employers wedded to this image to recognize that most young people in, and not in 'care' can cope equally well with the demands of employment places on their abilities to read, write and be numerate.

However, it is important to stress that with 42 (36%) of the employers interviewed stating that they saw no difference in the ability of young people in, and not in 'care' to demonstrate basic academic skills, while a further 9 (8%) had no opinion on this matter research findings were not so damning for those in 'care' as reference to the differential between 'worse' and 'better' responses alone imply. Indeed, many employers did not seem to consider academic attainment a particularly important factor when making recruitment decisions. One respondent for many of those who were of this view when observing:

> *"When I'm interviewing school-leavers who have applied to us for employment I don't place emphasis on their academic achievements. All I want to know is if someone has a good head on his shoulders. If they have they will learn and make use of the training we offer".*

(Primary Sector Employer - Food Retailer).

Nevertheless, a surprising number of employers still expressed an interest in the level of academic attainment achieved by job applicants. Upon investigation it was discovered, as it was in the pilot study, that it was used as a convenient personal device for screening out job applicants to reduce their number to a manageable level for job interview purposes. It was an interest which had no bearing on the academic skills employers considered relevant to specific jobs and reflected the highly competitive nature of the labour market at the time when the study took place.

23.2(c.). Question 3. Do You Think The Ability Of Young In 'Care' To Meet The Physical Demands Of Employment Is Better, Or Worse Or The Same As That Of Other Young People?

Reference to Table 23.3. shows that of all questions put to employers their responses to Question 3. indicated the greatest degree of similarity in the ways they perceived young people in, and not in 'care', with 107 (92%) of interviewees declaring that they believed the abilities of young people to cope, regardless of care status, to be the 'same'. It is a finding which came as no surprise, as good physical health is one of the most obvious assets the young can offer prospective employers - ill-health and physical decline come, unfortunately, with age.

In addition, whilst most employers who participated in the study regarded physical fitness on the part of employees as advantageous 32 approached by 'care' respondents placed special emphasis on this. Comments made which were indicative of this included the following:

> *"Anyone who works for this firm is doing a physically demanding job and if they don't look like they could handle this aspect of the work they don't get taken on".*
>
> (Secondary Sector Employer - Builder Merchants).

> *"All recruits have to be able to meet a minimum set of demanding conditions which are applied to their general health and physical fitness".*
>
> (Primary Sector Employer - Fire Brigade).

> *"This is a small company and there is not enough spare capacity within the company's staff resources to keep production going smoothly if employees are always off sick or can't keep up with the pace of the work".*
>
> (Secondary Sector Employer - Dress Maker).

> *"I don't think people realize just how hard the catering trade is. Hours can be long, there is a lot of fetching and carrying and the heat in cooking areas can be killing in summer".*
>
> (Primary Sector Employer - Health Authority).

> *"New employees are often surprised at the interest we take in their health, as office work is not obviously physically demanding. However, it can, in its own way, make surprisingly high physical demands and the cost to the authority of its pensions scheme and its reluctance to pay staff who may regularly be absent from work means a special interest is taken in the ability of candidates to cope with the physical demands of the posts they apply for. It is always considered at some stage in the appointment process".*
>
> (Primary Sector Employer - Public Utility).

> *"School-leavers are fine for this job. They are a bit lacking in stamina, but they are young and fit so can keep on going".*
>
> (Secondary Sector Employer - Food Retailer).

Employers who attached importance to the ability of young people to meet the physical demands of work were scattered across the primary and secondary sectors, providing manual and non-manual employment. In short the perceived physical prowess of job applicants, irrespective of gender, emerged as an influential mechanism in controlling access to employment. It was to the advantage of 'care' respondents that in, at least, this respect employers interviewed perceived them no differently from their 'non-care' counterparts.

23.2(d.). Question 4. Do You Think The Verbal Skills Of Young People In 'Care' Are Better, Or Worse Or The Same As Those Of Other Young People?

Only 7 (6%) employers felt that the verabl skills of young people in 'care' were likely to be 'better' than those of other young people, compared with the 35 (30%) who provided a 'worse' rating. Of these 26 linked the assumed 'problems', low level of academic attainment and poor family relationships of young people in 'care' with their, supposedly, restricted verbal skills. The provision of such a complex multi-causal explanation by employers was perplexing as most openly admitted to having little, or no first hand knowledge of these young people.

Closer analysis of the employers opinions, however, reveals that they contained within them the same strands of thought running throughout the social definition of young people in 'care'. In effect, employers merely mouthed this definition in the accounts they gave of the 'deficient' verbal skills of such young people. As this definition is a cultural product permeating society, it was freely available to any respondent employer and provided a ready made explanation of why the verbal abilities of young people in 'care' must be 'worse' than those of other young people. The accessibility of the social definition meant that absence of direct experience of young people in 'care' was not a barrier to employers 'knowing' what these young people are like and why this is so.

The threat that the employers perceptions of the poor verbal abilities of young people in 'care' posed to their employment prospects was considerable. Employers who rated the verbal skills of these young people as 'worse' were distributed across a wide range of firms and all described these skills as either an essential or desirable quality looked for in all job applicants. Firms in the retail trade, whose workers have direct contact with the public, were particularly interested in these skills, as were several primary sector enterprises which laid stress on the importance of recruiting individuals who could comprehend verbal instructions, and intelligibly convey up and down line management structures, requests for advice, questions, information etc.

Nevertheless, whilst analysis of the research findings reveals a dearth of 'better' responses to Question 4. it also shows that with 'same' and 'don't know' responses being returned by 32 (28%) and 41 (35%) of employers, respectively, the perceptions the majority of interviewees had of the verbal skills of young people in 'care' demonstrated some independence from the strictures of the social definition.

23.2(e.). Question 5. Do You Think The Maturity And Emotional Stability Of Young People In 'Care' Is Better, Or Worse Or The Same As That Of Other Young People?

Replies received to this Question revealed deep disquiet among employers about what they saw as the lack of maturity and emotional stability of young people in 'care'. The concentration of 78 (67%) employers in Tables 23.3's. 'worse' category and the absence of any replies classified as 'better' defines the level of this disquiet.

Furthermore, such was the imbalance between employers' opinions which fell into the 'worse' and 'better' categories that it appeared that their concerns about the maturity and emotional stability of young people in 'care' were founded on a basis of certainty about this matter. Thus, only 17 (15%) employers considered the maturity and emotional stability of all young people in, and not in 'care' to be the same while another 20 (17%) employers had no opinion to offer.

The striking certainty with which the majority of employers believed that young people in 'care' are unusually immature did not augur well for their employment chances as the words of several employers made clear:

> *"You have to make allowances for all kids who join from school, they are still growing up. But I can only use those who seem as though they have enough about them to do the job and be trusted to get on with it. ... I have had children (young people) in care work for me and they have not been a great success... they don't stay and need chasing all the time. I think its because they don't come from proper families so don't have the the stability a family provides and maturity it helps encourage".*
>
> (My Brackets) (Secondary Sector Employer - Landscape Gardener).

> *"This company operates an Equal Opportunities policy and would not turn down an application for employment from a young person in care simply because they are in care. However, as their being in 'care' implies that they might be unusually mature and not be emotionally stable we would have to think very carefully before making them a job offer".*
>
> (Primary Sector Employer - Hoteliers).

> *"I've always assumed that one of the reasons young people end up in care is because they are not stable and act in immature and irresponsible ways. I don't personally have a problem with this, but our men have to work in other people's houses and when in them must always act correctly, they represent the firm. Because of the problems they have I'm not sure that I could rely on someone in care do that".*
>
> (Secondary Sector Employers - Decorator).

> *"The number of apprenticeships on offer each year varies, but it's never many and the competition for them is intense so the company can afford to be choosy. Only the best are offered an apprenticeship which entails a substantial financial commitment in them on its part and belief that they have the maturity and stability to complete their apprenticeship. It's (the apprenticeship) an investment they make in themselves whose benefits are not immediate and the problems they have and no, I imagine, family support I think young people in care are less likely to serve apprenticeships out than other young people".*
>
> (My Brackets) (Primary Sector Employer - Engineers).

Implicit in the above comments are a raft of assumptions which describe young people in 'care' as; a.) deprived of supportive family backgrounds; b.) as less reliable and trustworthy than other young people; c.) as less likely to remain with employers, and; d.) as needing an unusually high amount of managerial oversight. It seems that employers who viewed young people in 'care' in this way considered them to be an abnormally high employment risk. It is a perception whose resonance with the social definition of young people in 'care' is unmistakable.

Yet, the tenacity with which most employers interviewed clung to their perception of young people in 'care' as 'immature' and 'unstable' was matched by their failure to define the meaning of these terms. As a result, the references interviewees made to the 'poor' family backgrounds, to the 'unreliability', to the 'inability' of these young people to stick with a job and to their 'need' for a high level of supervision were cited as 'symptoms' denoting whatever employers happened to think 'immaturity' and 'instability' to be. It is likely that for some, these terms were devoid of meaning being no more than 'things' they felt young people in 'care' were supposed to be.

23.2(f.). Question 6. Do You Think The Ability Of Young People In 'Care' To Get On With Supervisors Is Better, Or Worse Or The Same As That Of Of Other Young People?

Table 23.3. shows that with 75 (65%) respondent employers believing the ability of young people in 'care' to get on with their supervisors is 'worse' than that of others of the same age, the level of concern about those in 'care' regarding this matter

approached that registered with respect to Question 5. Only 4 (3%) employers interviewed felt that young people in 'care' were likely to have 'better' relationships with supervisors than other young people, while a further 14 (12%) considered there was no difference between two groups in this respect, something 22 (19%) respondents offered no opinion on.

Analysis of research findings also reveals a remarkable symmetry in the responses received from employers to Question 6. and those teachers gave to Proposition 9. (Young people in 'care' are more likely to have difficult relationships with teachers than other young people). Just as an overwhelming majority of teachers anticipated having an unusually high level of trouble in their dealings with young pupils in 'care,' so did employers.

Furthermore, like teachers, employers tended to explain their pessimism by reference to the anti-authoritarinism of young people in 'care'. As a result, it was assumed that they would reject the discipline of the work place. Some employers regarded this as stemming from the background of individuals and considered their anti-authoritarianism as the causing them to come into 'care'.

As all employers have a crucial interest in ensuring that the tasks they pay employees to do are carried out on time and in conformance to specification and use supervisors to make sure that this happens, it seems that the employment prospects of a young people in 'care' are correlated to the assessments employers make of their ability to accept supervision. If so, the following comments, representative of the those received from the majority received of employers, are cause for concern:

> *"Young people in care have problems with (i.e. accepting) authority, but when they are at work they just have to accept it. If they don't they go".*
>
> (My Brackets) (Secondary Sector Employer - T.V. Repair).
>
> *"I have worries about young people in care in this respect as I believe they are often only placed in care because they are beyond the control of their parents. This would make me hesitate before offering a job to one. Profit margins are low and staff costs are high so it is expected*

of those we employ that they follow their supervisors instructions. Its a basic condition of employment. If they can't or won't dismissal is often the only alternative".

(Primary Sector - Food Retailer).

"The problems young people in care have would not stop me from employing them but I would expect more difficulties between them and supervisors. If they don't adapt to the demands of discipline quickly I can easily lay them off. Recruiting school-leavers is no problem".

(My Brackets) (Secondary Sector - Stationers).

"Its not something I've given much thought to, but I imagine young people in care would not be as able to get on with supervisors as well as others of their age. With their backgrounds I would be surprised if they refused to conform to the rules".

(Primary Sector Employer - Spectical Manufacturer).

The remarks of employers laid bare the doubts they had about the ability of young people in 'care' to get on with their supervisors and reinforced the importance attached to the need for these young people to form good relationships with those responsible for them in the work place; failure to do so was invariably seen as grounds for dismissal. However, to be dismissed an individual must first have a job to lose and the level of concern employers expressed about the acceptance of authority by young people in 'care' was such that it seemed many employers would be reluctant to offer a job to these young people.

Yet, nearly all the study's 'care' respondents lacked a history suggesting that they might be particularly anti-authoritarian and, therefore, unlikely to get on with their supervisors. The fictional exaggerated and distorted perceptions of young people in 'care' appears to have again assumed the guise of 'reality'. Unfortunately, at a time of high youth unemployment few employers had need to review their beliefs and consider how they could assist all young people to successfully manage the transition from school to work.

23.2(g.). Question 7. Do You Think The Ability Of Young People In 'Care' To Get On With Workmates Is Better, Or Worse Or The Same As That Of Other Young People?

When respondent employers were asked to consider the quality of relationships they felt young people in 'care' were liable to make with workmates, the despondency marking the replies to the two previous questions eased, with 39 (34%) respondents of the opinion that the ability of young people in, and not in 'care' to do so was the 'same'. However, this Question did not herald a sea change in employers' perceptions with 67 (58%) of them providing replies which slotted into the 'worse' category. Employers who considered that those in 'care' would be 'better' than other young people at making relationships with workmates were an aberrant minority of 6 (5%). Thus, the easing of employers' doubts indicated by the spread responses to this Question merely meant they were held a little less monolithically.

Comments made by employers interviewed, whose responses fell into the 'worse' category once again reflected those many teachers made to Proposition 10. (Young people in 'care' are more likely to have difficult relationships with school mates than other young people) which ran parallel to this Question. More significantly, employers' replies to it repeated the simplistic belief that the 'care' status of 'care' respondents would make it difficult for them to 'fit-in' and cause them to be drawn towards the more dissolute factions of the workforces to which they belonged:

> *"Young people in care are heard about through the media, but rarely met. So if one started here he'd stick out and others working here would wonder what was wrong with him".*
>
> (Secondary Sector Employer - Advertising Displays Manufacturer).

> *"Any trouble young people in care have in establishing themselves with workmates should be overcome... we all try to get on with one another, but the life they have in care means that some will imagine the worst and find it harder than they normally would to accept them".*
>
> (Primary Sector Employer - Catering).

> *"In an organization of this size I don't think it can confidently be assumed that young people who work for the company will find other staff with whom they are able to establish relationships. However, as I understand individuals who are in care often have histories of trouble I am concerned that they might drift towards members of staff who will lead them astray".*
>
> (Primary Sector Employer - Office Equipment Manufacturer).

> *"There are always fringe groups of employees, they nearly always have to be dismissed, who are intent on challenging management. These would probably prove attractive to anyone in care".*
>
> (Primary Sector Employer - Engineers).

> *"The company is small so we must all be able to work together and be on friendly terms. There is a kind of family atmosphere here which we all like, but it does mean that new workers may find it takes time for them to be accepted. This could prove a real problem for young people in care because, knowing my staff, they will be regarded as not being like one of us".*
>
> (Secondary Sector Employer - Electrical Components Assembler).

Despite these kinds of comments, and the widespread belief among employer is that young people in 'care' were not as adept as others of their age at forming relationships with workmates no, 'evdience' was provided by respondents in support of this view. The implication of this was the estimation many respondents made about this matter, was informed by no more than a distorted folk image arising out of the corrosive social definition applied to these young people.

Perhaps, the substantive issue is not the ability of young people in 'care' to get on with workmates, but their workmates ability to get on them. If young people in 'care' are perceived in an exaggerated and distorted way, which results in them being automatically regarded as 'unwholesome' and 'troublesome', they may find themselves confronted by social barriers by those with whom they work. Where this occurs the ability of these young people to form relationships with them cannot be called into question as they are prevented from testing their ability to do so.

23.2(h.). Question 8. Do You Think Young People In 'Care' Represent An Employment Risk Which Is Better, Or Worse Or The Same As That Of Other Young People?

Question 8 differed from all others put to employers as it was non-specific. It simply asked them to evaluate the employment risk they considered young people in 'care' to be, compared to that of other young people. The Question did not link this assessment with an estimation of any specified qualities, it just asked employers to specifiy which young people (i.e. young people in, and not in 'care') they consider to be most 'risky' to employ.

Following on from the specificity of all earlier questions the non-specific framing of Question 8 allowed responses to it to be treated as a summary of respondent opinion. Responses elicited were, therefore, extremely alarming with the previously high levels of employers' pessimism and distrust of young people in 'care' reaching its peak. With 83 employers (71%) rating young people in 'care' as a 'worse' employment risk than other young people it seemed the study's 'care' respondents who felt they stood more chance of getting a job if they concealed their 'care' status were probably right.

Yet, despite the unyielding certainty with which employers assessed young people in 'care' as high employment risks the reasons given for doing so were uniformly vague. Repeated references were made to their 'problems', lack of family support, anti-authoritarian attitudes etc., but nothing was said to substantiate these seemingly taken for granted truths. For example:

> *"You take a risk each time you employ someone, but the problems those in care have must mean we take a bigger risk when we take them on".*
>
> (Primary Sector Employer - Rubber and Plastic Manufacturer).

> *"I believe the support of a family gives to a youngster just starting work is vital, and as a lot in care don't have this they are likely to present risks to employers that other youngsters, with a family behind them, do not".*

(Secondary Sector Employer - Building Trade).

> *"I... anticipate young people in care as worse employment risks than young people who are not in care. There are all sorts of reasons for this, but its mainly because I feel they will resent being told what to do".*
>
> (Secondary Sector - Gardener).

Once again, the exaggerated and distorted perception of young people in 'care' as 'troublesome' individuals appears to have directed the thinking of employers, providing them with such a flimsy foundation of 'truth' that 'reality' seemed to have eluded them. As a result, while they were so highly attuned to the assumed employment risk young people in 'care' might present respondents overlooked the tremendous boost to the reliability of these young people the imminence of their independence provided by giving them with an interest in, and need to prove themselves as employees, which surpassed that of most other young people.

23.3. Conclusions: Consistency Of Employers' Public And Private Domain Perceptions Of Young People In 'Care'.

It should be clear that the perceptions respondent employers had of young people in 'care' were not merely unfavourable, they were so bad it was a wonder any 'care' respondents ever found work. The series of net negative ratings, displayed in Table 23.4. imply that employers regarded these young people as an anarchic force who were fancifully perceived capable of wrecking businesses.

Unfortunately, with 39% and 63% of all 'care' and 'non-care' respondents, respectively, employed at the time they were half-way through their first year on the labour, and only 59% of the former compared with 84% of the latter, working at the end of that year, employers' public domain perceptions of young people in 'care' seemed to accurately reflect those they held of them when they intruded into the privacy of respondents' business domains. As a result, the anticipated problem of respondent 'honesty' did not materialize. Employers, with ruinous implications for the job prospects of young people in 'care', held with remarkable consistency to a set of perceptions about these young people, upon which their chances of finding work appeared to ultimately turn.

Table 23.4. Employer Interviews: Positive/Negative Ratings Of Young People In 'Care'.

QUESTIONS.	EMPLOYER RESPONSES (n=115)		
	PERCENTAGE BETTER (+) RATING	PERCENTAGE WORSE (-) RATING	NET NEGATIVE/ POSITIVE RATING
1. Do you think that the attitude and willingness towards work of young people in 'care' is better or worse or the same as that of other young people?	+12%	-53%	-41%
2. Do you think the ability of young people in 'care' to meet the demands employers place on workers to read write and be numerate is better or or worse or the same as that of other young people?	+4%	-51%	-47%
3. Do you think the ability of young people in 'care' to meet the physical demands of work is better or worse or the same as that of other young people?	+2%	0%	+2%
4. Do you think the verbal skills of young people in 'care' are better or worse or the same as those of other young people?	+6%	-30%	-24%
5. Do you think the maturity and emotional stability of young people in 'care' is better or worse or the same as that of other young people?	0%	-67%	-67%
6. Do you think the ability of young people in 'care' to get on with supervisors is better or worse or the same as that of other young people?	+3%	-65%	-62%
7. Do you think the ability of young people in 'care' to get on with workmates is better or worse or the same as that of other young people?	+5%	-58%	-53%
8. Do you think young people in 'care' represent an employment risk which is better or worse or the same as that represented by other young people?	+9%	-71%	-62%
Average Ratings.	+5%	-49%	-44%

Once again, it is stressed that the objective accuracy of employers' perceptions is considered much less important than the belief they invested in them. 'Reality' is a subjective matter of belief and, as a result, it is the faith employers place in their perceptions of young people in 'care' which settles the fate they meet on the labour market.

Chapter 24.

'Target' Group: The Public.

24.1. Introduction.

Conducted between October 1988 and February 1989 the public opinion poll was the last part of the fieldwork phase of the research study to be completed with the responses of 100 individuals in Hinkley, and the same number in Ingleby, to a series of questions about young people in local authority residential 'care' being recorded. The importance of this undertaking and of the public as a 'target' respondent group, was considerable as the entire research study was premised on the assumption that the perceptions teachers and employers had of these young people were conditioned by an overlaying social definition. The public opinion poll was used as a device capable of testing this assumption by indicating whether, or not, the definitions teachers and employers applied to young people in 'care' were representative of a wider macro social definition of these young people.

This Chapter will provide an analysis of the responses, differentiated in terms of respondents' estimated ages, gender and racial presentation, to each of the questions put in the course of the opinion poll. However, prior to the presentation of its results, this Introduction will attempt to distinguish between opinion polls and surveys, and indicate the differing extents to which the study's poll embodied aspects of both, before concluding with mention of some of the methodological problems that were confronted in its conduct.

Classifying opinion polls, as distinct from research surveys, presents a definitional problem in need of address. Marsh (1.) provides a useful account of this problem, presenting the differences polls and surveys as existing in 5 orientational plains. These, she concludes, point to the differences between these methods of investigation, in their ideal forms, as being primarily functional. The orientational planes are characterized in the following way:

1. **Orientation To The Subjects Of The Research:** In surveys subjects are treated as informants who are interviewed, because only they can provide the details about the aspects of their inner psychological life that the researcher is interested in, or because they are the most effective data source. In polls, respondents are treated as citizens, whose views are obtained to get a fair picture of what people, in general, are thinking about the matters on which their opinions are polled.

2. **Orientation To The Data:** Responses given to surveys are treated as data which immediately prompts the question: Who gave them, under what conditions, with what significance? The theoretical task is to interpret responses in the search for the structure and cluster of beliefs underpinning the replies of subjects. In polls, responses are treated as votes. As a result, polls are tantamount to referendums which glean their respondents' views, but not the underlying structures and clusters of beliefs.

3. **Orientation To Action:** Inconsistency between attitudes voiced in interview and subsequent behaviours is not surprising or problematic for the survey researcher. This inconsistency may often be the most interesting part of research findings. In polls inconsistency tends to be glossed over with all respondents treated as citizens with clearly articulated and rational points of view: what they say and do are presumed to be in harmony.

4. **Orientation To Policy:** The policy consequences of surveys are not determined by the very nature of the inquiry. It might be that the most important conclusion to be drawn from survey research is that public attitudes and opinions are open to change if suggested measures are taken. In contrast, the policy consequences of polls are not presumed to require reflection. What reason could there be for not bowing to the will of the people?

5. **Orientation to the Audience:** The audience of survey results are the academic and political communities with a specific interest in knowing the views of a group or public. The success of a survey does not lie with the

popularity of the results, as in the case of opinion polls. The audience of poll results is ostensibly the political authority, but is often the very citizen body from whence the original opinions came.

It has been stressed that the argument about the distinction between survey research and opinion poll is largely an argument about ideal types and any piece of research is likely to have elements of each. The effort made to discern the public's perceptions of young people in 'care' was, in this sense, a hybrid undertaking. Although referred to as a poll this was, something, of a misnomer as it failed to conform to a purist's prescription of what a poll is.

Therefore, before proceeding, it is important to be clear about the differing extents to which the attempt to gauge public opinion about young people in care was both a poll and a survey. This is done in terms of the orientational planes:

1. **Orientation To The Subjects Of The Research:** In this plane the orientation of the investigation was an amalgam of survey and poll. It was a survey, in so far as interviewees were treated as informants whose underlying attitudes towards young people in 'care' and system of personal beliefs were of importance to the undertaking. However, the attempt to gauge public opinion also resembled a poll with respondents treated as citizens whose views could be used to gain a reasonable impression of what this opinion might be.

2. **Orientation To Data:** In contrast, the orientation taken towards the data supplied by the public was almost exclusively that of survey. The process of interpreting results was part of a serious attempt to look at the public's attitudes towards young people in care by searching for structures of belief and trying to trace any link from these back to the social definition. Responses were not treated simply as votes polled.

3. **Orientation To Action:** Conversely, the study's orientation to action was almost entirely that of a poll. As members of the public were asked to give their opinions about young people in 'care' and it was not feasible to follow-up respondents after interview to discover if their words were matched

by their later actions. As a result, whilst it was recognized that interviewees' words and actions might be inconsistent with one another they were, by default, treated as if they were.

4. **Orientation To Policy:** In this orientational plane the study's attempt to measure public opinion took on the character of survey research. The policy consequences of attitudes revealed towards young people in 'care' were not regarded as determined by the nature of the inquiry. It might well be that no important policy conclusions could be drawn from it. However, it was hoped that any which did emerge would give cause for thought.

5. **Orientation To Audience:** The hybrid nature of the opinion poll re-emerge when the orientation taken towards its audience is considered. The poll was part of an undertaking interested in having some, if slight, beneficial impact on the life chances available to young people in residential 'care'. To stand any chance of doing so it had to succeed on two fronts. On the one hand, the findings which emerged out of all the component parts of the research study, including those of the opinion poll, had to receive the support of the academic community if the study was to be taken seriously while, on the other hand, pragmatism suggested that its impact would be enhanced if it achieved a measure of popularity.

Unfortunately, what I call, the journalistic function of polling creates some important methodological weaknesses. Reliability and validity of the instruments of research are central questions for anyone wishing to treat results scientifically and the single item questions traditionally put by are:

> *"often volatile, low in test-related reliability and susceptible to minor changes in wording" (2.).*

However, thanks to the hybrid nature of the research study's public opinion poll the problem of data volatility was countered by obliging respondents to answer a series of questions. As a result, it was not a single item undertaking.

Another methodological problem associated with polling is that analysis of findings is invariably predicated on the assumption that respondents and the investigators shared a common understanding of questions asked. The pilot study's poll showed that such an understanding can be illusive if the questions put make over optimistic assumptions about respondents' knowledge, or contain references to vague concepts liable to be given a variety of different interpretations. Using the lessons learned in the course of the pilot study, additional effort was put into devising questions for the main study's poll which were capable of being understood by all respondents and whose understanding was shared by them and the investigator.

Furthermore, to counter anticipated and unanticipated extraneous variables quota and random sampling techniques were used when selecting the poll's respondents. The counfounding effects of gender and racial presentation were controlled by the use of quota sampling, ensuring that numbers of females and males incorporated into the respondents were the same, and sample membership was evenly divided according to the study's categories of racial presentation.

However, not all extraneous confounding variables can be anticipated. To nullify the effects of those which were not, random sampling was used to select the interviewees incorporated into respondent quotas to reduce their impact of unknown variables on the validity of the poll's findings.

Nevertheless, the methodological issues encountered in the attempt made to poll public opinion about young people in 'care' remained formidable. It is only with an awareness of these that the analysis to be provided of it can be properly appreciated and the caution with which its results will be interpreted understood.

Therefore, no global claims will be made for the application of these results which are regarded as reflecting only those opinions held by the members of the public who were polled. However, it is contended that the respondent sample was large enough for the poll to provide an insight into how a cross-section of the general public might perceive young people in local authority residential 'care'.

The purpose of this Chapter is the outline and analysis of the opinion poll's findings.

The questions it put were pre-tested in the course of the pilot study and all reverberate to the themes within the social definition of young people in 'care'. The analysis of the response to these questions will be offered in terms of respondents' gender and racial presentation. No effort will be made to discriminate between the opinions of individuals polled in Hinkley and Ingleby as the findings of the employer survey and measures taken of geographical extent of 'tracer' groups' respondents (indicator J3.) showed young people from the Boroughs competed for jobs within the same labour market, exposing them all to the same 'public' gaze.

24.2. Public Opinion Poll: Presentation And Analysis Of Findings.

Whilst the questions put to the members of the public who took part in the opinion poll were modeled on those asked in the pilot study's poll changes were made which tried to ensure that respondents were; a.) drawn into the interview by awakening their interest; b.) easily brought along from items which were simple to answer to those which were more complex, and; c.) guided as smoothly as possible from one frame of reference to another. To do so the logical progression of questions asked in the main study's public opinion poll differed from that carried out in the pilot, and the term 'young people', which proved to be a source of confusion, was replaced by the self-defining term 'teenagers'.

24.2(a.). Question 1. Do You Know That Some Teenagers In 'Care' Live In Residential Establishments Run By Local Authorities?

As the primary purpose of this Question was limited to rousing respondents' interest in the subject of young people in residential 'care' and thereby drawing them into the interview process it was not expected to provide information of significance. However, the finding that 30 respondents did not know that local authorities provided residential 'care' for teenagers came as a surprise. After all, the child 'care' responsibilities of local authorities has repeatedly been given intense media coverage and been scutinized by a series of well reported Public Inquires. Therefore, to find that the equivalent of 15% of all respondents did not know that young people could be found in residential 'care' was indicative of an unsuspected level of public ignorance. It was an ignorance which was widely dispersed cutting across all sub-samples of respondents, with the exceptions of those in the 41-50 years of age category.

Table 24.1. Public Opinion Poll Question 1: Do You Know That Some Teenagers In 'Care' Live In Residential Establishments Run By Local Authorities?

RESPONDENTS' CHARACTERISTICS												
	AGE (years).						GENDER.			RACIAL PRESENTATION.		
	18-30 (n=52)	31-40 (n=39)	41-50 (n=37)	51-60 (n=37)	60+ (n=35)	Total (n=200)	Female. (n=100)	Male. (n=100)	Total (n=200)	Black (n=100)	White (n=100)	Total (n=200)
Yes.	38(73%)	33(84%)	37(100%)	32(86%)	30(86%)	170(85%)	81(81%)	89(89%)	170(85%)	88(88%)	92(92%)	170(85%)
No.	14(27%)	6(15%)		5(14%)	5(14%)	30(15%)	19(19%)	11(11%)	30(15%)	22(22%)	8(8%)	30(15%)
Totals.	52(100%)	39(99%)	37(100%)	37(100%)	35(100%)	200(100%)	100(100%)	100(100%)	200(100%)	100(100%)	100(100%)	200(100%)

The ignorance of some respondents posed the research study with an enigma. How could this ignorance exist when the 'care' system has such a high public profile? The following two points of explanation may go some way to answering this question.

1. The wording of Question 1. made reference to 'residential establishments' in an attempt to; a.) free respondents to think widely about all kinds of establishments which might accommodate young people, and; b.) avoided use of the term 'Childrens Homes' which implies that they do not deal with teenagers. However, if some respondents did not consider the establishments in which young people in 'care' reside as performing, or needing to perform a 'care' function they may not have associated these establishments with the 'care' system.

2. Media interest in the child 'care' system is highly selective, tending to focus on a series of scandals concerned the tragic consequences of the failure of social workers to fulfill their child protection duties with regard to children living in their family homes. As a result, most of the exposure given to the 'care' system in recent years has concerned children who were not in 'care'. It has not been about young people in, or about residential 'care'. Only since the trial of Frank Beck and the unmasking of 'pin down' regimes in some residential establishments has this situation began to change.

Despite the presence of a few respondents who appeared not to know that local authorities provided residential 'care' for teenagers, with 170 (85%) of those polled reporting that they were aware of this knowledge of such provision was widely spread in all respondent sub-samples. Although anticipated this discovery provided no insights into how respondents regarded these young people and the structures of meaning they attached to them and residential 'care' and the relationship of these structures with the social definition applied to this section of the 'care' population. For this information we have have to examine the replies members of the public gave to other questions asked by the poll.

24.2(b.). Question 2. What Do You Think Is The Main Reason For Children Under The Age Under 13 Years For Being In 'Care'?

It has repeatedly been contended that the attempt to understand the child 'care' system from a social perspective necessitates recognition of society's historical and continuing addiction to the principal of less eligibility. Adherence to this principal has supplied society with a justifying philosophical rationale enabling it to discriminate between the deserving and undeserving members of the 'care' population. Whilst it was beyond the scope of the public opinion poll to confirm, or rebut the existence of this distinctions several questions put to respondents attempted to probe for signs of it. Analysis of replies received to Question 2. demonstrate the part it played in this undertaking.

Regardless of age, gender and racial presentations, respondents invariably thought of 'care' as something which happened to children as a result of an event for which they were not responsible. In all, 83.5.% of those polled gave replies indicating that they considered children to be 'innocent' of their in 'care' status.

Strongly associated with the perception of children in 'care' as 'innocents' was that of them as victims. Whilst, this linkage seems reasonable it had a pernicious twist with 76.5% of respondents considering the victimizers to be the parents of these children. Thus, of those polled 25.5% cited inadequate care by parents as the main reason for children coming into residential 'care', 25.5% attributed 'care' to abuse, 21.5% to family breakdown, while an additional 4% to parents rejecting their children.

Ironically, as in the pilot study's poll, the frequency with which respondents associated forms of parental failure with the 'need' to rescue, and bring children into 'care' threatened to stain their 'innocence'. They may have been regarded as 'deserving' by respondents, but the poll indicated that this was at the cost of stigmatizing their families.

Table 24.2. Public Opinion Poll Question 2: What Do You Think Is The Main Reason For Children Under The Age Of 13 Years For Being In 'Care'?

	RESPONDENTS' CHARACTERISTICS											
	AGE (years).						GENDER.			RACIAL PRESENTATION.		
	18-30 (n=52)	31-40 (n=39)	41-50 (n=37)	51-60 (n=37)	60+ (n=35)	Total (n=200)	Female. (n=100)	Male. (n=100)	Total (n=200)	Black (n=100)	White (n=100)	Total (n=200)
Offending.	3(6%)		1(3%)			4(2%)		4(4%)	4(2%)	4(4%)		4(2%)
Failure To Accept Parents Authority.	7(13%)	3(8%)	1(3%)	4(11%)		15(7.5%)	5(5%)	10(10%)	15(7.5%)	11(75%)	4(4%)	15(7.5%)
Not Cared For Properly By Parents.	12(23%)	14(36%)	9(24%)	9(24%)	7(20%)	51(25.5%)	26(26%)	25(25%)	51(25.5%)	23(17%)	28(28%)	51(25.5%)
Been Abused.	10(19%)	14(36%)	14(38%)	6(16%)	7(20%)	51(25.5%)	25(25%)	26(26%)	51(25.5%)	24(24%)	27(27%)	
Family Breakdown.	4(8%)	6(15%)	8(22%)	11(30%)	14(40%)	43(21.5%)	29(29%)	14(14%)	43(21.5%)	18(18%)	25(25%)	43(21.5%)
Illness Of Parents.	5(10%)				5(14%)	10(5%)	7(7%)	3(3%)	10(5%)	8(8%)	2(2%)	10(5%)
Loss Of Parents.			1(3%)	3(8%)		4(2%)	1(1%)	3(3%)	4(2%)		4(4%)	4(2%)
Not Wanted By Parents.	1(2%)	2(5%)		4(11%)	1(3%)	8(4%)	2(2%)	6(6%)	8(4%)	4(4%)	4(4%)	8(4%)
Other.	8(15%)					8(4%)	4(4%)	4(4%)	8(4%)	4(4%)	3(3%)	8(4%)
Don't Know.	2(4%)		3(8%)		1(3%)	6(3%)	1(1%)	5(5%)	6(3%)	3(3%)	3(3%)	6(3%)
Totals	52(100%)	39(100%)	37(101%)	37(100%)	35(100%)	200(100%)	100(100%)	100(100%)	200(100%)	100(100%)	100(100%)	200(100%)

24.2(c.). Question 3. What Do You Think Is The Main Reason For Teenagers Being In 'Care'?

When juxtaposed the responses received to Questions 2 and 3 provide an interesting contrast which takes forward the attempt to identify the 'public's' sub-division of the 'care' population into the 'deserving' and 'undeserving'. With 89% of the poll's participants of the opinion that the main reasons for teenagers being in 'care' were, in descending order, their failure to accept parental authority, 'bad' behaviour and offending, these young people were perceived as the antithesis of children in 'care'. Whereas public opinion regarded children as 'deserving', innocents saved by, and not responsible for their 'care,' responses to the poll described teenagers in very different terms. As occured in the pilot study, these young people appeared to be regarded as a collection of 'undeserving' delinquents from whom society was rescued by taking them into 'care', an act for which they usually bore direct responsibility. Comments made by the poll's respondents were indicative of this:

> *"They get into trouble at home, or in the school or in the community".*
>
> (Hinkley Poll).
>
> *"Parents can't cope with their behaviour".*
>
> (Hinkley Poll).
>
> *"They have truancy and behaviour problems".*
>
> (Hinkley Poll).
>
> *"These kids are out of parents control".*
>
> (Ingleby Poll).
>
> *"They have committed crimes".*
>
> (Ingleby Poll).
>
> *"They're in 'care' because they are bad".*
>
> (Ingleby Poll).

Table 24.3. Public Opinion Poll Question 3: What Do You Think Is The Main Reason For Teenagers Being In 'Care'?

	RESPONDENTS' CHARACTERISTICS.											
	AGE (years).						GENDER.			RACIAL PRESENTATION.		
	18-30 (n=52)	31-40 (n=39)	41-50 (n=37)	51-60 (n=37)	60+ (n=35)	Total (n=200)	Female. (n=100)	Male. (n=100)	Total (n=200)	Black (n=100)	White (n=100)	Total (n=200)
Offending.	14(27%)		8(22%)		10(29%)	32(16%)	22(22%)	10(10%)	32(16%)	23(23%)	9(9%)	32(16%)
Failure To Accept Parents Authority.	20(38%)	29(74%)	12(32%)	23(62%)	14(40%)	98(49%)	52(52%)	46(46%)	98(49%)	41(41%)	57(57%)	98(49%)
Not Cared For Properly By Parents.				3(8%)		3(1.5%)		3(3%)	3(1.5%)	3(3%)		3(1.5%)
Been Abused.				7(19%)	1(3%)	8(4%)	4(4%)	4(4%)	8(4%)	2(2%)	6(6%)	8(4%)
Behaviour.	14(27%)	10(26%)	9(24%)	4(11%)	7(20%)	44(24%)	22(22%)	22(22%)	44(22%)	21(21%)	23(23%)	44(22%)
Family Breakdown.			4(11%)		3(9%)	7(3.5%)		7(7%)	7(3.5%)	3(3%)	4(4%)	7(3.%5)
Other	4(8%)		4(11%)			8(4%)		8(8%)	8(4%)	7(7%)	1(1%)	8(4%)
Don't Know.												
Totals.	52(100%)	39(100%)	37(101%)	37(100%)	35(101%)	200(100%)	100(100%)	100(100%)	200(100%)	100(100%)	100(100%)	200(100%)

With 49% of respondents believing young people most often came into 'care' because of their failure to accept parental authority, this belief was widespread with it being received from each of the sub-samples shown in Table 24.3.

However, the willingness of respondents to attribute the in 'care' status of teenagers to non-compliance with parental authority, differed between sub-samples. This was most evident when the replies received by the poll are examined in terms of respondent's ages with 32% of 41-50 year olds compared with 74% of 31-40 year olds giving this as the main reason for teenagers coming into 'care'.

The differing frequencies with which members of the public referred to failure to accept parental authority as the main reason for 'care' varied less in terms of respondents' genders, with 52% of females and 46% of males interviewed adhering to this view. However, when the distribution of this response is examined by respondents' racial presentations Table 24.3. shows that a wider differential separated the 41% of Black and 57% of White respondents who gave this reply.

As a result it seems that age, racial presentation and, to a lesser extent, gender were all variables which influenced the frequency with which respondents attributed the necessity to bring teenagers into 'care' to their rejection of parental authority. The poll's findings indicate that White females aged between 31 and 40 years were most likely to hold this views and that Black males aged between 41 and 50 years were the least likely to do so.

Yet, the differing proportions of the respondent sub-samples which attributed 'care' to teenagers' failure to accept parental authority was a matter of secondary interest. Of prime importance is the high frequency with which this cause was given as the main reason for 'care'. Its repetition generates an image of teenagers in 'care' as 'bad' and 'undeserving' individuals who represent a threat to that basic social unit, the family.

The unacceptable 'behaviour' of teenagers in 'care' emerged poll as the second most common reason, in all respondent sub-samples, for their coming into 'care'. Results of the poll show that the proportions of the respondent age groups who gave this reason, aside from an aberrant 11% of 51 to 60 year olds, ranged from 20% to 27%. In addition, 22% of both males and females interviewed and 21% of Black, compared with 23% of White respondents, also felt that it was the behaviour of teenagers which most often lead to their being in 'care'.

'Offending' was the third most frequently received 'main' reason for 'care' being expressed by 16% of all the poll's respondents. Most often given by those over the age of 60 years the distribution of this response, according to age, was globular. Table 24.3. shows that the proportions of the 18 to 30 years, 41 to 50 years and 60+ years old age groups who were of this opinion ranged from 22% to 29%, but that no members of the 31 to 40 years and 51 to 60 years age groups shared this view.

Furthermore, the distribution of responses attributing 'care' to offending on the part of teenagers indicated that the views of individuals polled tended to be polarized in terms of their gender and racial presentation. As a result, while only 10% of males questioned considered offending to be the main reason for 'care', 22% of females approached felt that it was. Similarly, 9% of White, compared with 23% of Black respondents attributed the 'care' status of teenagers to their offending.

The proportion of those polled who considered offending to be the main reason for teenagers being in 'care', while less than the 29% of the pilot study's respondents who shared this opinion still had ominous implications. It is an understanding of the need for 'care' which points to the public's perception of the 'care' system, with respect to teenagers, as having a predominently penal function; as existing to punish 'bad' boys and girls.

A worrying aspect of the poll's findings is the interlocking nature of the opinions expressed. Failure to accept parental authority, the behavioural 'problems' of young people in 'care' and their offending, all reflect negative perceptions of them and as reasons for 'care', they are made interchangeable by the unifying concept of 'badness'. From this perspective non-compliance with parental authority, 'unacceptable' behaviour and offending can all be interpreted as nothing more than different manifestations of the same thing - the 'badness' of young people in 'care'.

Moreover, with each of the three most widely believed main reasons for 'care' depicting young people as sources of trouble, as being deviant the bifurcated nature of the public's perception of the child 'care' system, and of the 'care' population starts to emerge. The contrast in the opinion polled between the main reasons given for children and for teenagers coming into 'care' could hardly have been more stark, making clear the continuing popular appeal of less eligibility. Consequently, these reasons effectively defined children and teenagers in 'care' as the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' members, respectively, of this population. With none of those polled returning 'don't know' replies to Question 3. these are definitions respondents appeared to have few doubts about.

24.2(d.). Question 4. Do You Think Children In 'Care' Under The Age Of 13 Years Are Most Often Placed In Residential Homes, Or With Foster Families, Or With Their Own Parents?

The majority (67%) of all respondents were of the opinion that children in 'care' were usually placed with foster families and nearly all who expressed this view displayed an approving attitude towards this form of 'care'. These respondents appeared to think that fostering was the next best thing to children remaining within their own families, which were invariably regarded as no longer able, or fit to care for them. As a result, the importance of the notion of 'care' as a form of 'rescue' for children who are the victims of their families was re-emphasized.

When responses to Question 4. are analyzed in terms of respondents' ages, genders and racial presentations does the dominance of the belief that children in 'care' are usually fostered emerged most clearly. Table 24.4. shows that the affinity between the proportions of the differing age groups who expressed this opinion was greater than that between them and their counterparts of the same age who believe that children were normally placed in other 'care' settings. The same was found to be true when responses were looked at in terms of respondents' genders and racial presentations with White females, age 51-60 years appearing to be more likely than any other respondents to consider children in 'care' as being most often placed with foster families.

Table 24.4. Public Opinion Poll Question 4: Do You Think Children Under The Age Of 13 Years In 'Care' Are Most Often Placed in Residential Homes, Or With Foster Families, Or With Their Own Parents?

	RESPONDENTS' CHARACTERISTICS.											
	AGE (years).						GENDER.			RACIAL PRESENTATION.		
	18-30 (n=52)	31-40 (n=39)	41-50 (n=37)	51-60 (n=37)	60+ (n=35)	Total (n=200)	Female. (n=100)	Male. (n=100)	Total (n=200)	Black (n=100)	White (n=100)	Total (n=200)
Foster Family.	31(60%)	28(72%)	25(68%)	29(78%)	21(60%)	134(67%)	73(73%)	61(61%)	134(67%)	62(62%)	72(72%)	134(67%)
Residential. Home	7(13%)	9(23%)	7(19%)	4(11%)	9(26%)	36(18%)	12(12%)	24(30%)	36(18%)	22(22%)	14(14%)	36(18%)
Own Parents.	6(12%)		2(5%)			8(4%)	7(7%)	1(1%)	8(4%)	2(2%)	6(6%)	8(4%)
Don't Know.	8(15%)	2(5%)	3(8%)	4(11%)	5(14%)	22(11%)	8(8%)	14(14%)	22(11%)	14(14%)	8(8%)	22(11%)
Totals.	52(99%)	39(100%)	37(100%)	37(100%)	35(100%)	200(100%)	100(100%)	100(100%)	200(100%)	100(100%)	100(100%)	200(100%)

Only 18% of the poll's respondents thought that children were usually placed in residential homes. Of these, as in the pilot study, several did not favour this type of 'care' setting, but saw it as a 'necessary evil' because of the moribundness of children's families and shortage of foster parents.

The findings of the public opinion poll also reflected those of the pilot study in the rarity with which respondents felt that children in 'care' tended to be placed in their own families or, as it is termed, 'Home on Trial'. As this is the most common 'care' setting in which children are placed the appreciation of this by a mere 4% of the poll's respondents represents another alarming gap in public knowledge.

Yet, this gap might not be entirely attributable to respondents ignorance. It may be that a child is only 'truly' regarded as being in 'care' when he, or she is removed from home. If so, 'care' can be seen to be perceived as pertaining more to the location of children and young people, rather than to their legal status.

24.2(e.). Question 5. Do You Think Teenagers In 'Care' Are Most Often Placed In Residential Homes, Or With Foster Families, Or With Their Own Parents?

Replies to Question 5. were an inversion of those received to Question 4. Whereas only 36% of respondents considered children to normally be placed residentially, 84% felt that this was the usual form of 'care' for teenagers. On the other hand, while 67% of those polled held that children in 'care' were usually fostered, only 8% of those questioned thought the same to be true for teenagers. These contrasting responses served to make the proposition that the public had a bifurcated perception of the 'care' population all the more persuasive.

However, whilst the opinion poll's participants viewed children and teenagers as located in different parts of the 'care' system, this did not necessarily mean teenagers were automatically regarded as less 'deserving' than children. It was possible, for example, that residential 'care' had no negative connotations for some respondents, while others may have simply felt that teenagers were much more frequently found in this form of 'care' than children, because it was more suited to their needs, as young people, than fostering. This appeared to be the position of 51 respondents who made the following kinds of comments:

> *"I think teenagers like the freedom as well as the control a children's home offers".*
>
> *"At their (teenagers) age they won't want to try and settle down with a new family".*
>
> (My Brackets).
>
> *"Fostering is probably all right if your a child, but teenagers just want to come and go. They don't need another home".*
>
> *"Children's homes do a good job. I thinks its important that teenagers who can't stay at home have somewhere to go and be properly looked after".*
>
> *"Teenagers don't need to be with foster families, they want a bit of independence and a chance to take some responsibility for themselves".*
>
> *"I can't see 16 or 17 year olds wanting new parents".*

Nevertheless, it is difficult to maintain that the remaining 117 of the poll's 168 respondents had such benign reasons for believing that teenagers are usually placed residentially. The improbability of this is highlighted by responses to Questions 2. and 3. which indicated that a majority of those polled depict teenagers in 'care' as a collection of 'undeserving' delinquents, characterized by their failure to accept parental authority, 'bad' behaviour and offending.

Therefore, the clear implication is that the remaining 117 respondents (58.5% of all the poll's respondents) felt that residential 'care' dealt with a deviant 'hard-core' of the 'care' population in need of control and not capable of being contained within their own, or foster families.

Many respondents made clear the stereotypical view, also identified by the pilot study's poll, that the 'best' members of the 'care' population are fostered while the worse are held in childrens homes, often criticized for not being 'tough enough'. Whilst opinions of this type might only be underpinned by a grotesquely distorted and exaggerated definition of young people in 'care' they raise the spectre of these establishments as being popularly defined as penal institutions. This gives rise to a definition of the residential 'care' which is reminiscent of Foucault's description of the carceral in which the prison transformed the punitive procedure into a penitentiary technique transported to the entire social body in which a series of linked institutions provide continuity of surveillance and punishment of the populous. It is a process which connects;

> *"public assistance with the orphanage, the reformitory, the penitentiary, the disciplinary battalion, the prison; the school with the charitable society, the workshop, the almshouse, the penitentiary convent; the workers estate with the hospital and the prison" (3.).*

In the context of this thesis Foucault's ideas are interesting for they clarify the role of social control fulfilled by the child 'care' system and by residential 'care' in particular. As a result, the mere fact of being in this form of 'care' provides confirmation of public suspicion about those who reside in it. In so doing, the unfavourable ways in which teenagers in 'care' and residential establishments were perceived by the poll's respondents, seemed mutually reinforcing, serving to drive the public perception of each ever lower.

A scant 5.5% of the poll's respondents offered 'Don't Know' responses, a frequency which is interpreted as indicative of the confidence respondents felt about their ability to provide more defined forms of responses to Question 5. However, this confidence appeared misplaced, if the negligible 2.5% of them who felt that teenagers in 'care' were most often placed with their own parents; the most common placement made of these young people.

Table 24.5. Public Opinion Poll Question 5: Do You Think Teenagers In 'Care' Are Most Often Placed in Residential Homes, Or With Foster Families, Or With Their Own Parents?

	RESPONDENTS' CHARACTERISTICS.											
	AGE (years).						GENDER.			RACIAL PRESENTATION.		
	18-30 (n=52)	31-40 (n=39)	41-50 (n=37)	51-60 (n=37)	60+ (n=35)	Total (n=200)	Female. (n=100)	Male. (n=100)	Total (n=200)	Black (n=100)	White (n=100)	Total (n=200)
Foster Family.	8(15%)	5(13%)	2(5%)		1(3%)	16(8%)	8(8%)	8(8%)	16(8%)	5(5%)	11(11%)	16(8%)
Residential Home.	32(61%)	32(82%)	34(92%)	37(100%)	33(94%)	168(84%)	81(81%)	87(87%)	168(84%)	88(88%)	80(80%)	168(84%)
Own Parents.	5(10%)					5(2.5%)	4(4%)	1(4%)	5(2.5%)	2(2%)	3(3%)	5(2.5%)
Don't Know.	7(13%)	2(5%)	1(3%)		1(3%)	11(5.5%)	7(7%)	4(4%)	11(5.5%)	5(5%)	6(6%)	11(5.5%)
Totals.	52(99%)	39(100%)	37(100%)	37(100%)	35(100%)	200(100%)	100(100%)	100(100%)	200(100%)	100(100%)	100(100%)	200(100%)

Table 24.6. Public Opinion Poll Question 6: In Terms Of Examinations Passed Do You Think The School Performance Of Teenagers In Local Authority Residential 'Care' Is Likely To Be Better Than Average, Average Or Below Average?

	RESPONDENTS' CHARACTERISTICS.											
	AGE (years).						GENDER.			RACIAL PRESENTATION.		
	18-30 (n=52)	31-40 (n=39)	41-50 (n=37)	51-60 (n=37)	60+ (n=35)	Total (n=200)	Female. (n=100)	Male. (n=100)	Total (n=200)	Black (n=100)	White (n=100)	Total (n=200)
Better Than Average.	6(12%)	4(10%)	2(5%)		4(11%)	16(8%)	9(9%)	7(7%)	16(8%)	9(9%)	7(7%)	16(8%)
Average.	16(31%)	8(20%)	5(14%)	6(16%)	6(17%)	41(20.5%)	23(23%)	18(18%)	41(20.5%)	20(20%)	21(21%)	41(20.5%)
Below Average.	23(44%)	22(56%)	27(73%)	26(70%)	22(63%)	120(60%)	57(57%)	63(63%)	120(60%)	58(58%)	62(62%)	120(60%)
Don't Know.	7(13%)	5(13%)	3(8%)	5(14%)	3(9%)	23(11.5%)	11(11%)	12(12%)	23(11.5%)	13(13%)	10(10%)	23(11.5%)
Total	52(100%)	39(99%)	37(100%)	37(100%)	35(100%)	200(100%)	100(100%)	100(100%)	200(100%)	100(100%)	100(100%)	200(100%)

24.2(f.). Question 6. In Terms Of Examinations Passed Do You Think The School Performance Of Teenagers In Local Authority Residential 'Care' Is Likely To Be Better Than Average, Average Or Below Average?

The reply most often received from each of the opinion poll's age group sub-samples was that teenagers in 'care' were likely to have a 'below average' school performance. However, the distribution of the 60% of respondents who expressed this opinion was uneven across the different age bands with, for example, only 44% of 18-30 year olds, compared with 73% of 41-50 year olds were of this opinion.

Furthermore, 57% of male, and 63% of female respondents, together with 58% of Black and 62% of White respondents, believed the school performance of teenagers in 'care' was 'below' average. White male respondents aged 41-50 emerged from the poll as the respondents most likely to describe the school performance of these young people in this way, and Black females aged 18-30 years the least likely to do so.

In addition, comments received from members of the public who provided 'below average' ratings brought to the fore a remarkable symmetry between all the 'target' groups with the greater part of each adopting the same line of reasoning when explaining the stance they took on this matter. All made reference to the, assumed, anti-authoritarianism, pathological and behavioural problems of young people in 'care' and their 'failure' to make an adequate personal investment in their education as underpinning their poor the school performance. The following kinds of remarks, often received in the course of the poll, summarizes the modality of thought shared by respondents who gave this rating:

> *"They (teenagers in 'care') are emotionally deprived, leading to behaviour problems".*
>
> (My Brackets)

> *"Not stable (reference to teenagers in 'care')".*
>
> (My Brackets).

> *"I think they (teenagers in 'care') don't do well at school as they are unsettled. They aren't interested any way".*
>
> (My Brackets).
>
> *"Young people in care just don't want to know about school".*
>
> *"Kids like these aren't going to take any notice of teachers".*
>
> *"If you're in care you've probably got some sort of psychological problems which is gonna put you off your school work".*

However, the belief the school performance of teenagers in 'care' is 'below average' was not supported by the findings of the study. In terms of examinations passed, little separated the performance its 'care' and 'non-care' samples. As a result, we again appear to have entered a 'reality gap' in which the stylized, mythology image of young people in 'care' as terminally undeserving deviants, is somehow transformed into a 'truth' invested with such faith that contradictory descriptions of them, no matter how well founded, seem almost ludicrous.

Only 8% of all those polled were of the opinion that the school performance of teenagers in 'care' was likely to be 'above average'. The rarity with which respondents returned this, its rating contrasts starkly with the 60% of interviewees who returned 'average'. It is a contrast which makes clear that individuals who believed that these young people did 'better than average' at school were a small idiosyncratic section of public opinion.

24.2(g.). Question 7. Do You Think Teenagers In 'Care' Are Likely To Cause Employers More, Or Less Or The Same Amount Of Problems As Other Young People?

Of those members of the public polled 4.5% felt that teenagers in 'care' were likely to cause employers less problems than others of their age, while another 68.5% were of the opposite opinion. Table 24.7. shows this was the dominate view in each age, gender and racial sub-samples, and while only 18% of all respondents believed that teenagers in 'care' confronted their employers with about the same amount of problem as their 'non-care' counterparts.

Table 24.7. Public Opinion Poll Question 7: Do You Think Teenagers In 'Care' Are Likely To Cause Employers More, Or Less, Or The Same Amount Of Problems As Other Young People?

	RESPONDENTS' CHARACTERISTICS.											
	AGE (years).						GENDER.			RACIAL PRESENTATION.		
	18-30 (n=52)	31-40 (n=39)	41-50 (n=37)	51-60 (n=37)	60+ (n=35)	Total (n=200)	Female. (n=100)	Male. (n=100)	Total (n=200)	Black (n=100)	White (n=100)	Total (n=200)
More.	27(52%)	20(51%)	37(100%)	21(57%)	32(91%)	137(68.5%)	60(60%)	77(77%)	137(68.5%)	73(73%)	64(64%)	137(68.5%)
Less.	7(13%)	2(5%)				9(4.5%)	6(6%)	3(3%)	9(4.5%)	3(3%)	6(6%)	9(4.5%)
Same.	11(21%)	11(28%)		12(32%)	2(6%)	36(18%)	25(25%)	11(11%)	36(18%)	14(14%)	22(22%)	36(18%)
Don't Know.	7(13%)	6(15%)		4(11%)	1(3%)	18(9%)	9(9%)	9(9%)	18(9%)	10(10%)	8(8%)	18(9%)
Totals.	52(99%)	39(99%)	37(100%)	37(100%)	35(100%)	200(100%)	100(100%)	100(100%)	200(100%)	100(100%)	100(100%)	200(100%)

Table 24.8. Reasons Given For Teenagers In 'Care' Being Likely To Cause Employers More Problems Than Other Young People.

	RESPONDENTS' CHARACTERISTICS.											
	AGE (years).						GENDER.			RACIAL PRESENTATION.		
	18-30 (n=27)	31-40 (n=20)	41-50 (n=37)	51-60 (n=21)	60+ (n=32)	Total (n=137)	Female. (n=60)	Male. (n=77)	Total (n=137)	Black (n=73)	White (n=64)	Total (n=137)
Unresolved Personal & Emotional Problems.	8(30%)	7(35%)	11(30%)	5(24%)	8(25%)	39(28%)	19(32%)	20(26%)	39(28%)	15(20%)	24(37%)	39(28%)
Relationships With Managers Poor.	5(19%)	5(25%)	4(11%)	4(19%)	9(28%)	27(19%)	9(15%)	18(23%)	27(19%)	14(19%)	13(20%)	27(19%)
Dishonesty.	4(15%)	2(10%)	6(16%)	5(24%)	5(16%)	22(16%)	8(13%)	14(18%)	22(16%)	15(20%)	8(12%)	22(16%)
Lack Of Family Support.	1(4%)	4(20%)	7(19%)	5(24%)	4(12%)	21(15%)	15(25%)	6(8%)	21(15%)	16(22%)	5(8%)	21(15%)
Poor Time Keeping/ Absenteeism.	5(19%)	1(5%)	6(16%)	2(10%)	4(12%)	18(13%)	5(8%)	13(17%)	18(13%)	11(15%)	6(9%)	18(13%)
Relationships With Workmates Poor.	4(15%)	1(5%)	3(8%)		2(6%)	10(7%)	4(7%)	6(8%)	10(7%)	2(3%)	8(12%)	10(7%)
Totals	27(102%)	20(100%)	37(100%)	21(101%)	32(99%)	137(98%)	60(100%)	77(100%)	137(98%)	73(99%)	64(98%)	137(98%)

Doubts about the ability of teenagers in 'care' to perform successfully at work centred around the core elements of the repeatedly encountered social stereotype used to describe them. Table 24.8. shows that of those respondents who considered teenagers in 'care' likely to be as more problematic for employers than other teenagers 28% attributed this to their unresolved personal and behavioural problems, 19% to their inability to get on with managers, 16% to their dishonesty, 15% to a lack of family support, 13% to poor time keeping/absenteeism and a further 7% to problems with workmates.

Comments made by, and typical of many received from individuals polled who felt young people in 'care' represented an unusually high employment risk were similar to those received from respondents belonging to other 'target' groups and included the following types of remarks:

> *"They have behaviour disorders and lack social skills".*
>
> *"... no respect for authority and trust of it while also finding it difficult to work in a team".*
>
> *"Not stable and socially disruptive".*
>
> *"Their time keeping is likely to be poor and they won't get on with staff".*
>
> *"Just won't take orders".*
>
> *"Compared with others of the same age I think teenagers in care lack a stable background and have a bad attitude towards work... They are less adequate than other teenagers, less confident than them and so won't be able to handle as well any responsibilities employers give them".*
>
> *"(Teenagers in 'care') resent discipline".*
>
> (My Brackets).
>
> *"Emotional deprivation leading to behaviour problems, non-attendance and aggression".*

> *"The events leading up to care which means they will be problems afterwards and find good time-keeping and regular attendance at work difficult".*

However, a few of the poll's sample members differed from the majority's opinion and considered teenagers in 'care' as likely to cause employers the same amount or less problems their 'non-care' counterparts. The reasons these respondents gave for holding such beliefs were similar, being distinguished only by the varying degree to which they felt life in 'care' was able to provide its subjects with a beneficent reforming influence; another stereotypical view which affords no credit to 'care' subjects for their achievements:

> *"They get special help to make up lost ground".*
>
> ('Same Amount Of Problems' Response).
>
> *"I think social workers get involved and nip any problems in the bud".*
>
> ('Same Amount Of Problems' Response).
>
> *"I can't think of any reasons why they should cause an employer more problems and if they have social services to help them start at work they could cause a lot less".*
>
> ('Less Problems' Response).
>
> *"Teenagers in care have the same problems as teenagers not in and get extra help".*
>
> ('Same Amount Of Problems' Response).
>
> *"The teenagers' (in 'care') problems should have been resolved by the time he looks for work and so will be better prepared for work than many other teenagers".*
>
> (My Brackets) ('Less Problems' Response).

An interesting implication of the rarity of respondents who thought teenagers in 'care' posed employers with less problems than other teenagers arises out of their attribution of this to the efforts of social services and the experience of being in 'care'. The sheer sparsity of these respondents indicates that public opinion does not hold social workers in high esteem, suggesting that teenagers in 'care' may suffer as a result of their association with them.

24.2(h.). Question 8. Have You Ever Met Any Teenagers In Local Authority Residential 'Care'?

The comparative rarity of 'Don't Know' responses received to all previous questions indicated that nearly all had a well defined set of opinions about teenagers in 'care' which displayed a remarkable degree of critical uniformity. When the poll's findings are compared with those which arose out of the interviews conducted with teachers and employers, this uniformity emerges as overarching in nature being shared by all three 'target' respondent groups.

Furthermore, responses to this question showed that with 82.5% of respondents to the poll admitting to never having met a teenager in local authority 'care' (the most frequently received response from each the poll's sub-samples: see Table 24.9.) the opinions they expressed about these young people were based on ignorance, not knowledge of them.

However, the same cannot be said about the views of the remaining 17.5% of respondents who claimed to have met an average of 13.25 such young people. This level of contact indicated that the opinions of these respondents might be founded on their substantial experience of teenagers in 'care'.

Table 24.9. Public Opinion Poll Question 8: Have You Ever Met Any Teenagers In Local Authority Residential 'Care'?

	RESPONDENTS CHARACTERISTICS.											
	AGE (years).						GENDER.			RACIAL PRESENTATION.		
	18-30 (n=52)	31-40 (n=39)	41-50 (n=37)	51-60 (n=37)	60+ (n=35)	Total (n=200)	Female. (n=100)	Male. (n=100)	Total (n=200)	Black (n=100)	White (n=100)	Total (n=200)
No.	44(85%)	29(74%)	28(76%)	37(100%)	27(77%)	165(82.5%)	85(90%)	80(85%)	165(82.5%)	81(75%)	84(73%)	165(82.5%)
Yes.	8(15%)	10(26%)	9(24%)		8(23%)	35(17.5%)	15(10%)	20(15%)	35(17.5%)	19(25%)	16(27%)	35(17.%)
Totals	52(100%)	39(100%)	37(100%)	37(100%)	35(100%)	200(100%)	100(100%)	100(100%)	200(100%)	100(100%)	100(100%)	200(100%)

Nevertheless, the impression of respondents who claimed to have met teenagers in 'care' as unusually knowledgeable about these young people was illusory. The presence, among these respondents, of a Youth Opportunities Programme Officer and 2 youth workers who claimed to have met a total of 95 teenagers in 'care' disguised the limited number of contacts with teenagers in 'care' by all other other respondents reporting who also claimed to have met with these young people. Only when these three respondents are disregarded does the restricted nature of the remaining respondents' reveal itself with them having met an average of just 2.2 teenagers in 'care'.

Yet, despite their lack direct knowledge of teenagers in 'care' the poll's respondents subscribed to a detailed, widely held model of these young people. The symmetrical and monolithic nature of teacher, employer and public opinion emphasizes the social nature of this model which describes these young people as a pathological, anti-authoritarian, undeserving, underclass riddled with emotional and behavioural problems, who are invariably responsible for their being in 'care' and whose task it is to control them. Based on a toxic mix of ignorance, certainty and myth it is a model which enshrines the primary themes of the social definition of young people in 'care' discussed in Part 1 of this thesis, but which were not supported by the study's findings contained in Part 3.1.

PART 4

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction.

This study has been concerned with young people in residential 'care' to the London Boroughs of Hinkley and Ingleby who left school to start work in 1987. The backgrounds, views and attitudes of these young people were compared, in terms of specified key indicators, with those of matched groups of 'non-care' school leavers in an effort to identifiy some of the similarities and differences between them. Although differences were found between the study's 'care' and 'non-care' respondents, research findings made clear that it would be wrong to imply the former were innately different than the latter; they were not. It has repeatedly been shown that other, extraneous, factors e.g. borough of residence, gender and racial presentation were often more strongly associated with the responses obtained to some key indicators than was 'care' status (1.).

Yet, the social definition of young people in local authority residential 'care' held by the key 'target' groups contradicts this finding, allowing a widely held, detailed, but distorted and exaggerated stereotype of these young people to thrive. It provides a damaging caricature describing them as having an unusually poor school performance, as unable to cope with the demands of independence, as unable to hold a job, as being beyond help, as being undeserving. That the majority of teachers, employers and members of the public interviewed regarded this definition as true meant the social definition of young people in 'care' represents a serious threat to their interests and job prospects.

Thus, the justification for this study lies in identifying how the ways in which young people in 'care' are defined by others restricts the life chances available to them. It has been recognized by many authors (2.) that the short-comings of the child 'care' system and child 'care' policy represent just two of the many disadvantages young people in 'care' suffer. However, these forms of disadvantage are associated with the internal working of that system and have not been the subject of this study which has focused on the disadvantage they have imposed on them by observers of the 'care' system. The study has, therefore, not been about young people in 'care' and their experiences of 'care'; it is about the public gaze to which they are exposed.

If the research study is to have any practical merit it must address the problems facing young people in 'care' and 'care' providers as a result of the social definition of these young people. The difficulty of this task should not be underestimated as the false 'reality' attributed to this definition appears to reflect both the ease with which it is believed and accompanying reluctance to question its validity. It is a stigmatizing definition. So the conclusions to this thesis must consider how the stigma of being in 'care' can be reduced or disposed of and, if this is not possible, what actions local authorities can take to help the young people, for whom they are responsible, to overcome stigma.

Sadly, the conclusions to be made will not be entirely optimistic. But, social services are a multi-million pound industry and recent research indicates that much can be done to improve the life chances of young people in 'care' where the political will to do so exists. It is stressed that all conclusions are based on information whose applicability is restricted to the respondents who supplied it, and to the time when, and place at which it was provided. While this means that the conclusions to be made cannot be treated as being universally applicable they contribute to the formulation of an 'agenda for action' by those interested in improving the life chances available to young people in local authority residential 'care'.

Chapter 25.

Can Young People In Local Authority Residential 'Care' be De-stigmatized?

25.1. Introduction.

The word 'stigma' is not clearly defined. Originally used in ancient Greece a 'stigma' was the brand or mark inflicted on slaves as a means of identification or punishment, it has conventionally been understood as a term attached to the deterrent policies of the Poor Law and is most often used to refer to a state of social disgrace. Thus, a stigma can be described as a;

> *"stain on one's good name" (1.);*

with a stigmatized person being;

> *"reduced in our minds from whole and usual person to a tainted and discounted one" (2.).*

The stigma attached to the social services represents a more fundamental problem than that of a mere historical relic. It has long been recognized that welfare provision by the state has stigmatizing properties with stigma affecting both the quality of services, through the attitudes of providers and provisions made, and demand by deterring potential recipients.

Moreover, labelling theory suggests that stigma is a compound of the attributes and feelings of stigmatized individuals and the attitudes of others. In other words, the negative label has consequences not only for the way stigmatized people are treated by others, but also for the part these individuals play in accepting the legitimacy of the stigmatizing definition applied to them and their own reinforcement of that definition. As Titmus puts it;

> *"if men and women come to think of (and feel) themselves as inferior*

> *persons, subordinated persons, then in part they stigmatize themselves and in part they are reflecting what other people think or say about them" (3.).*

Despite the problems in arriving at a precise and theoretically satisfactory definition of stigma it is possible to argue, as does Spicker (4.) that stigmatized people have certain features in common. They are outcasts, separated from 'normal' society and are often dependent, poor, powerless and socially rejected.

Therefore, the uncomfortably snug fit the social definition of young people in local authority 'care' has with this operational description of stigmatized people is of grave concern. It matters not that the study's findings indicated this description was neither fair nor accurate with regard to its 'care' respondents. All that matters is that this description was believed be true and right by members of the study's 'target' groups.

Thus, a seemingly inevitable and not very surprising conclusion reached by the study was young people in 'care' are stigmatized. It is the task of this Chapter to consider what measures can be taken to reduce their stigmatization and thereby change the social definition imposed upon them. This undertaking will commence with a discussion of stigma and the social services, before moving on to examine the survival of stigma, and of the social services, as stigmatized and stigmatizing agencies. Subsequently, the Children Act 1989 will be briefly evaluated in an effort to discover what contributes to the de-stigmatization of young people in 'care' before ending with a summary of measures that might be taken in this regard.

Discussion of stigma is complicated by the lack of an historically constant definition of what a child is. Indeed it will be argued, that from the point of view of social policy, children, and especially young people are comparatively recent phenomena. As a result, if the stigmatization of young people, in 'care' is to be understood from an historical perspective and it made clearer how the society's critical view of these young people evolved and became ingrained in popular culture, the analysis of stigma cannot be confined to the child 'care' system and its subjects. After all before 1601, for all practical purposes, there were no such things as children and, therefore, no such thing as a child 'care' system.

Yet stigma has somehow carried across the ages to blight the depedent young in 'care' and is encapsulated in the current social definition of them. Its seems that the eternal, historical constant is not, therefore, the workings of the child care system and those it encompasses, but how the state provides for those who are dependent upon it. Consequently, when considering the stigma experienced by young people in local authority residential 'care' it is society's response to them as dependent individuals, not as 'care' subjects which is of primary interest.

25.2. Stigma And The Social Services.

Here, the reasons for stigmatization will be discussed in the context of the entire range of social services of which the personal social services and the child 'care systems are, but parts. In so doing, it is intended to make clear how the social definition of young people in local authority residential 'care' is conditioned by, and reflects society's attitudes to all the social services.

25.2(a.). Labelling.

As with any bureaucratic structure the social services attempt to rationalize their activities by the classification of their users, through the attachment of labels identifying them as 'different' kinds of people. A label, in this sense, can be seen as a mark of shame that service recipients are forced to bear. In the course of the study this became very clear with most 'care' respondents feeling that their 'care' status disadvantaged them at school, in their job search, and in the way they were regarded by those outside of the 'care' system. These assumptions were not groundless as the interviews conducted with the 'target' groups proved and it, therefore, came as no surprise to find that a worryingly large number of the study's 'care' respondents felt they had to conceal their 'care' status from potential employers if they were to stand any chance of getting a job.

As a result of the power that labelling exerts over public opinion proponents of 'labelling theory' - better described as 'labelling perspective' - argue that labelling is the critical act in the process of distinguishing a person from the rest of society. The definitions, the labels imposed by social agencies become part of that person's social identity. Holman argues that:

> *"Problem families are not separate from the rest of society... What distinguishes them is to have been designated a problem family by the social agency" (5.).*

According to Szasz:

> *"Individuals categorized as mentally-ill labour under the handicap of a stigma imposed on them by the State through the Institution of Psychiatry" (6.).*

Soham remarks that;

> *"Name calling, defining, tagging is not simulating; it is reality in itself" (7.).*

This is true in so far as the labelling defines the situation of labelled persons, and changes the opinions and actions of other people towards them; but it is only a half truth at best. Many people are not labelled as a result of receiving benefits - like pensioners, hospital patients, school pupils etc. And even in those cases where the recipient is stigmatized, labelling does not account for all the rejection he, or she experiences. For example, Pollock, Huntley, Allen and Schwartz (8.) found the application of the label to a video tape of a person's behaviour made no difference to their subjects' responses to the tape while in a review in the literature on attitudes to mental illness Segal concluded that:

> *"The behaviour itself, or pattern of behaviour is a major determinant of the positive or negative character of the public's attitudes towards mental illness" (9.).*

Nunally put the case more succinctly when saying:

> *"People would be no less afraid of a lion if we hung a sign around its neck saying pussycat" (10).*

The label causes people to make assumptions about the person who is labelled. It is, therefore, potentially, but not necessarily stigamtizing. The labelling perspective does not explain the reactions associated with rejection and the explanations it provides of this process are inadequate. However, the study's 'care' respondents did feel themselves to be labelled and, because of this critical act, stigmatized.

25.2(b.). Differentiation and Selectivity.

The roots of stigmatization can be seen in the way in which social services set people apart from the rest of society. The tradition that health and education services in Britain are not stigmatizing, rests in the belief that they do not differentiate between different sectors of society. Holman, for example, writes:

> *"No stigma is attached to receipt, as they are experienced by the majority of the population" (11.).*

The main exceptions - mental health and special education - are exceptions precisely because they separate out their recipients from other people. The existence of such exceptions for this reason points to stigma being associated with the real, or imagined problems of stigmatized people. If so, its seems reasonable to assume that stigmatic problems somehow offer a sinister threat, or run counter to certain cherished social values like the need to avoid public dependence at all costs. Thus, in his study of 'poor' parents Jordan found that:

> *"though obviously poor themselves, the non-clients spoke of clients with the same kind of mixture of pity, contempt and envious resentment that non-claimants used to describe claimants of social security. Social work clients were getting special privileges, extra material assistance and support as a result of their dependence and fecklessness. They therefore could be identified as a superstigmatised group apart, distinguishable not by their exotic social problems so much as by the type of material help they were getting from social workers" (12.).*

In addition Mayer and Timms (13.) discovered that their sample viewed social work clients as either desperate and pitiable, or as moral reprobates, drunkards, those who abandoned their children, or scroungers - in short, not a group one would want to belong to. The perception that many teachers, employers and members of the public had of young people in 'care' as offenders, as difficult to deal with, as responsible for their 'care' status, resonates to the views recorded by Mayer and Timms. In essence, it seems that young people in 'care', social work clients and many users of the social services, are seen as being groups apart allowing their stigmatization to be facilitated.

However, if young people in 'care' are stigmatized because they are set apart from other young people, why is that other set apart groups of young people, those attending boarding schools, are considered part of an elite? Both sets of young people live away from home, are looked after by people other than their parents with the family monopoly on child rearing with regard to them having been replaced by group living.

Yet, while young people in 'care' suffer stigma those who attend boarding schools, especially the better public schools, are lauded. They are not only acceptable, but also desirable, elitist and esteemed. These elitist institutions may have long waiting lists, are often the 'first choice' rather than the last resort. In contrast to these institutions those of the 'care' system are stigmatic, deflating and lowering in status.

It seems that existing alongside one another are two different types of young people who are differentiated from others of their age and attend selective institutions which though similar in some ways provide elitist 'care' for some of the most privileged young people in Britain and pariah 'care' (14.) for some of the most underprivileged. This gross disparity in the stigmatizing propensities of elitist and pariah 'care' establishments can only be attributable to the public's perception of the different reasons that lead to young people is attendance at these different types of institutions, and whether or not the young person and his, or her family had any choice in the matter of attendance.

25.2(c.). Public Attitudes To Welfare: Ignorance And Confusion.

It is argued that the powerfully negative public attitudes to welfare are underpinned by a heady combination of popular ignorance and confusion which deters potential recipients from making use of the personal social services while stigmatizing those individuals who do. There can be little doubt that knowledge of these social services, of which the child 'care' system is a part, has always been poor. Prior to the establishment of social services departments Timms (15.) found, in 1962, little more than half his respondents had heard of child 'care' - a level of public ignorance the founding of these departments did little to dispel. Thus, in 1973 Glastonbury et al (16.) found that less than half of his random sample of 385 people living in South Wales had only partly or wholly correct knowledge of the role of social workers with regard to children while just over a third of the children and families who participated in a study undertaken by Moss et al (17.) had not of heard of social workers.

With the passage of time public awareness of things called Social Services Departments has increased thanks, in large part to the consistently bad publicity they and their staff have received over the years. However, the research study revealed the persistence of ignorance. Nearly all members of the study's 'target' respondent groups indicated that they had little or no knowledge of the child 'care' system and of young people in 'care'. As a result, it is fair to say that many of the opinions they expressed about these young people reflected not knowledge, but public prejudice and ignorance about them.

The effects of pervasive ignorance are compounded by the wide ranging and nebulous tasks that social services departments undertake, making it easy to confuse them with other social service agencies. This is particularly damaging if, as Allen (18.) asserts the public tends to muddle the differing roles of the various social service agencies and, in particular, fail to distinguish social services departments from social security; a proposition supported by a survey conducted by Davies (19.) of all initial enquiries received by Glasgow's Social Services Department, which found that 80% of all such enquiries were related to financial matters. In the course of this study an audit was conducted of all initial referrals received by one of the area offices of Hinkley Social Services Department over a six month period in 1987, which showed that many were received for what might be called social security reasons. Not surprisingly all the social workers from that office could recall experiences of being described by service users as being "from the social security".

Therefore, the stigma suffered by young people in 'care' may be regarded as being, in part, the perverse product of other peoples' ignorance and confusion which can cause them to be stigmatized as social security claimants when, of course, they are not. The gradual increase in the restrictions placed on the right to state benefits, which effectively bars young people from claiming benefit, makes this source of stigma particularly perverse.

25.2.(d.). Summary.

A number of reasons - labelling, differentiation and selectivity and the relationship between public attitudes towards welfare and public ignorance and confusion about this matter - have been put forward to explain why young people in 'care' are stigmatized. All these reasons were reflected in the study's findings, but none of them are altogether satisfactory and it is overly slimplistic to assert that all the activities and users of social service departments suffer stigma. Where handicapped and elderly individuals are helped by these departments and are stigmatized, it is because they are handicapped or elderly, not because they are receiving assistance from social services. As a result, the stigma suffered by young people in 'care' appears to arise, not so much out of their contact with social services, but out of the characteristics and problems attributed to them which are regarded to have brought about this contact. It is not social services departments and their users, en masse, who are stigmatized, only selected parts of these departments and particular user groups like residential 'care' and young people in this form of 'care'.

25.3. The Social Services As Stigmatizing And Stigmatized Services.

A service is stigmatizing when it degrades recipients, or undermines their dignity; when it embarrasses or humiliates them, and makes them feel guilty or ashamed; when it deters them, or makes them hesitate to seek help; when it deprives them of their rights, or treats them with contempt; when it marks them out from others, or identifies them as individuals who are socially rejected.

At the same time, the social services are also described as 'stigmatized', as if it was the service itself which was tainted. It is possible to talk, for example, about a council estate with a 'bad' reputation and of council housing as being in danger of becoming a;

> *"stigmatized second-class service for stigmatized second-class citizens" (20.).*

Stein and Carey refer to the sense of stigma felt by young people in residential 'care' because of the way it is regarded in the public mind. Two members of their 'care' leavers sample made this clear:

> *"People sort of... give you funny looks when you say you've been in care, but if you say you have been fostered, they look at it completely different. But yet its all the same thing..." (21.).*
>
> *"Well, reason why I came into being fostered is because... I di'n't like people asking where you come from and you say 'children's home'. I didn't like saying that, so I thought if I go to a foster house, they treat you proper, you know" (22.).*

The words of the young person cited immediately above make clear, not only how he felt harmed by the stigma attached to residential 'care', but also of how difficult it is to tell if stigma is part of a service, or something the service inflicts on those who receive it. It is argued that in practice the stigmatization of local authority residential 'care' and its ability to stigmatize are interchangable. It is difficult to imagine any form of social service which could be one without the other. Armstrong's observation, for example, that the reputation of an housing estate "undoubtly results in the population itself feeling stigmatized" (23.) is just as applicable to young people in residential child 'care'. The comments of many of the study's 'care' respondents testified to the truth of this. They appeared to be caught up in a vicious circle of mutual stigmatization in which the stigmatization of local authority residential child 'care' stigmatizes the young people who reside within it whose own stigma adds to that of residential 'care', and so on.

25.3(a.). How Services Become Stigmatized.

Personal social services are generally assumed to be stigmatized. Thus, Jordan observes that the personal social services "always carry stigma" (24.) while Holman argues that intensive case work treatment publically marks 'inadequate' clients as problem families (25.) and in Shenton's view;

> *"agencies such as social services... add to the stigma of an area by their very presence" (26.).*

In this respect Rees reported that only those who;

> *"denied feeling some sense of shame or guilt at being referred to a social worker were either those few who had been in contact with social security officials for years and had resigned themselves to their situations, or who had sought advice and help with difficulties - such as adoption applications to become adoptive parents, or aids to the disabled - which do not reflect their position in the social structure" (27.).*

Rees's observations are important as they make clear that not all parts of the child 'care' system attract stigma. Whilst, in the absence of comments to the contrary, adoption may not be a stigmatized service, he presents local authority residential 'care' of young people as stigmatized, because of the pre-existing social definition of young people in this form of 'care'. If so reception into 'care' is not necessarily the central act which stigmatizes these young people, it merely formalizes and confirms the stigma they have already attracted. In this light the stigmatization of local authority residential 'care' emerges as the product of the existing social relationship between 'care' subjects and wider society.

Furthermore, the visibility of residential 'care' allows it to be implied that young people in this form of 'care' cannot be contained in their families, adding the stigmatization of 'care' and, thereby, to its ability to stigmatize. Reception into 'care', with its attendant implications of neglect, abuse or criminality, can be seen as a stigmatizing function, primarily but not exclusively, of the parents.

In addition, it seems reasonable to presume that the stigmatization of residential 'care' is aggravated by other stigmatic tasks of social workers. Social workers are still responsible for the compulsory detention of mentally-ill people, an action which labels a person, deprives him, or her of certain rights and discredits him, or her socially. Local authority social services departments also administer old people's homes and are responsible for maintaining a register of disabled people, activities which are not always well regarded. Thus, the degree of stigmatization heaped on local authority residential child 'care' and the young people who reside in it, is contributed by their association with social service departments which are in themselves stigmatized organizations.

In short, the pattern of the stigmatization of local authority residential 'care' is diverse, and there is no evident rationale in the attribution of stigma. In part, this is the result of a collection of tenuously related responsibilities into one administrative department; but it also reflects the subtle distinctions made between the different provisions made for different groups. All that many of the research study's 'care' respondents knew, was that they felt that their reputation suffered because of the reputation of social services and, in particular, that of residential child 'care'. They seemed to know both were stigmatized and that this would lead to their own stigmatization. Unfortunately, responses received from the 'target' groups confirmed the accuracy of this view.

25.4. The Survival of Stigma.

There are several possible explanations of stigma's survival. First, the persistence of stigma might be attributed to its continuing use as a means of restricting demand for the various social services. However, this argument is unconvincing; it is difficult to believe that the efforts governments have made to alleviate stigma, most notably in the period 1948-66, were dishonest while the differentiation of dependent groups that followed the reform of the Poor Law, makes it irrational and unnecessary to stigmatize all of them.

A second explanation is that in important ways - the use of the old workhouses as institutions, the legacy of attitudes of a previous generation and the persistence of selective services for the poor - the Poor Law has not been abolished. The Seebohm Committee, which reviewed the structure of social services departments reported that:

> *"Historically the aim has been to deter people from seeking... help and stigma has been attached to those who did. It is not surprising, therefore, that many were prejudiced against seeking the help of services they may need and to which they are entitled" (38).*

It follows that, as time goes on, the Poor Law becomes more distant, and services gradually change, stigma will become less important. There is some evidence supporting this view with the Supplemenatry Benefits Commission (39) suggesting that the increased numbers of applications received for benefit suggested reduction of the stigma attached to its receipt.

Yet, the low take-up rate of State Benefits, generally, remains a problem and it seems that the increase reported by the Commission reflected more than anything else the growth in the number of people eligible for it. Ginsberg argues that the increasing dependence of unemployed people on means tested benefits:

> *"The large numbers of registered unemployed dependent on non-contributory benefits is striking, particularly in the mid-1970s, as more long-term unemployment and intermittent employment reappear. This contrasts with the inter-war years, when the contribution*

> *principle was virtually suspended rather than subjecting the unemployed to the poor law; it suggests that much of the stigma of (and resistance to) means-tested relief has disappeared" (40).*

However, I should have thought that it had more to do with increasing long-term unemployment, and the unemployment of school-leavers, because people in these categories are not entitled to National Insurance. It is possible that we have fallen prey to the illusion of believing, in the absence of any real evidence, that people are less ashamed of their dependency than they used to be. What is clear is that all the young people who took part in the study, especially those in 'care', badly wanted to be independent with many of them swearing that even if they could not get a job on leaving school they would not 'sign on'.

A third explanation is that stigma is not, in fact, the result of the Poor Law. The problems of degradation, humiliation and reluctance to accept social services are the result of a much deeper process. This process is reflected in the historical nature of the stigma attached to dependency. This will be discussed in terms of the historical universality of stigma before going on to demonstrate how the social definition of young people in local authority residential 'care' is an evolutionary socio-historical definition.

25.3(b.). How Services Stigmatize.

Having looked at the stigmatization of residential child 'care' lets turn to see how far stigma is built into its operation and that of the other social services. It certainly was in the first social services, the poor laws, when "shame was needed to make the system work" (28.). Earlier legislation comes close to the original Greek notion of stigma; for example, in 1552;

> *"if any man or woman able to work should refuse to labour and live idly for three days, he or she should be branded with a red hot iron on the breast with the letter V and should be judged the slave for two years of any person who should inform against such an idler" (29.).*

Badgering the poor was a popular pastime from the 16th to the 19th century and in some periods paupers wore the letter P on their sleeves under pain of whipping.

Deterrence and the maintance of work incentives were crucial to the system; for contemporaries the Speenhamland experiment was a disastrous blurring of distinction between the independent labourer and the pauper, by providing outdoor relief for the former with resultant disincentives and demoralization. Wakefield observed in 1830:

> *"an English agricultural labourer and English pauper. These words are synonymous" (30.).*

Contrast this with Martineau's comment on the post-1834 system:

> *"Except for the distribution between sovereign and subject there is no social difference... so wide as that between independent labourer and the poor" (31.).*

In order to discourage people from going on the rates, the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act had reintroduced on a 'rational' system for forcing able bodied paupers to provide for themselves "through the terror of a well disciplined workhouse" (32.). Public hatred of the workhouse is well documented. Engels referred to;

> *"the great multitudes who struggled on without recourse to this hated expedient" (33.).*

In 1899 Rowntree observed that;

> *"almost universally pauperism was regarded as a stigma which self-respecting persons would avoid if at all possible - many a family preferred to starve rather than ask for poor relief" (34.).*

The development of social work took place within this context. The ability to stigmatize recipients of assistance was the inheritance of the social services and, therefore, of the child 'care' system. The state explicitly assumed that the family had a legal and moral responsibility to meet the needs of its members. Its own responsibility began only when the family had experienced problems in social functioning, and as a last resort. As a result the admission of children and young people into 'care' denoted a form of family bankrupcy or failure. Moroney writes:

> *"If the (families) found it necessary to seek assistance , they knew the process would involve sigmatization and in many instances the social services were provided in a punitive manner. Given this, it can be speculated that most families sought help reluctantly and only after other difficulties became somewhat unbearable" (My Brackets) (35.).*

The growth of post-war social work services represented a reaction to this. The Curtis Committee was of the opinion;

> *"that the stigma attached to public assistance is so clearly ingrained that only a completely new approach will enable authorities to keep clear of it" (36.).*

Thus, Children's Departments were freed from the shackles of the Poor Law, for a time at least. The principles of deterrence and less eligibility lived on, however, in the welfare and children's departments which took over a range of pre-existing institutions and services, notably the workhouses, providing continuity with the Poor Law.

Yet, with the passing of the National Assistance Act 1948 it was announced that the existing Poor Law ceased to have effect. The then Secretary of State for Scotland asserted that;

> *"under this measure those who get assistance get it without humiliation or abuse. The destruction of the dignity of man was the greatest crime against the poor in days gone by" (37.).*

Such comments under-estimated the symbolic and historical legacy of the Poor Law and the continuing ability of local authority residential child 'care' system to stigmatize. This is a conclusion to which the findings of the research study lend consistent support. The differing reasons 'target' group respondents gave for children and young people being in 'care', the assumption that most of these respondents made that children were 'innocents' in 'care', while young people were regarded as culpable for their being in 'care', and the frequently expressed opinion that while it existed to 'save' the former its function was penal in respect to the latter, all indicate how the stigma of the Poor Law and the principal of less eligibility live on.

25.4(a.). Stigma: A Historical Constant.

It should be clear from comments made earlier in this Chapter that the stigma of dependency was not invented with the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act in 1834. The Poor Law Report on which it was based quotes a worker who told the Commissioners:

> *"I known that none but the worse characters would ever think of applying for parish relief; and that the respectable workman considers it a disgrace" (41.).*

However, the historical stigmatization of dependent individuals is not confined to Britain. It is a transnational phenomenon with dependency considered reprehensible in many other countries. In 1834 the Poor Law Commissioners recorded that, in Holland;

> *"such degradation attaches to the idea of obtaining relief, as is sufficient to stimulate the labourer to the greatest exertion and frugality to avoid it" (42.).*

In Norway the Commissioners reported that;

> *"it is still considered disgraceful to have recourse to parish relief" (43.).*

In fact the roots of stigma are not just historic, they are ancient. In addition, the social disgrace suffered by dependent individuals is not only transnational, it is also, transcultural. Thus, the Talmud, written down sometime about the 4th. century AD, describes the following incident:

> *"When Rabbi Yanni saw somebody giving a zuz to a poor man in public, he said, "it were better not to have given rather than shame him"" (44.).*

A thousand years later similar comments were made with regard to a scheme of poor relief in Ypre, Beligium:

> *"For as much as we se many so naturally abashed and ferful that they wyl rather hide their nede than disclose and open it... these secrete and preuy nedyons shal be searched out and shal be visyted as ar ashamed to be sene and to them that shal be gyuen that are abasshed to take any thing" (45.).*

This seems to me to establish the existence of stigma in contexts entirely divorced from the Poor Law, and provide proof that stigma is not simply the consequence of it or the principle of less eligibility. It helps to explain why stigma was not removed when the Poor Law was abolished. It was, and is a more fundamental problem than is often believed. It also means that the stigmatizing definition of young people in 'care', a dependent group of individuals, is a cultural legacy deeply embedded in history.

25.4(b.). The History Of Stigma And The Child 'Care' System.

> *"In medievil society the idea of childhood did not exist; this is not to suggest that children were neglected, forsaken or despised. The idea of childhood corresponds to an awareness of the particular nature of childhood, that particular nature which distinguishes the child from the adult, even the young adult. In medievil society that awareness was lacking. That is why, as soon as the child could live without the constant solicitude of his parents ... he belonged to adult society" (46.).*

A problem immediately confronted when attempting to discuss the historical stigmatization of the child 'care system is the lack of recognition in social policy until recent times that there are such things as children while young people, as has been said, are a very modern 'invention'. As a result, in the Middle Ages there was no real alternative to family for the 'care' of children and young people other than personal Christian charity. Mayer et al point to this when observing:

> *"There is no term in biblical or classical literature for foster homes or institutions. There is no mention of home for the dependent and unwanted child outside the kinship system. There were attempts by*

> *private groups in the early Christian period to take care of abandoned children, together with adult derelicts, sick and aged (xendodochia). The cloisters of the Middle Ages accepted abandoned children" (47.).*

In Fraser's (48.) view, it was only the undoubted fear of social disorder in the two and a half centuries following the Black Death which gradually converted the maintenance of the poor of dependent individuals into a prime function of the state. With approximately one-third of its population killed by plague, England's fourteenth century economy confronted a chronic labour shortage, causing the state to introduce wage control by the Statute of Labourers of 1351. This was reinforced by the Poor Law Act of 1388 which not only tried to fix wages, but also to prevent to restart that mobility of labour which would cause wages to rise if unchecked. Laws against vagrancy were thus the origins of poor relief, and whenever economic conditions prevailed which encouraged people to wander the country in search of employment the late Medievial and early Modern English state sought to restrict this mobility by, as we have seen, repressive means for fear of the social consequences.

These measures were, not only, ranged against the destitute, the poor and the unemployed, they were also directed at children who, for administrative purposes, were treated as adults. Social policy did recognize children and young people as distinct categories of dependent individuals requiring special provision. They were economic commodities (labourers) who, when dependent, were considered able bodied paupers whose dependency and vagrancy were deterred, like that of adults, by the penal code.

In 1536 parishes were authorized to collect money to support the 'impotent' poor who would, as a result, no longer need to beg. The state, thus acknowledged some minimal responsibility for those unable to work. In contrast the treatment of those deemed to belong to the able-bodied poor, a class into which dependent children continued to be placed, remained just as repressive. In contemporary eyes they were regarded as:

> *"rogues, vagabonds and criminals (for whom) there was still the harsh treatment of earlier vagrant legislation. Indeed in 1547, after the death of Henry VIII, Parliament ordered that slavery was to be the*

punishment for vagrancy" (My Brackets) (49.).

For those who were able to work, but considered too idle to do so, there was no sympathy only the grim 'houses of correction' the first of which was opened in 1555 at the royal palace of Bridewell which was to become the forerunner of many 'Bridewells'. Accompanying developments of this type was the continuing blindness of social policy to children. The only interest policy had in them appeared restricted to ensuring that children either or suffered the stigmatizing and penal consequences for failing to do so.

However, driven by fear of social disorder the Poor Law Act of 1601, the 43rd Elizabeth, abandoned mere repression of dependent individuals and attempted to be more constructive than had formerly been the case. An administrative system was introduced which classified dependent individuals and then found the appropriate solution for each group. Prompted by fears of social disorder, the Elizabethan Poor Law identified three main groups to be dealt with; a.) the 'impotent poor' (the aged, the chronically sick, the blind and the lunatic) who were to be accommodated in 'poorhouses' or 'almshouses'; b.) the 'able bodied' who were to be set to work in a 'house of correction', and; c.) the 'able bodies who absconded', or 'persistent idler' who were to be punished in a 'house of correction'. In other words there were three different sorts of treatment for three different sorts of pauper.

As a corollary of the decision to set the able bodied poor to work the decision was taken to find children in need of support an apprenticeship so that they might become useful and self-supporting citizens. For the first time in England and Western Europe it was decreed that society had a responsibility for its dependent children.

In effect the Poor Law Act of 1601 can be seen to have set up an early twin track child 'care' system, for while some children were apprenticed, others were sent to houses of correction. Therefore, in so far as a child 'care' system can be seen to have existed, it was already bifuracated with apprenticeship becoming the forerunner of foster 'care', and houses of correction being the ancestors of Children's Homes. The different histories of these modern provisions may go a long way to explaining the radically different degrees of stigma they attract today.

Nevertheless, for the Elizabethans the differing types of provision received by dependent children was of little specific interest. Mayer et al point out:

> *"In present day terms, one might say that generally the concern for law and order may have outweighed the concern for child development. The national child care goal was the child's survival without too much interest in how he survived" (50.).*

The years which separated the Elizabethan Poor Law from the New Poor Law of 1834 form a tangled web of administrative confusion. In 1662 an Act of Settlement was passed which made the responsibility for maintaining paupers that of the parish in which they were born. As a result a series of national disputes and litigation between parishes took place, as parishes argued about which parish was responsible for new applicants for relief who were made to move around the country while these arguments were fought. In addition the administration of the Poor Law varied considerably between parishes and attempts to make poor relief self-sufficient through the work of paupers did not, generally, succeed.

The shortcomings of the Poor Law (51.) induced a strong abolitionist case which called for the repeal of the Poor Law. This opinion reached a peak in 1817 with the report of a select Committee, but from about 1820 the abolitionist case gradually erroded in the search for a comprimise solution which would rid the Poor Law of its defects while stopping short of abolition. The Poor Law Amendment Act and the New Poor Law of 1834 were the products of this comprimise.

However, whilst the New Poor Law's emphasis on self-sufficiency and its application of the prinicipal of less eligibility to distinguish between the deserving and undeserving poor elevated its stigmatizing powers to new heights, its introduction was not accompanied by the provision of special services for children in need. Children who were dependent, or whose families were on relief were automatically stigmatized; a situation which is reflected today in the stigmatization of children and young who come from, so called, 'bad' families.

As the nineteenth century wore on the problems of destitute and neglected children became so acute that the Elizabethan provision for them was no longer satisfactory. All too frequently apprenticeship meant being sent as child-labour to a textile mill while the workhouses were grim places where the young were treated no differently from adult paupers.

As a result, the later half of the nineteenth century saw some boards of guardians begin to experiment with new systems of housing pauper children. In 1870 Parliament allowed any board of guardians to place its children with foster parents.

Yet much of the improvement made at this time was due to the efforts of private individuals:

> *"It was men like John Pound, the Portsmouth cobbler, and Thomas Cranfield of South London, who first attended to the education of children who were in so poor a condition that they were unlikely to gain admittance to an ordinary elementary schools... Lord Ashley, who later became the Earl of Shaftesbury... did much to improve conditions for young workers in industry...many Victorians played a part in establishing of children's homes and orphanages... Most of the associations were linked with a particular religious body. No single person did more in this connection than did Dr. Thomas Barnardo" (52.).*

Thus, the crisis provoked by the inability of the Poor Law to meet the the problem of providing for destitute children had two important implications. First, social policy, at last, explicitly recognized the existence of dependent children as a group in their own right. The habit of 'lumping them in' with adult paupers became increasingly difficult to sustain.

Second, there emerged alongside public sector provision for children a private sector. These sectors have vastly different pedigrees, with public sector provision having a lineage that can be traced back to measures taken by the state which defined the recipients of aid as individuals who it needed to repress, control and punish. On the other hand, the emergence of a private sector marked a return to Christian charity which lacked such historical connotations.

As a result, it seems reasonable to assume that the ability of the public and private child 'care' services to stigmatize differed, and continues to differ markedly. Association with public child 'care' services is to be associated with services which have historically existed to stigmatize, mark out as different and punish its users, while the Christian philanthropic tradition of private sector child 'care' is free of such damning associations, meaning that it does not constitute the same stigmatizing threat to its recipients.

The present day impact of this should not be under-rated. In the course of the pilot study the differing traditions of the two sectors proved to be factors which often conditioned respondents' replies and presented as potentially confounding variable. Thus, the pilot's respondents were found to have a distinctly more favourable attitude towards young people in private sector 'care' than in local authority residential 'care'. To control this variable in the field work phase of the main study, it was made clear to respondents that they were being asked only about local authority residential 'care'. The history of public provision for children in England is regarded as playing a pivotal role in the stigmatization of the contemporary child 'care' system and the ability of that system to stigmatize the young people within it. Consequently, the social definition of young people in local authority 'care', as has been asserted, is more properly to be as an evolutionary socio-historical definition.

25.5. The Children Act 1989.

The Children Act 1989 is the result of the Law Commission's review of previous child 'care' legislation which was regarded as inadequate and in need of revision. Support for the work of the Commission gathered momentum in the 1980's fuelled by the widespread media coverage of, and subsequent public concern about the disclosures surrounding the deaths of Jasmine Beckford 1985, Heidi Koseda 1986, Tyra Henry 1987, Kimberley Carlisle 1987 and Doreen Aston 1987.

However, it was the publicity surrounding the number of alleged cases of child sexual abuse in Cleveland followed by the Report of the Inquiry by Lord Justice Butler-Sloss and her colleagues which probably did more than anything to bring public concern about the law and children to a peak. The Lord Chancellor announced that the Report presented:

> *"an historic opportunity to reform the English law into a single rationalized system as it applies to the upbringing of children" (53.).*

Previous legislation was felt to be inconsistent and fragmented across the face of the statute book requiring a unified framework for (private) family proceedings and (public) child 'care' law. The mulitiplicity of statutes, some of which were held to be contradictory, while the lack of due process before the law for families when state intervention occurred often led to tension and conflict between family and the state.

The Children Act was concocted as the remedy to all these problems and when it came into force on the 14th. October 1991 much was expected of it. The Act was described as;

> *"a watershed in the history of British child care. It both reflects and requires major changes in attitudes and practice" (54.).*
>
> *"the most comprehensive piece of legislation which Parliament has ever enacted about children" (55.).*
>
> *"the most important reform of children's law this century" (56.).*
>
> *"the most comprehensive and far reaching legislation on children and families yet enacted" (57.).*

Backed-up by 15 schedules, 9 volumes of regulations and guidance and a clear statement of the 42 principles and practices intended to underpin the operation of the Children Act, it has been touted as a "fundamental restatement" (58.) of private and public child 'care' and the legal corner-stone of future relationships between the family and the state. Minister for Health, Virginia Bottomley, made it abundantly clear, when addressing a press conference in 1990, that this was the then Government's view. She let it be known that:

> *"The Act represents a consensus of how we as a society want to see*

> *our children brought up and protected; for this reason it is important that we get it right now - we may not have another opportunity to produce such a thorough going reform again this century" (59.).*

The task is to be undertaken here is not a detailed analysis of the Children Act, something which is beyond the scope of this thesis, but to try assess how likely the provisions of the Act are to lead to a reduction in the stigmatization of young people in 'care' and bring about an improvement in the social definition applied to them.

25.5(a.). Children Act 1989: Decreasing Stigma.

Implemented on the 14th. October 1991 the Act has not been in operation long enough to come to any firm conclusions about its ability to combat the stigmatization of young people in local authority residential care. However, it contains a number of measures which, ostensibly, go some way to addressing this problem. The most important of these are, in brief, as follows:

1. The abolition of voluntary 'care' along with the power of local authorities to assume parental rights by administrative resolution. The Children Act replaces the concept of voluntary 'care' with that of 'accommodation' (60.) making clear no social agency has assumed parental responsibility for children and young people who are accommodated.

2. The phrase 'living in care' is removed from the social work lexicon by the Children Act and is replace by that of being 'looked after' by the local authority (61.). Children and young people 'looked after' covers those who are accommodated by agreement with their parents and others who are subject to Care Orders.

3. The administrative and judicial separation of children and young people who come to the notice of the authorities as a result of child 'care' reasons from those who come to notice as a result of criminal matters.

4. The enshrinement in the Children Act of, and accompanying guidelines and

regulations on the principles of partnership with parents and parental responsibility (62.) which between them attempt to achieve; a.) a greater degree of co-operation and equivalence between parents and local authorities; b.) define the duties of parents, and c.) protect their rights with regard to their children.

The Children Act's replacement of stigmatic terms, and its introduction of new, untainted phrases to be applied to all children and young people for whom local authorities are responsible, appears to go someway to resolving the problem of stigmatization by labelling. In addition, the separation of 'care' subjects, for whom there is concern from young people who are caught-up in criminal proceedings, makes it more difficult to describe as residential 'care' being for young people who are 'bad'.

Finally, the Act's treatment of the partnership with parents and parental rights makes clear that the parents and families of children and young people in 'care' cannot be treated as marginal entities by the authorities and helps ensure the preservation of the family networks of those who are 'looked after'.

Nevertheless, as we shall see, on further examination it seems that the Children Act's contribution to the reduction of stigma is liable to be more apparent than real.

25.5(b.). The Children Act 1989: The Failure To Reduce Stigma.

Although the Children Act has been represented as a radical measure much of it is not. The much vaunted radicalism of the Act's demands that social workers work in partnership with parents, that the interests of children are treated as being of paramount importance, that residential care is used only as a place of last resort etc., are not new, as are many other aspects of the Act. In so far as the Act repackages and represents aspects of previous law and thinking which contributed to the stigmatization of the 'care' system and those in 'care', it carries on the same stigmatizing tradition.

Unfortunately, the Act is naive in its belief that residential 'care' and young people within it will be less stigmatized and more favourably socially defined if they and it are simply called something else. The legislators appear to have missed the fundamental point that the social definition applied to young people in 'care' is really a socio-historical definition, reflecting a profound social process and follows in the wake of similarly stigmatizing definitions society applied to its dependent young in earlier times when there was no such thing as 'care'. To hope to reverse this process by the Act's introduction of words and phrases like 'accommodation' and 'looked after' is hopeless. A young person in local authority residential 'care' is by any other name still a young person in local authority residential 'care'.

In addition the distinction the Children Act draws between children and young people who come to the notice of the authorities for child 'care', as opposed to criminal reasons is blurred and equivocal. Although, Section 90 of the Act abolishes the power of the courts, in criminal proceedings, to make a Care Order under Section 1(2) of the Children and Young Persons Act 1969 (the offence condition), it introduces a new Supervision Order for use in criminal proceedings and which requires juvenile offenders to reside in local authority accommodation for up to 6 months, while Schedule 12 of the Act also allows the courts to remand juvenile offenders to local authority accommodation.

Therefore, whilst the judicial and administrative separation of 'care' and criminal proceedings seems to provide a route to the de-stigmatization of young people in local authority residential 'care' by insuring that its population consists of deserving, needy children and young people, the actual provisions of the Children Act indicate that as this separation will not be achieved.

Furthermore, the Children Act, particularly Section 17, involves social workers in income maintenance issues with the payment of cash being tied to the prevention of children finding themselves in 'need' (63.) while the parents of children and young people accommodated by local authorities are subjected to means tests by Social Services Departments to assess the contribution they should make to the cost of accommodation. In view of earlier comments about the confusion in the public mind about the differing functions of the various 'welfare' agencies and public scorn of social security claimants financial clauses of this type within the Act meditate against the establishment of a clear and independent identity for the child 'care' system, ensuring that its stigmatization and that of young people in residential 'care' continues to be, in part, the product of the stigma attached to other 'welfare' agencies and their users.

Ultimately, the reasons for the faulted contribution the Children Act may, at best, make to the reduction of stigma attached to being a young person in 'care', can be traced back to the types of issues and the concerns which underpinned its formulation. In crude terms, these consisted of the need to regulate the operation of the child 'care' system and the practices of its staff, to consolidate and rationalize private and public child care law, and the desire to reform the operation of the courts when dealing with cases involving children and families. As a result, any interest the Act may show in the stigmatization of the 'care' system and its subjects is secondary to that it shows in these other matters. Thus, despite what the authors of the Act may claim, it fails to sufficiently address the issues of stigma and of the social definition imposed on young people in local authority residential 'care' because, ultimately, it was not intended to do so.

25.6. Can Young People In Local Authority Residential 'Care' Be De-stigmatized?

This Chapter has attempted to outline the social definition of young people in local authority 'care' and presented it as a reflection of their position as a stigmatized group within society. In so doing it has been argued that this definition should, more properly, be regarded as a socio-historical definition, the product of a profound social process which has historically and multi-culturally cast disdain on all individuals dependent on public 'welfare'. I have made no attempt to weigh the factors which give rise to the stigmatization of young people in residential 'care' and to the child 'care' system but, despite this, important questions have been raised and it is time to consider some possible answers.

25.6(a.). Ignorance.

The sub-group of the Barclay Committee on client views confirmed that:

> *"people in general have only a vague idea about social workers and what to expect" (64.).*

Such a comment, confirmed by replies received from 'target' group respondents in the course of this study, is a sad reflection when placed next to Seebohm's view that an adequate service for any group of clients who come to social services departments requires:

> *"co-operation and understanding at all levels in the whole community, as well as a definite place known to all, to which anyone in need can be referred with a certain knowledge that appropriate action will be taken where necessary" (65.).*

The presentation falls well short of Seebhom's goal with it being possible to attribute part of the stigmatization experienced by young people in local authority residential 'care' to public confusion about the differing roles of social services and social security. It is a confusion, based on ignorance, which puts these young people at risk of being stigmatized as benefit claimants when they are not.

Public ignorance also presents dangers for young people in 'care' as it allows distorted and exaggerated perceptions of these young people to proliferate. The study's findings have repeatedly shown that when unchallenged by knowledge, ignorance creates a false reality in which damaging myths about young people in 'care' assume the status of facts.

Therefore, it is obviously in the interests of young people in 'care' and of the highly stigmatized part of the child 'care' system they occupy, to ensure that they and residential 'care' are as widely understood as possible. The problem with this strategy is the considerable ethical dilemma posed by the idea of, effectively, 'advertising' and 'selling' the good points of individual young people in 'care'. They are people not commodities.

A better, and less risky strategy for these young people is to attack public ignorance of the work of social workers. If successful this should have a positive 'knock-on' effect for these young people who, it has been argued, suffer as a result of their association with stigmatized social workers. Some lessons from the literature suggest how this attack on ignorance can be pursued. Glastonbury (66.), considers that the high proportion of his sample who showed partially or wholly correct knowledge of probation officers was partly explained by the fact that his survey followed on the heels of a television programme about their work.

Although other factors may be important, the power of the media cannot be ignored. Social workers have generally had a poor image due to newsworthy child 'care' tragedies and failure to get across a broader picture of their task. Interestingly, a national poll conducted by the BBC (67.) following its controversial series "Police" (1982) found that the public would favour a similar 'fly on the wall' coverage of other agencies: top of the list was the social services. It may be that interest stemmed from a genuine wish to know what goes on in that mysterious and undifferentiated 'lump', the "welfare".

In addition evidence (68.) gathered in the course of the research study, suggests that even individuals who have been in contact with social services departments have little idea of how social workers spend their time, let alone what young people in local authority residential 'care' are like. Nevertheless, the means of improving the image of social workers and social work departments and, through them, that of young people in local authority residential 'care' are not lacking.

25.6(b.). Localization.

From approximately the mid-1980s there was a move to ensure that young people in local authority residential 'care' were placed in establishments in their home areas. 'Out-of-borough' placements gradually diminished as local authorities sold-off establishments they owned, but were situated beyond their borough boundaries, while spending on financing places for young people in establishments owned by other agencies was cut back. Whilst this was done for good child 'care' and financial reasons locating young people in 'care' in their home boroughs also meant they could remain part of their local communities, which should have contributed to breaking down the myths and the social stereotypes held of these young people.

However, there is no evidence that localization has had any beneficial impact on the social definition of young people in 'care' or led to any reduction in their stigmatization. After all the Poor law was operated on a local basis and under it stigma prospered.

25.6.(c.). Stigma.

Discussion of stigma has focused on young people in 'care', social services departments and social workers as stigmatized and mutually stigmatizing. Many of the problems outlined might disappear if local authority 'care' was simply abolished and young people within it either fostered, or placed in private sector residential 'care'. On the face of it this seems to be a simple and sensible solution to the problem of stigma.

However, even if it proved possible to find foster families for all young people in 'care' and to fund very expensive private sector residential placements the privatisation of 'care' offers a solution to the stigmatization of young people in local authority residential 'care' which is as mythical as is the definition of these young people. It is a solution which forgets that while young people in local authority residential 'care' are stigmatized by it they, in return, contribute to the stigmatization of that 'care' setting. It is as if these young people carry stigma in their own right. The historical consistency of the social definition of young people in residential 'care' testifies to the validity of this proposition and suggests they are particularly susceptible to stigmatization, not because they are in 'care', but because they are a group of easily identifiable dependent individuals.

Therefore, the abolition of local authority residential 'care' will achieve little if they are merely transported into foster or private residential 'care'; they will become just as stigmatic when deprived of the insulation local authority residential 'care' provides to both by acting as a focus for stigma.

The root of the problem lies in the socially divisive attitudes which manifest themselves in virulent hostility towards parts of the Welfare State and its recipients. There is a real need for long-term education of the public in the values of social welfare which promote equality of respect among users and non-users (68.).

However, the historical consistency of the stigmatization of dependent individuals indicates that it would take nothing short of an intellectual and moral revolution to bring about the desired change in social values. Young people in residential 'care' cannot wait that long and such an education seems unlikely in the current political climate which has moved in the opposite direction since 1979. The most pressing task, therefore, is to devise strategies which will enable these young people to cope with the handicap of the definition society applies to them and, thereby, maximize their life chances.

Chapter 26.

Leaving 'Care': Management Policies And Practices.

26.1. Introduction.

The importance of the social definition of young people in local authority residential 'care' highlighted by this study, throws up many questions about what can be done to counter its stigmatizing effects. The answers to these questions demand that we look at the management of the child 'care' system, at the policies and practices which govern its operation, and at the work of those responsible for young people in 'care'.

Therefore, this Chapter will commence with an examination of a few pertinent issues concerning the management of 'care', before moving on to discuss matters of policy and practice. As the study has been particularly concerned with the young people at a time in their lives when their independence is fast approaching, this discussion will focus on policies and practices concerned with the leaving of 'care'.

This Chapter will conclude by offering a few recommendations intended to enable 'care' system's management polices and practices to more effectively assist young people in local authority residential 'care' to overcome the problems they confront as a result of the stigmatizing social definition applied to them. The purpose of these recommendations is to ensure that these young people have the best possible life chances at a time when the research (1.) is showing that the experience of public 'care' seriously impairs the number and quality of such chances.

26.2. The Management Of 'Care'.

For most young people in 'care' reaching the maturity of temperament to get and hold a job, may be crucial to their successful transition to adulthood (2.). In this sense unemployment represents:

> *"not just a waste of potential but a reduction in the limited time available for these young people to establish a viable adult identity before institutional support is withdrawn" (3.).*

The identity problems of those growing up in any form of 'care' are discussed by Triseliotis (4.) who suggests that a clear sense of self identity is linked to, a.) the quality of care and attachments experienced in childhood; b.) knowledge of heritage and personal history; c.) experiences of how people perceive and behave towards them, and; d.) how they see themselves in relation to the rest of society.

As the majority of the study's 'care' respondents maintained regular contact with family members, it can reasonably be assumed that these young people had been able to develop attachments with their early care givers, which entry into 'care' failed to disolve and that they also had a reasonable knowledge of their heritage and personal history. Indeed, research findings indicated that while the relationship between some 'care' respondents and their parents improved with reception into 'care' that between some 'non-care' respondents and their parents showed signs of decline.

Whilst any deterioration in relationships between 'non-care' respondents and their parents is easily attributable to these young people's wish to assert their independence (part of the 'normal' maturation process) it has already been recognized that the study's findings concerning the relationships between 'care' respondents and their parents contradict those of most other studies. It is held that this is probably due to the research's narrow focus, restricted to a relatively small sample of young people in local authority residential 'care' at one particular time and residing within very confined geographical boundaries. As a result, the applicability of its findings are restricted although they are, hopefully, thought-provoking.

In addition, the contradiction referred to may be no more than superficial. Research findings indicated that while some 'care' respondents reported that their family relationships had improved since coming into 'care' it appeared that this was connected to the alliance they made against social services.

Triseliotis's third indicator of identity, the social definition of young people in 'care' and the stigma arising from it, is the one of most interest in the context of this thesis. Most recent studies of young people brought up in residential 'care' make some reference to its stigma. The authors of "Who Cares?" write:

> *"So widespread is the misconception that children in care are blameworthy that ultimately they come to accept this stigma themselves" (5.).*

Or in the words of three young people:

> *"When I first went to my school there was some money being pinched and I felt so guilty because I knew I was from a children's home and I felt I was picked on, and I knew it wasn't me" (6.).*
>
> ("Who Cares?" Respondent).
>
> *"I know what people think about people like me who are in care. They think we are bad and I know I'm not' but as I've never heard people say something else sometime I catch myself wondering if they are right".*
>
> (Hinkley 'Care' Respondent).
>
> *"Getting a job isn't easy, but I guess if I knew I was in 'care' I wouldn't employ me".*
>
> (Ingleby 'Care' Respondent).

Also given the enormous ideological support society invests in the stereotypical two parent family as the lynch-pin of the entire social structure, anyone who does not live in such a group, including young people in residential 'care' is bound to be seen as an oddity. This is particularly disturbing given Bebbington's and Miles's (7.) finding that 'broken' family is the most significant factor associated with 'care'.

However, even more worrying is the way in which the social services, by their policies and practices, may further stigmatize young people in 'care' and reinforce the social definition applied to them. Stein and Carey (8.) point out how the work of the National Association of Young People in Care (NAYPIC) has attempted to highlight this by campaigning against the use of order-books for buying clothes, bulk buying, central purchasing, lack of privacy (e.g. no locks on bathroom doors) and limited opportunities to entertain friends (9.). All these concerns were repeated by the NAYPIC official interviewed in the course of the research study who stressed the urgent need for social services to reappraise their administrative and financial systems in relation to their 'care' objectives.

Yet despite the need to strike the right balance between, on the one hand, the effective management of the 'care' system and, on the other hand, the provision of good quality 'care' appropriate to the needs of young people and acceptable to them there is reason to doubt that this will be achieved at this time. The latter half of the 1980s witnessed a change in the language of social services as a new efficient managerial ethos asserted itself which seems set to dominate the 1990s. The pressures for this change are described by Bonnerjea (10.) as coming from a variety of sources. Externally there was, and is a central government, which had long been questioning whether local authorities are the best and most appropriate providers of social services while, internally, the managers of these services, frustrated by the lack of control over a system whose goal - the provision of 'care' - is much more difficult to provide than private sector goods. The development of 'systems' has increasingly replaced individual discretion which while taking the randomness out of the 'care' provided to young people, has introduced the risk that there will be increasing insensitivity to the unique needs of the individuals who make up the 'care' population. For example, a young Black person in the 'care' of a local authority having a small Black community is not likely to have his, or her needs met, despite the demands of the Children Act 1989, because managers may not deem it to be cost effective to provide services appropriate to that individual's racial, cultural and religious background.

However, if the 'systems' orientated emphasis on management and the models of service delivery (most notably the purchaser-provider model) result in a child 'care' system better able to help young people in local authority residential 'care' overcome the disadvantages of the way they are socially defined the new managerial emphasis is to be welcomed. It is too early to offer any firm conclusions about whether this will prove to be the case, but the high unit cost of residential 'care' and the pre-eminence of young people, as opposed to children, in its population combine to make cost-conscious managers keenly interested in the development of effective and efficient services for these young people, including the provision of adequate preparation for independence and working life. Indeed, managers have no option other than to be interested in this matter as the Children Act requires local authorities to take on new duties with regard to 'care' leavers who become entitled to help (i.e. advice and assistance) until they reach the age of 21 years (11).

Unfortunately, the Act's 'after-care' provisions are seriously flawed as young people who have been in 'care' have no entitlment to any form of financial or material help. The provision of these forms of assistance are at the discretion of local authorities and, at a time of shrinking budgets (12.), there has to be considerable doubt over their willingness to exercise this discretion generously.

Nevertheless, the Act at least provides limited recognition that the capacity to cope with independence comes later than the age of 18 years for most young people and that local authorities have continuing responsibilities towards young people who were once in 'care'. In the light of the Act and the developing management practices of local authorities, it is important that we look at how young people are prepared for their eventual independence: a task which must be able to help them overcome the handicap of the stigmatic social definition applied to them.

26.3. Leaving 'Care'.

The leaving of 'care' is a recent policy issue and refers to the process of being discharged from 'care' which young people usually experience when 16 to 18 years of age. It can also refer to their 'preparation' for independence and to what is often euphemistically called 'after-care'.

Yet young people have always left 'care'. Why was it that in the late 1980s this suddenly became an issue of interest? Bonnerjea (13.) gives four main reasons:

1. Rising youth unemployment, the increasingly restricted social security provision for the young and a continuing decline in cheap rented accommodation.

2. The cost of residential 'care' and changes in the age of the 'care' population of which young people make up an increasing proportion.

3. The extension of the need to prevent children and young people coming into 'care', recognized in the Children and Young Persons Act 1963, to incorporate the wider goal of preventing them staying in 'care' unnecessarily or undergoing recurrent episodes of 'care'.

4. Management changes.

In addition, there was mounting research evidence to support the contention of long-time advocates for young people in 'care' that something seems to go badly wrong when they assume their independence. Particularly striking, in this respect, is the Centrepoint report which finds that the 'ex-care' population is heavily over-represented in the group of homeless and often destitute young people found in London and other cities (14.). Even where they do have a roof over their heads, 'care' leavers are described by Partridge (15.) as often experiencing periods of semi-homelessness, moving frequently between shoddy bedsits, shared flats, squats, the homes of friends and relatives. Without homes of their own 'care' leavers suffer the additional stigma of homelessness while the task of finding an employer willing to offer work to a homeless person is almost hopeless. The limited entitlement these young people then have to state benefits serves only to aggravate and reinforces these problems and the stigma they carry.

Yet the traditional approach social services have adopted towards preparing young people to cope with independence has been very simplistic. Although only 0.5% of nineteen year olds in England and Wales live alone with the vast majority of them, 99.5%, staying at home until their early twenties (16.) the, so called, 'independence approach' consists of finding 'care' leavers somewhere to live and then expecting them to carry on alone. Put another way a group of young people who are;

> *"regarded as in need of care and control up to the age of sixteen, seventeen or eighteen are catapulted into a position of greater vulnerability than other young people of their age" (17.).*

Perhaps, not surprisingly, in their study of 'care' leavers Stein and Carey (18.) discovered that the accommodation found for the young people in their sample invariably proved unsatisfactory. Very few placements in single person accommodation lasted, with all the young people provided with this kind of housing wanting to move on within a year. They found living alone depressing and lonely especially after the group-based culture of residential 'care', while most of their new friends were likely to be living with families or with other people, which made 'care' leavers feel different and continued the stigma of 'care'.

A study carried out by Garnett (19.) reached a similar conclusion with those of his 'ex-care' respondents placed in their own accommodation often finding themselves lonely and unable to cope on their limited finances leading to the accumulation of debts. Out of the 15 young people whose last placement had been a flat and whose whereabouts were still known two years later only three had not changed address.

However, perhaps, the main weakness of the 'independence approach' lies in its insensitivity to the essential developmental journey from being a young person to becoming an adult. What this meant for young people at the time of the research study is indicated in "Young People in the 80s" (20.), which shows that this transition includes the search for self-identity, self-examination, uncertainty, discovery and freedom.

Thus, it is the;

> *"freedoms they (young people) perceive to be inherent in the state of adulthood they want, without having to take on any of the adult responsibilities. Taking on 'real' responsibilities would (perceptually) inhibit the freedom to explore and experiment... with their own 'outside' worlds" (first set of brackets, mine) (21.).*

It is the opinion of Stein and Carey that the dominance of the 'independence approach' has caused the nature of the transition from being a young person to being an adult to be overlooked. It is an approach which they describe as subtly negating the significance of the concept of 'interdependence', the importance of which they stress, and describe as consisting of young people giving as well as taking; of getting on with other people and negotiating problems with the support of agencies, neighbours and friends.

An interesting finding of recent studies is that a substantial proportion - more than one in three - of 'care' leavers returned to social services for help. Stein and Carey and Bonnerjea note that a number of these young people who wanted nothing more to do with social services when they first left 'care', later felt in need of support as they struggled to establish themselves as adults (22.). This study supports the existence of this pattern with several respondents trying to re-establish links with the establishments in which they had lived several months after leaving.

The need for the the notion of 'interdependence' to play a central part in future planning for leaving 'care' seems to be undeniable. If local authorities are serious about their continuing responsibilities to those who have been in their 'care' and wish to do something to nullify the damaging effects of the social definition applied to these young people, the 'independence' approach must be abandoned. In its place local authorities have to substitute the 'interdependence' approach and accept that they have a continuing responsibility for young people after they have left 'care'; a responsibility to meet the demands of their interdependence.

Therefore, it is to be lamented that, as late as 1989, Bonnerjea found that only half the London Boroughs provided independence training and that there seemed to be little concern about the appropriate content of such training with little effort put into developing it. Not surprisingly, she found that the young people who had been on the receiving end of this training were critical and disillusioned about what was provided. With only 13 boroughs out of 33 having specific leaving care schemes she was forced to conclude that;

> *"in most local authorities in London there are no formal policies about leaving care. It remains the responsibility of field social workers, sometimes with residential workers. It is not generally regarded as a separate activity that requires special training or departmental policies*

or monitoring procedure" (24.).

The apparent failure of local authorities to adequately prepare young people in 'care' for independence and meet the needs of 'care' leavers', continuing interdependency represents the wasting of a tremendously valuable opportunity to ameliorate the destructive effects of the social definition applied to these young people. Whilst history suggests that the derivation of a stigma free definition may represent a long-term, elusive goal, there seems to be no reason why ways cannot be devised and implemented of better helping young people in 'care' cope with the problems of independence, including coping with life on a highly competitive labour market.

If the social definition of young people in 'care' is regarded as limiting their life chances it is in the ability of local authorities to establish compensatory leaving 'care' programmes that the best short-term hope lies for finding a way to neutralizing the definition's effects. Therefore, this thesis will be brought to a close with some recommendations which, on the basis of the research study, appear capable of enabling young people in 'care' to overcome their heritage of stigma.

26.4. Recommendations: A Leaving 'Care' Programme.

The Social Services Inspectorate (24.) stresses that there are constant changes taking place in and new information coming forward on the child 'care' system all the time. In the period of the research study, for example, the child 'care' law was fundamentally reviewed and the guidance relating to it has been revised and refined. New information, which provoked much debate, about the workings of the 'care' system was published by numerous social researchers with an interest in this area.

Yet, despite this context of change, the social definition of young people in local authority residential 'care' remained unchanged. The preceding discussion of this study's research findings makes it clear that, while it would be wrong to imply that these young people are any different from other school leavers, the distorted and exaggerated social definition of those in 'care' closely resembles its stigmatic ancestors in its continuing description of them as a deviant sub-group to be confined to the margins of society. It matters not that this is a myth, the belief vested in it ensures it is dubbed a 'fact', part of a false and limiting 'reality' which young people in local authority residential 'care' somehow have to overcome.

The difficulties of this task should not be underestimated and the recommendations outlined below are not intended to provide a blueprint, a definitive list of objectives, which if attained guarantee that young people in 'care' will defeat the problems created by society's stereotypical depiction of them. Instead, these recommendations may more accurately be thought of as a means of summarizing some of the key issues raised in the course of this research study, and by other recently completed studies.

Underpinning the recommendations to be made are four basic assumptions, the first two of which I share with Stein and Carey (25.):

1. Young people in local authority residential 'care' have the same needs as other young people as well as some needs which are different. This assumption was implicit, for example, in the previous discussion of interdependence. The task for policy makers is the identification of those areas in which young people in 'care' are disadvantaged by comparison with other young people, and to take positive compensatory measures for the benefit of those in 'care'. It is an approach which, in the opinion of Stein and Carey (26.), avoids the extremes of the systematic and stigmatizing labelling of young people in 'care' as completely different from all other young people while also avoiding a crude radicalism which denies that young people in 'care' have special needs. The social definition applied to them helps ensure that the experience of 'care', in itself, gives rise to such needs.

2. Young people in local authority residential 'care' are individuals. All policies and practices must take account of the different aspects of their individuality e.g. personal, political, psychological and material needs and rights.

3. Effective leaving 'care' programmes do not just, magically, happen. They are the product of hard work requiring strong management, skilled staff, a

planned approach with ad hoc leaving 'care' procedures replaced by a definite model whose efficacy is constantly monitored and evaluated.

4. Alongside policies which focus on young people in 'care' others must be evolved that recognize and respond to the needs these young people have as a result of the definition society imposes on them. In other words, policies are required which are, not only, about the 'care' systems relationship with each individual in 'care', but are also concerned about its relationship with society.

Despite the difficilties in providing young people in 'care' with the means to overcome the limitations imposed by society's definition of them the importance of providing these young people with adequate leaving 'care' programmes must be central to maximizing the short, and long term life chances available to them. Failure to provide effective programmes of this type can reasonably be assumed to dramatically increase the likelihood of their failing to cope with the numerous problems of independence, working life, stigma etc., to, thereby, reinforce the potency of the social definition. The aim of the following recommendations is to prevent this by indicating a series of measures needing to be taken to enable 'care' leavers to achieve success. In so doing the damaging false reality, of which the social definition is part, starts be to be exposed.

26.4(a.). Organizational And Staffing Framework: Planning, Funding And Staffing.

Bonnerjea (27.) attempts to identify how many, and which, London Boroughs had specific policies and practices for leaving 'care', involving specialist staff. Replies, based on the local authorities' own assessments of their policies and practices, showed that only three reported they had explicit policies covering the leaving of 'care'. Slightly more, six authorities, stated they had leaving 'care' programmes - not many more than those who have policies.

In contrast, twenty authorities, over half the total, reported that they sometimes or generally have leaving 'care' plans for young people. Bonnerjea concludes:

> *"These two findings illustrate the current thinking behind leaving 'care': in many local authorities it remains something to be individually negotiated between social workers and the young people involved; in a minority are there clear general formal policies; and indeed for nearly half the authorities in London there are neither borough wide policies nor individual plans for young people" (28.)*

These findings point to the failure of many local authorities to recognize that leaving 'care' is an event of sufficient importance to be identified as a special issue demanding the production of specific policy papers, employment of specialist staff and appropriate provision if young people are to be given the best possible chance of succeeding when no longer in 'care'. Without a proper framework of policy, practice and expertise it is impossible to derive a clear set of standards which apply across a borough and between different authorities.

In addition, there is the ever present risk that pressurized social workers will not give young people about to leave 'care' sufficient priority or provide follow-up for those who have left. These problems are symptomatic of the inadequate resourcing for these young people, and of the failure of many authorities to grasp the fact that the quality of the 'after-care' service will be randomly determined without the provision of appropriate policies and the development of specialist practices and staff groups.

The advantages of specialist workers or teams centers around the benefits of targeting; the process of leaving 'care' could become a defined focus for social work activity. Leaving 'care' rather than being in 'care' would become the item of primary interest and outcome of a developmental process which sees the young person moving from one situation (in 'care') to another (out of 'care'). Both these require specialist social workers to develop different skills.

The Children Act 1989 should concentrate the minds of local authorities on the need to provide adequate leaving 'care' and after 'care' services. Section 24 of the Act makes it clear that young people under the age of 21, who have been looked after by a local authority after the age of 16, will automatically qualify for specialist advice and assistance.

However, the main issues concerning this part of the Act (29.) is likely to be the amount of social work time needed to fulfill the advising and befriending duties of local authorities. Bonnerjea (30.) tentatively estimates that the provision of a minimum service for 100 'care' leavers would require 560 hours of direct contacts and a similar amount of time for development work within the community. Management and evaluation are estimated as needing another 380, making a total of 1,500 hours. Although this;

> *"is only about 40 week's work to service 100 'care' leavers, this is far in excess of what is currently available" (31.).*

The Children Act 1989 elaborated the legal framework for leaving 'care' provided in the Child Care Act 1980 by making it the duty of local authorities to advise, assist and befriend young people who have left 'care'. But without the staff to give this effect the demand that this somehow be done sounds ridiculous and the promise it holds out of a better after 'care' service seems empty.

In view of all the above the following recommendations are made.

1. The development and implementation of specific leaving 'care', and 'after-care' policies and practices. A lead person needs to be identified to undertake this task and must be senior enough to make substantial policy changes, but not so senior that the he, or she, is too busy to spend time developing policy in this area.

2. The recruitment of specialist staff as providers of a leaving, and after 'care' service.

3. The preparation of leaving 'care' plans.

4. The provision of a separate leaving 'care' budget.

5. All leaving and after 'care' policies to be regularly monitored and evaluated.

26.4(b.). Partnership.

'After-care' is a multi-agency business as 'care' leavers may require the use of many different community resources and each might be controlled by different agencies. 'Care' leavers could easily need the assistance of their local housing and education departments, social security, of the voluntary sector as well as that of social services, if they are to attain their independence, making the co-operation between these agencies towards a vital component of a comprehensive leaving 'care' programme. Partnership between agencies is, therefore, essential.

I would argue that casework on its own is not adequate. 'After-care' needs a great deal of development work; developing resources within the local community for use by 'care' leavers. In recessionary times this is no easy task with all statutory agencies overburdened by existing levels of demand and fettered by of Government imposed cash limits.

As a result, social services-voluntary sector partnership appears to be the area of inter-agency co-operation which has the most to offer 'care' leavers at the time of writing. Indeed, the last few years have seen the growth of a much closer interdependent relationship between the statutory and voluntary sectors with the latter able to provide 'care' leavers with a number of different housing options.

For example, temporary semi-independent accommodation is provided by Barnardo's, Rainer Foundation, Thomas Coram, St Christophers Fellowship and so on. Permanent independent accommodation may be provided by housing associations while other organizations in the voluntary sector are involved in the provision of work experience for unemployed young people.

In addition, there are a variety of other services provided by the voluntary sector. These include counselling, self help groups and campaign and information groups.

A persistent problem which continually threatens to undermine attempts at partnership between local authorities and the voluntary sector is cost. While it is possible that the unit cost of statutory provision is the same as that of voluntary provision, the budget for the later is separate. Bonnerjea (32.) discovered that this meant that politically and psychologically voluntary sector provision was seen as separate from that of local authorities, and was easier to cut, reduce or abolish. Several of her respondent authorities reported cuts of 25%, 50% or 75% in their 'Private and Voluntary' budgets, figures which she claimed to be unrelated to the needs of young people.

As a result, of all the above considerations **it is recommended that:**

1. A leaving 'care' co-ordinating committee should be established at borough level or, in the County Authorities, at district level with representatives from all statutory and voluntary agencies involved with 'care' leavers.

2. The identification of managers within each agency at local level to 'manage' and make clear the boundaries of partnership with clear rights and obligations on all sides.

3. The uses of partnership to be informed and led by the needs of 'care' leavers. The advantages of partnership should not be lost due to a political or psychological bias against the use of resources which are not 'in house'.

4. 'Care' leavers are to be treated, in line with the demands of the Children Act 1989, as partners in all collaborative efforts between different agencies.

26.4(c.). The Management Of 'Care': Placement Stability - Family And Neighbourhood Links.

By the mid-1980s there was cummulative research evidence from Great Britain and the USA showing that the well being of children in 'care' of social agencies is enhanced if links are maintained with parents and other family members. However;

> *"other research showed that all too often links were not being maintained. In the second half of the decade both sets of messages*

> *have been confirmed" (33.).*

Yet, this research study failed to identify the withering away of family links. On the contrary, its findings indicated that 'care' respondents valued greatly contact with parents and other family members. It was as if it gave these young people a sense of continuity; a rare and valuable commodity for those who live in the ever changing environments of residential establishments and may have suffered several changes of placement over relatively short periods of time.

However, the conclusions from the Dartington Research Unit's study "Lost in Care" (34.), summarized in the follow-up research "Access Disputes in Child Care" (35.), draws attention to frailty of the links between young people in 'care' and their families. The very fact of being in 'care', by taking a young person out of his, or her home starts to erode these links. This process of erosion can then be accelerated by non-specific and specific restrictions on contact. Non-specific restrictions include difficulties which are inherent in the placement, such as distance and inaccessibility. Specific restrictions are more likely to concern restrictions placed by social workers on the access of family members or other individuals.

Other factors may also intervene to increase a young person's isolation from his, or her family. Social workers visits to families decline overtime with:

> *"the bridge between absent children and his or her family weakening as social workers fail to stress the significance of the parent/child reciprocal contact. Unfortunately, parents need encouragement to maintain relationships with their absent children, particularly when haunted by a sense of failure and bereft of a useful role" (36.).*

The implications of these findings could not be clearer for leaving 'care' policy makers, managers and practitioners. If it is accepted that family members have a critically important role to play in assisting 'care' leavers make the transition from 'care' to 'non-care' these young people must be allowed maximum reasonable contact with parents and other relatives. This means placing young people locally (Hinkley and Ingleby both had taken policy decisions banning out of Borough placements) encouraging parents to exercise their parental responsibility and consult them about all decisions relating to their children.

In addition, local placements permit young people in 'care' to maintain their links with the neighbourhoods to which they will return on discharge from 'care'. Placements must be planned so that they link with the neighbourhood and develop supportive arrangements while the young person is in 'care'. At the first Black and In Care Conference it was recommended:

> *"the young people should not be shipped out of the Black community into rural areas in which there is no Black community" (37.).*

The importance of this is hard to over-estimate and is recognized in the Children Act by its insistence that local authorities take into account the race, religion and culture when placing young people in 'care'. Whilst this is commendable the Act fails to say how this should be done and paid for. As a result, its laudable sentiments may not be translated into action. This is this is a particularly serious risk in local authorities that do not have sufficiently large, and vocal minority constituencies capable of pressing for 'care' provision appropriate to the needs of their young.

It is recommended that:

1. By the time young people in 'care' embark on leaving 'care' programmes they should be in stable placements. These should be equipped to help young people during their transition from school to work and from childhood to adulthood.

2. The full range of family support should be explored and 'care' leavers encouraged, where appropriate, to sustain these links.

3. Specific and non-specific restrictions of contact between young people in 'care' and their family members must be subject to constant review and reduced wherever it is reasonable to do so.

4. Siblings in 'care' should be placed together.

5. Conscientious planning to link placements with the neighbourhood is needed

to allow 'care' leavers make use of their local support networks and to develop other supportive arrangements while a young person is still in 'care'.

26.4(d.). The Management Of Care: The Psycho-Social Transition And The Need For Interdependence.

Here we return to the previously discussed weakness which has hampered leaving 'care' programmes arising out of their adherence to an 'independence philosophy'. It is a philosophy which is insensitive to the psycho-social transition: that essentially developmental journey from being a dependent young person in 'care', to an independent adult out of 'care'. We will now consider what practical steps hasten the exchange the 'independence philosophy' for a 'philosophy of interdependence'.

It is recommended that:

1. Resources should be decentralized to establishments to provide young people in 'care' with the facilities for learning, creative risk taking and general participation. The transition includes the need for 'space', freedom and experimentation in a supportive context.

2. Administrative systems that stigmatize and encourage dependency, e.g. bulk buying, central purchasing, order book systems etc., should be ended.

3. Social and relationship skills should be developed through group living experiences which teach the importance of interdependence and social responsibility.

4. Social workers should become enablers and not fall into the trap of 'doing' things for young people leaving 'care'.

5. The attendance of young people at reviews and all other local authority meetings concerning them should be actively encouraged to ensure that they participate in all important forums where plans for them are made.

6. Policies should be implemented to ensure that young people in 'care' have adequate information and knowledge about the 'care' system. They should be made aware of their rights within that system and of complaints/representation procedures and given the opportunity to be independently represented if they find themselves in dispute with a local authority, or any of its workers.

7. Help should be given to all young people in 'care' to resolve issues relating to their personal identities so that they have a secure knowledge and understanding of their pasts on which to base their future lives as independent adults.

8. Self-help in 'care' groups should be established to help young people grow in confidence and make sense of their 'care' experience.

26.4(e.). Education.

The research study discovered that in terms of examinations passed, its 'care' respondents were no more casualties of the education system than their 'non-care' counterparts. Regardless of 'care' status, most respondents under achieved at school and at the time of their leaving many felt there was no point to them remaining in full-time education.

Underlying the reasons respondents gave for leaving school were reasons which reasonated to that provided by Maizels who writes that it was;

> *"not so much a spontaneous decision of the rebellious or bored, but the logical, rational, and inevitable response to what seemed likely to offer a more tolerable and sensible way of spending their time. A working life, though not necessarily in a job of their first preference, and even with its disciplines and conditions, was felt to offer more freedom, independence, interest and, possibly, enjoyment, than could school" (38.)*

What is of concern is the extent to which schools are able to prepare school leavers for work. In other words, education needs to be more closely related to the employment opportunities to be found on the labour market.

However, some may not readily interpret the role of schools as producers of spare parts for the economic machine and might assert that:

> *"the central task of education is to develop human abilities by opening them up for varied choices rather than streamlining them towards alleged requirements" (39.).*

Yet, despite any controversy which exists over the role of education there is little conflict between the requirements of vocational preparation and the aims of secondary education. Schools remain committed to teaching basic educational skills - literacy, numeracy and the ability to communicate with others - and it is these that are the foundations of vocational competence. In this sense the problem is not one of what employers want and schools fail to provide, but of the failure to benefit from existing provision.

For those who want to leave school when aged 16 years schools can not only give them the basic educational skills they will require, but also provide vocational services in terms of employment advice and guidance which allow young people to explore their interests, make appropriate career choices and arrange introductions to employers.

The unusually heavy reliance the study's 'care' respondents place on teachers as primary sources of information about job vacancies suggests that these young people would have found the transition from school to work much easier had their schools placed greater emphasis on the development of their vocational services, particularly, at a time of high youth unemployment.

Unfortuantely, the research study found that teacher ignorance of young people in 'care' and the child 'care' system did not bode well for the educational attainment of these young people. Teachers emerged from the study as strong subscribers to the social definition of young people in 'care', creating the impression that effort expended on them in the class-room would almost certainly be a waste of energy.

The association between life in 'care' and frequent changes of school and difficulties encountered in finding quiet places to study in busy residential establishments serve only to provide this assumption with a false legitimacy.

However, despite the misgivings the study's 'care' respondents expresssed about school shortly after starting work, many revised their opinions about continuing their education and returned to it in an effort to make good and supplement any deficiencies in their schooling. The reasons for doing so owed nothing to love of academic study, but to a desire to open up their options on the labour market by becoming more competitive upon it.

In view of the comments made **it is recommended that:**

1. Schools should be encouraged to address the vocational, as well as the academic needs of individuals.

2. Schools should be encouraged to develop their vocational services.

3. To reduce the educational risks young people in local authority 'care' confront as a result of teachers' ignorance it is very important that local authorities attempt to educate them about these young people and the child 'care' system.

4. A higher priority should be given to reducing the frequent changes of school suffered by young people in 'care' while the lack of private study facilities in residential establishments should be made good.

5. Support should be given to young people in 'care' and 'care' leavers to continue, or return to education after leaving school. This support will have to go beyond simple encouragement to a willingness to making a financial committment to maintain these young people throughout the period of their studies.

26.4(f.). Accommodation.

The accommodation problems and requirements of 'care' leavers have already been discussed: Local authorities may try to find these young people accommodation of their own, but often fail to take into account the loneliness they experience as a result of having to live alone at an age when most other young people of their age are still cared for within their families.

The study's 'care' respondents were aware of these potential problems while NAYPIC, First Key, and the June Chambers Memorial Trust and several other studies, which have looked more intensively into this matter, all stressed the importance of finding 'care' leavers adequate and appropriate accommodation. That is, accommodation which is adequate in terms of size, state of repair and geographical location, and appropriate in terms of a young persons social, personal, cultural and religious needs.

The following recommendations are made:

1. There should be no expectation that young people have to move into independent accommodation on, or soon after their eigthteenth birthday.

2. The movement of young person from 'care' into their own accommodation should be the outcome of a planned decision in which the young person is fully involved.

3. A range of different types of accommodation - shared, supported, fully independent etc. - should be made available in order to ensure that the differing needs and abilities of young people in 'care' are catered for.

4. Considerable effort should be put into ensuring that 'care' leavers do not feel lonely, isolated or unsupported. This means that accommodation must be sited where these young people have established links.

5. Social services departments should work, and plan jointly with local

authority housing departments, housing associations and the voluntary sector to develop a range of appropriate accommodation options which might include, a.) supported cluster accommodation schemes, mixing young people in, and not in 'care'; b.) nomination rights with local authority housing departments and housing associations; c.) supported lodgings; d.) partnership with the voluntary sector to provide specialist accommodation and support for 'care' leavers, not otherwise available to them, and e.) the provision of accommodation for use by young people needing respite from fully independent living.

6. Hostels (often depressing and stigmatizing), bed and breakfast (impersonal and expensive), the private bed-sit/flat market (poor quality and expensive) and 'hard to let' council property (poor quality and stigmatizing) are to be avoided.

7. As a matter of principle, 'care' leavers should be able return to 'care' if things do not work out.

8. Comprehensive rent guarantee schemes should be put in place.

26.4(g.). Employment.

The research study has established that its 'care' respondents were far less successful in their search for work than were their 'non-care' counterparts. It was a problem whose significance is reflected in Stein's and Carey's (40.) finding that in the eyes of their cohort of 'care' leavers unemployment was the greatest problem they had. The opinions expressed by the teachers, employers and members of the public interviewed in the course of the research study and the support they gave to the social definition of young people in local authority 'care', gave no reason to believe that the severity of this problem might be reduced in the future.

The following recommendations are made:

1. The findings of the research study indicated that its young people in 'care' were unusually dependent on social workers and teachers as primary informants of job vacancies. Therefore, social services departments need to take the initiative and develop collaborative links with schools, employers's organizations, local trades councils, the careers service and the Department of Employment to ensure that teachers, but especially social workers, are able to provide the best possible careers advice or link with agencies better placed to do so.

2. It should be accepted as reasonable that young people in 'care', like most young people, tend to be 'job changers'.

3. Social services departments should make available the financial, and other help 'care' leavers might need if they wish to return to education after leaving school. To do so might increase their employment chances at a later date.

4. Joint planning between local authority social services and education departments should take place to ensure that the education received by young people in 'care' is pertinent to their vocational aspirations.

5. Young people in 'care' should be provided with the opportunity to role play job interviews and complete 'dummy' application forms.

6. The development, by young people in 'care', of relationship skills appropriate to the workplace needs to be encouraged.

7. The status of young people in 'care' as interdependent, not independent, individuals should be recognized by all charged with assisting them in trying to find work.

8. Social services, at all levels, could make a greater contribution to reducing

the stigma of 'care' and increasing the employability of its subjects by educating and informing potential employers, through the media, trades councils, employers organizations careers service, and the Department of Employment, about local authorities 'care', the young who are in it, and their need for work.

26.4(h.). Extending Support Beyond The Age Of 18 Years.

The research study concentrated on young people in local authority residential 'care' who were aged 16 years. However, what happens to young people on and after their 18th birthdays when they must, legally, cease to be in 'care'? Whilst the answer to this question might require a research project in its own right, Bonnerjea (41.) found that the majority of London Boroughs reacted to these birthdays by making a financial payment (for a birthday present and, or as a leaving 'care' grant) and holding a review to confirm, ideally, leaving 'care' arrangements already made at earlier reviews. The inherent, but dubious assumption in this practice is that the young people are ready to live independently when they are eighteen.

Unfortunately it is difficult for young people to know what they have a right to expect local authorities to provide them with on leaving 'care'. Levels of 'after-care' support and provision are largely left to the discretion of individual authorities. As a result, the quality of the 'after-care' service received by 'care' leavers can be determined by completely random factors, like what authority they happened to be in the 'care' of. The Children Act has attempted to deal with this problem by imposing on local authorities the duty to advise and befriend 'care' leavers. However, this is a minimal demand which does little to erode the discretion of local authorities and establish a framework of 'rights' for 'care' leavers.

As a result, 'after-care' provision can be inconsistent, unfair and ad hoc in nature. Its discretionary nature also means that in times of financial hardship for local authorities it is all too easy to cut whatever 'after-care' services do exist.

The following recommendations are made:

1. Local authorities should adopt as an aim the provision of a supportive apparatus comparable with that available to other young people not in 'care' aged 18 to 21 years.

2. Local authorities should make clear policy statements on the organization of social services support and advice for young people after they have left 'care'.

3. The terms of Section 24 of the Children Act should be changed to make those aspects of 'after-care' provision it allows local authorities to provide on a discretionary basis obligatory. This would provide 'care' leavers with a clearer and structured framework of rights, reduce the scope for ad hoc 'after-care' provision and help protect it from 'cut backs'.

4. Placements should be continued beyond the age of 18 years, if necessary. This recognizes the interdependence of young people and would allow them to leave 'care' when they are ready, not when the 'system' demands that they do so.

5. Provision should be made for young people aged 18 years or over, as it should for younger 'care' leavers, to return to 'care' if required.

26.4.(i.) Legal Issues.

It has been repeatedly stressed that attempts to provide a comprehensive after 'care' service within a framework of guarenteed rights for 'care' leavers is fatally undermined by the discretionary nature of much of section 24 of the Children Act 1989. The experience of organizations working with young people who have recently left 'care' is that discretionary provision does not lead to a developed after 'care' service linked to local needs, but to scant, and in some areas, non-existent services for 'care' leavers. In times of growing pressure on the budgets of social services departments this is an especially serious risk with all discretionary types of services the easy victims of cut backs.

Yet the prolonged clamp down on council house building, recession, continuing high levels of youth unemployment and social security legislation which makes it very difficult for young people to claim benefit makes it more essential than ever that those in 'care' are provided good leaving 'care' programmes.

It is recommended that:

1. All parts of Section 24 of the Children Act 1989 be made obligatory.

2. Social work training should ensure that social workers are fully aware of Section 24 and it be accepted that they are entitled to act as advocates, against their employing departments, when attempting to obtain discretionary resources, for 'care' leavers.

3. Young people in 'care' should be fully informed of their legal right of complaint against local authority decisions and encouraged to use complaints/representations procedures. They should be provided with independent representation, if required.

4. Young people leaving 'care' should be made a priority group under the Homeless Persons Act 1985 (Part III).

5. Social security legislation should be amended to maximize 'care' leavers entitlement to benefit.

26.6. A Final Word.

The important thing about the above recommendations, none of which are new, is that given the political will they are all achievable and capable of helping to provide young people in local authority residential 'care' with a chance of overcoming the problems of the caricature imposed on them by the social definition. The message of this thesis is that these problems are not simple reflections of the failings of the child 'care' system and of young people in 'care', but are, in a very real and fundamental sense, the product of the social definition applied to them. It is a definition arising out of the social mythology surrounding these young people, the roots of which go far back into history.

EPILOGUE.

Avoiding Co-option: A Positive Definition Of Residential 'Care'.

There is a danger that the research study's findings might be co-opted and used to further undermine residential 'care' and those who reside within it. It could be argued that if the social definition of young people in 'care' is unfair and damaging to them the use of residential 'care' must be kept to an absolute, irreducible minimum to act as the last of 'last resorts' to which only the irredeemable few are consigned. Supported by the mythology surrounding these young people and residential 'care' the propogation of this argument seems to be no more than an exercise in cynicism. Instead, the qualities of residential 'care' need to be proclaimed and it firmly established as an effective high quality resource offering a range of skills to meet special needs. Residential 'care' should become a positive option and be used in interesting and imaginative ways.

In a review of child policy documents of all English local authorities the Department of Health's Social Services Inspectorate discovered that many had identified this new role, often linking it to the needs of particular groups. It is worth quoting the Inspectorate's comments on these documents at length for it demonstrates the rich potential of residential 'care':

> *"Residential placements should be used as a positive choice in circumstances where it is felt to offer some thing that other forms of placement cannot. These advantages may lie in its greater flexibility, for example, or greater acceptability to parents and/or children; the range of models and relationships it can offer children; the skills available for work with parents and children in certain residential settings; or particularly in the case of older children, the creativity and flexibility which residential placements and independent living schemes can offer. Residential care should be used as a base from which to develop shared care with parents, and as a flexible and appropriate base for a range of child care services" (1.).*

The task is to develop these new and more imaginative uses of residential 'care'; to rid it of its image as a social work 'dustbin' in which hopeless cases are dumped and to transform it into a creative and valued form of provision. Advances in this direction can only reflect well on residential 'care' making it ever harder to maintain the social definition of young people within it and enhance their chances of achieving success as 'care' leavers.

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Appendix 1.

The Pilot Study: Report.

A1.1. Introduction.

The pilot study can be thought of as a sort of 'feeler', an exploratory exercise carried out in advance of the main study in order to prepare its way. This is a view incorporated into the comprehensive definition such studies provided by Goode and Hatt:

> *"After the literature has been carefully studied and experts consulted, the researcher may still have a rather vague idea about what are the crucial elements in his problem. A pilot study may then be launched as a preliminary stage to the formulation of a schedule. At this stage all that can be formulated is an interview guide. Thus the researcher interviews in the field in a very non-directive fashion. The questions are structured very little and controlled only by dealing with the general areas which he has reason to think are important. During this kind of flexible interviewing, he tries to follow up every promising lead which may appear... The researcher, then, is not putting neat hypotheses to the test at this stage but clarifying and formulating hypotheses for future study. Not only is he uncertain as to the material he wants to enquire about, but he may even be uncertain as to whom he wishes to interview. This stage does not usually warrant a formal sampling design, but the student must be sure he interviews a wide variety of types making up the final sample to be studied. Further, he must be alert to sampling problems which may warn him to take precautions at the stage of formal sampling design" (1.).*

However, proper understanding of pilot studies must be tempered with an awareness of their limitations. It is in this respect while Ford describes Goode and Hatt's definition of these studies as "widely respected" (2.) she concludes that it;

> *"implies a wasteful application of the limited resources which must be available for the research" (3.).*

The point is, that because pilot studies take place in advance of theory formulation they do not supply the investigator with the data which is defined as stipulated measurements of the patterns of understanding provided by the theory.

Consequently, such studies cannot provide evidence and, hence, have nothing to do with questions of truth.

At the core of the pilot study lay the research findings contained in the literature and the opinions of those 'experts' consulted. All contributed to an inductive process intended to aid the formulation of a testable theory capable of explaining the employment problems of young people in local authority residential 'care' in terms of the social definition imposed on them. Understood in this way, the pilot study allowed empirical work to be usefully undertaken at the beginning of the long process of theory formulation. The descriptive preliminary reports it supplied were food for further thought and provided an opportunity to check instrument reliability by running dummy interviews and testing prototypes of the questionnaires to be used in the main study.

A1.2. Empirical Work Carried Out: Preliminary Survey Of Teacher Perceptions Of Young People In 'Care'.

A1.2(a.). Park Comprehensive.

The scant experience Park Comprehensive's teachers had of young people in 'care' indicated that few of them attended the school. Only three of its staff interviewed had ever taught such young people and then when teaching elsewhere while the head of its 6th. form admitted that in his thirty years at the school he had never encountered a pupil from a' care' background.

However, despite their lack of experience of young people in 'care' Table A1.1. shows that respondent teachers had clear, well formed ideas about what these individuals are like and what 'care' is about. This was indicated by the comparative rarity of 'Don't Know' responses - denoting uncertainty on the part of respondents - while the predominance of 'Yes' replies signified that the opinion teachers had of those in 'care' was generally poor. Even when 'No' responses - reflecting a more favourable view of these young people - were received in discussion respondents often contradicted this assumption.

Table A1.1: Teacher Interviews: Park Comprehensive School.

Modes of Thought as Propositions.	Respondents.									
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
1. Children tend not to be culpable for their being in 'care'.*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2. Young people tend to be culpable for their being in 'care'.**	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3. Residential 'care' is a last resort.	Y	Y	Y	Y	D/K	Y	Y	Y	Y	D/K
4. Most young people in 'care' are placed residentially.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5. Residential 'care' has a penal function with respect to young people.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6. Young people in 'care' are more likely than other pupils to have poor attendence records.	Y	Y	N	D/K	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7. Young people in 'care' are more likely than other pupils to have poor disciplinary records.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8. Young people in 'care' are more likely than other pupils to be lazy.	D/K	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9. Young people in 'care' are less likely than other pupils to gain academic qualifications.	D/K	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10. Young people in 'care' are more likely than other pupils to have poor relationships with teachers.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11. Young people in 'care' are more likely than other pupils to have poor peer relationships.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12. Social work agencies fail to provide teachers with adequate help with young people in 'care'.	Y	N	D/K	Y	N	N	D/K	N	N	N
13. I have experience of teaching young people in 'care'.***	D/K	D/K	D/K	N	D/K	Y (7)	N	Y (1)	Y (10)	N
14. I feel I need to know more about young people in 'care'.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	D/K	Y	Y	Y	Y

* = Children are defined as being of primary school age and under.
** = Young people are defined as being of secondary school age.
*** = Number of children in 'care' taught in brackets. Y = Yes, N = No, D/K = Don't Know.

This was most clearly demonstrated when teachers were asked to consider the comparative level of school attendance they anticipated young people in 'care' would be likely to record. It was found that all teachers who felt that this was likely to be as good, if not better than other pupils that this reflected no particular merit on the part of these young people as it was assumed their attendance would have to be compelled by social workers. Teachers who were unsure about the level of school attendance young people in 'care' might achieve described it as being dependent on the outcome of a struggle between these young people and their social workers. Thus, optimism on the part of Park's teachers with respect to the school attendance of young people in 'care' was more apparent than real.

In the course of the interviews conducted at Park it became clear that a number of teachers viewed the prospect of young people in 'care' attending the school with discomfort. They were described by these teachers as likely to be misfits within the school who would be apt to develop poor relationships with other pupils and staff and be liable to keep 'bad company'. It appeared that some teachers felt that their troubles only began once the attendance of a young person in 'care' was secured.

Therefore, it was not surprising to find that while a few respondents admitted to being afraid of teaching young people in 'care' all of them spoke of what they perceived as their anti-authoritarianism. Accordingly, they were also thought to be at an unusually high risk of suspension or exclusion.

The perceived non-conformity of young people in 'care' was found to have serious implications for it was used to cast them in the role of a threat to the educational interests of all other pupils. In this context one teacher expressed, less stridently stated by all other interviewees, when remarking that;

> *"to tolerate the challenges young people in care might present the school amounts to an abrogation of the professional duty of teachers".*

If the teacher cited above is correct the education system provides school and all who work in it with a ready made excuse for failing to rise to whatever challenges young people in 'care' offer by insisting that they function in accord with a crude

Utilitarian ethic which demands that they supply the greatest educational good to the greatest number of pupils. Respondents did not accept that the subjection of young people in 'care' to disciplinary measures might reflect their desire to protect themselves from any threat they felt these young people offered them and explained their actions in terms of upholding the greatest educational good.

In short, Table A1.1. shows that the teachers interviewed at Park Comprehensive caricatured young people in 'care' as;

1. to blame for their 'care' status;

2. in need of punishment;

3. needing to have their school attendance compelled by social workers;

4. likely to challenge the authority of teachers;

5. doomed to academic failure;

6. prone to develop conflict ridden relationships with other pupils, and;

7. to be a threat to the interests of all other pupils.

From the above it appears that a young person in 'care' who might enrol at Park would almost certainly start at a grave disadvantage to other pupils who do not have to 'live down' such a damaging set of damaging preconceptions.

A1.2(b.). Manor Comprehensive.

All teachers interviewed at Manor, with the exception of a newly qualified member of staff, had experience of teaching young people in 'care'. This, when combined with the fact that all had gained at least part of this experience whilst teaching at Manor indicated that far more of these young people passed through it than Park. In view of this, and other previously mentioned differences it seemed safe to assume that the responses obtained from the group of teachers interviewed at each school would differ significantly. To some extent, this proved to be true with a greater number of 'No' and 'Don't Know' responses recorded in Table A1.2. than in Table A1.1., indicating that the perceptions of Manor's staff were not held in such a monolithic, stereotypical way as were those expressed by teachers at Park. The difference between the two groups of teachers was most distinct when their thoughts with respect to proposition 5 are considered. These show that whereas all respondents at Park perceived residential 'care' as having a 'penal' function only three teachers from Manor shared this view.

However, despite the differences detected in the responses obtained at Park and Manor Comprehensives the most striking feature of the Tables is their essential similarity. Staff modes of thought at Manor may have been less stereotyped than those expressed by teachers at Park, but the views of both sets of teachers were strikingly similar. When responses gleaned from teachers at Manor are considered collectively they, like those from Park, reveal a tendency on the part of teachers to describe young people in 'care' as culpable for their 'care' status, unenthusiastic about attending school, incapable of forming satisfactory relationships with staff and pupils, resistant to the authority of teachers, as presenting disciplinary problems and unlikely to achieve academic success.

The similarity of Manor's and Park's modes of thought was illustrated by the remarks staff from each made about the school attendance of young people in 'care'. Like their colleagues at Park School teachers at Manor also attributed to social workers a good attendance record by these young people while anticipating that once in school they would join delinquent sub-groups.

As a result, it seems that young people in local authority residential 'care' at Manor were disadvantaged in the same way, and for the same reasons as those who might attend Park. Predominate teacher modes of thought automatically define them as series of problems. The very fact of being in 'care' becomes an educational disadvantage.

Table A1.2: Teacher Interviews: Manor Comprehensive School.

Modes of Thought as Propositions.	Respondents. 1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
1. Children tend not to be culpable for their being in 'care'.*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	D/K	Y	Y
2. Young people tend to be culpable for their being in 'care'.**	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	D/K
3. Residential 'care' is a last resort.	D/K	Y	Y	Y	Y	D/K	N	Y	N	D/K
4. Most young people in 'care' are placed residentially.	Y	Y	Y	Y	D/K	Y	Y	D/K	Y	N
5. Residential 'care' has a penal function with respect to young people.	D/K	Y	D/K	N	D/K	Y	D/K	Y	N	D/K
6. Young people in 'care' are more likely than other pupils to have poor attendence records.	N	Y	Y	D/K	Y	Y	D/K	Y	N	Y
7. Young people in 'care' are more likely than other pupils to have poor disciplinary records.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	D/K	N	N	Y
8. Young people in 'care' are more likely than other pupils to be lazy.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	D/K	D/K	Y	Y
9. Young people in 'care' are less likely than other pupils to gain academic qualifications.	D/K	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	D/K	D/K	Y	Y
10. Young people in 'care' are more likely than other pupils to have poor relationships with teachers.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	D/K	D/K	Y	Y
11. Young people in 'care' are more likely than other pupils to have poor peer relationships.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
12. Social work agencies fail to provide teachers with adequate help with young people in 'care'.	D/K	N	N	N	D/K	Y	N	Y	N	D/K
13. I have experience of teaching young people in 'care'.***	Y (12)	Y (20)	Y (18)	Y (30)	Y (8)	Y (30)	Y (35)	N	Y (15)	Y (10)
14. I feel I need to know more about young people in 'care'.	N	D/K	D/K	D/K	Y	D/K	N	Y	N	D/K

Y = Yes, N = No, D/K = Don't Know.
* = Children are defined as being of primary school age and under.
** = Young people are defined as being of secondary school age.
*** = Number of children in 'care' taught in brackets.

Nevertheless, responses obtained from Manor's staff might reflect modes of thought based on more than mere perceptions. The teachers interviewed at the school had considerable experience of teaching young people in 'care' and it may be that their views represent the 'facts', supported by the evidence of respondents' experience of how these young people perform in school. To consider this possibility it is necessary to look 'below' the responses recorded in Table A1.2. and examine some of the statements volunteered by the respondents when being interviewed.

In the course of interview six respondents spoke of teaching young people in 'care' in terms of specific pupils with whom they had encountered problems. Two typical examples of this type of response are as follows:

> *"Two years ago I was in constant contact with the local authority about a fourteen year old boy in residential care who was in constant trouble. He often failed to attend school and when he did no one knew where he was - He never arrived at his classes. He was so disruptive when he did attend classes that, in the end, I was grateful when he didn't".*
>
> *"I have a lot of sympathy for young people in care as I know they have many difficulties. I had a girl in my class who had been thrown out of home by her parents and she was so disturbed by this that she couldn't settle to her lessons. She swore at me regularly and was always at the centre of trouble. As a result, I do not feel we are able to deal with all young people in care. They need special educational provision".*

The anecdotal mode of conversation teachers employed indicated that encounters with particular pupils in 'care' played a formative role in shaping their views of all such young people. Thus, if a young person in 'care' had presented disciplinary problems, had poor relationships with peers, did badly academically etc. he, or she was regarded as the exemplar of all young people in 'care' allowing them to be defined in the same way. As a result, teachers appeared to apply double standards for while a pupil from a 'non-care' background has the opportunity to be judged on his, or her own merits a pupil in 'care' is liable to be judged on those of someone else.

Other comments made by respondents tended to support the idea of young people in 'care' being preordained failures. Of those interviewed four spoke of them as coming from 'bad' or, in the words of one respondent, "delinquent families". What emerges is an atavistic perspective which presents those in 'care' as carrying on a perverse family tradition which teachers are powerless to change.

The most frequent concern staff at Manor expressed about young people in 'care' revolved around the belief that they threatened the operational priorities of the school; the provision of the greatest educational good. Four of those interviewed spoke for a harassed teaching staff:

> *"My responsibility is to all the pupils I teach, not to any one of them... The many problems of kids in care means they place such a demand on me that I will not be able to meet my responsibilities with respect to the rest. I speak from experience".*
>
> *"Teaching pupils who live in care is a problem. They seem to need so much of my attention that I don't give enough to the other children in their classes".*
>
> *"As a responsible professional I am not confident that I can give those in local authority homes the attention they need. If I do, all my other pupils will suffer".*
>
> *"... given the teaching, adminstrative and other demands placed on teachers at this school I don't see how we can possibly be expected to cope with the difficulties that those in care throw-up and still be expected to provide all other pupils with an education. If I'm honest I have to say that there is no place for anyone in care at this school at the moment".*

The kinds of views expressed above also, articulated by the respondents teaching at Park, indicated that young people in 'care' may suffer as a result of the emphasis respondent teachers placed on the smooth running of their schools, to which these young people were considered a threat. Whilst, at the edges of credibility, an individual in 'care' might, just conceivably, threaten the operation of a school. However the fear of some teachers interviewed at Manor seemed to be that all these young people presented such a threat. A similar view with respect to pupils not in 'care' was not expressed.

The pilot study concluded that whilst staff at Manor had experience of teaching young people in local authority residential 'care' this experience did not transform their perceptions of these young people into a reflection of the 'facts' concerning them. Comments made showed that respodents made generalized assumptions about those in 'care' on the basis of a few specific encounters. Interviewees did not appear open to experiences which would disprove their ideas about those in 'care' as the expectation was that all pupils, regardless of 'care' status, should conform to the school rules. Therefore, conformity was not regarded as being neither notable or worthy.

In addition, Manor staff placed little emphasis on the need to know more about young people in 'care'. Interviewees were largely unenthusiastic about doing so with the three teachers who had taught the greatest number - totalling 95 pupils - of young people in 'care' seeing no point in this. The head of the school's unit for pupils with special educational needs summarized the views of these three when saying:

> *"I know little about care, but this is not a problem and of no concern to teachers. We are only interested in ensuring that pupils get the best out of school".*

A1.2(c.). Additional Points.

Table A1.3: Comparison Of Park And Manor Comprehensive Schools: Teacher Responses.

Modes of Thought as Propositions.*	Respondents by School.									
	Park Comprehensive.			Manor Comprehensive.			All Totals.			
	Y.	N.	D/K.	Y.	N.	D/K.	Y.	N.	D/K.	
Prop. 1.	10	0	0	+ 8	1	1 =	18	+ 1	+ 1	= 20
Prop. 2.	10	0	0	+ 8	1	1 =	18	+ 1	+ 1	= 20
Prop. 3.	8	1	1	+ 7	1	2 =	15	+ 2	+ 3	= 20
Prop. 4.	10	0	0	+ 5	2	3 =	15	+ 2	+ 3	= 20
Prop. 5.	10	0	0	+ 3	2	5 =	13	+ 2	+ 5	= 20
Prop. 6.	7	2	1	+ 6	2	2 =	13	+ 4	+ 3	= 20
Prop. 7.	10	0	0	+ 7	2	1 =	17	+ 2	+ 1	= 20
Prop. 8.	9	0	1	+ 8	0	2 =	17	+ 0	+ 3	= 20
Prop. 9.	9	0	1	+ 7	0	3 =	16	+ 0	+ 4	= 20
Prop. 10.	10	0	0	+ 8	0	2 =	18	+ 0	+ 2	= 20
Prop. 11.	10	0	0	+ 8	2	0 =	18	+ 2	+ 0	= 20
Prop. 12.	2	6	2	+ 2	5	3 =	4	+ 11	+ 5	= 20
Prop. 13.	3	4	3	+ 9	1	0 =	12	+ 5	+ 3	= 20
Prop. 14.	9	0	1	+ 2	3	5 =	11	+ 3	+ 6	= 20
Totals	117	13	10	+ 88	22	30 =	205	+ 35	+ 40	= 208

Y = Yes, N = No, D/K = Don't Know
* See Tables A1.1. and A1.2.

Table A1.3. compares the responses obtained from the interviews held at Park and

Manor Comprehensives and in so doing endorses the themes defining young people in local authority residential 'care'. However, the following points need to be made in respect of respondent views received at Park and Manor:

1. The definition teachers offered of the school performance of young people in local authority residential 'care' as poor compared with that of their 'non-care' peers was all embracing, encompassing academic performance, behaviour and relationships with teachers and other pupils.

2. The social dominance of a Utilitarian ethic appeared to cause the majority of teachers interviewed to define their professional role in terms of delivering what, I have called, the greatest educational good to which those in 'care' tended to be perceived as a threat. This points to the taint of the Poor Law and less eligibility which continues to be attached to the child 'care' system.

3. Teachers appeared to have a bifurcated concept of the 'care' system. Those interviewed tended to regard children as coming into 'care' for reasons beyond their control; young people were held to be responsible for their 'care' status.

4. When talking with teachers it became apparent how important it was to make clear whether a residential 'care' establishment was owned and run by a local authority, a private body or charitable organization. On numerous occasions interviewees either asked what kind of residential 'care' they were being asked to consider in terms of its ownership and appeared to use this information to determine what it was establishments might exist to do and the type of young person who resided in them. This drew attention to the need to be precise about the issue of ownership in the fieldwork phase of the main study making clear how poorly regarded local authority 'care' and its subjects were in comparison with their private and charitable counterparts which seemed to benefit from the well nurtured images of Dr Banardo et al.

5. Teachers interviewed at Park and Manor Comprehensives were critical of the social services giving rise to the following question arose: To what extent

does the social definition of young people in 'care' rise out of low public esteem in which social workers and social services departments are held? (see Chapter 25.).

6. The pilot study found that the views of teachers lent support to the social definition of young people in local authority 'care' outlined in Part 1 of this thesis. The influence of this definition appeared to impose a kind of intellectual 'straight jacket' on teachers, preventing them from viewing these young people in ways which deviated from its dictates. This was most effectively demonstrated by a teacher at Manor Comprehensive who felt that young people in 'care' would benefit if their positive attributes were emphasized. When asked to give examples of these he could give none.

A1.3. Empirical Work Carried Out: Preliminary Survey Of Employer Perceptions Of Young People In 'Care'.

The purpose of this survey, as with that of teacher perceptions of young people in 'care', was the identification of the modalities of thought which characterize the way in which employers defined these young people. This undertaking was considered a particularly important aspect of the pilot study for as the hirers of labour employers ultimately decide whether, or not, those in 'care' are offered work.

The Manpower Services Commission's 'Industrial Facts and Forecasting Survey' (5.) provides a useful starting point when attempting to identify employer modalities of thought concerning young people in 'care' by listing all the essential characteristics (see Table A1.4.) employers seek in job applicants. Examination of this listing reveals that if the themes identified in the literature concerning these young people are believed to be true they will be perceived as not possessing seven of the thirteen listed characteristics, threatening their employment prospects. If employers subscribe to the validity of these themes this threat can be expected to transform itself into a 'reality'.

Table. A1.4. Employer Survey: Essential Characteristics Of All Recruits.

	Skilled Manual %	Other Manual. %	Non-Manual. %
Willingness/Attitude To Work.*	80	81	70
Basic 3 Rs.*	52	21	67
Good Level Of Numeracy.*	40	13	55
Good Level Of Physical Fitness.	50	47	27
Appearance/Tidiness.	29	39	45
Good Written English/Literate.*	21	6	67
Good Verbal Communication.*	18	18	45
Mature/Stable.*	30	20	23
Specific Educational Qualifications.*	21	2	38
Specific Personal Attributes.	27	36	7
Willingness To Join A Trade Union.	22	16	9
Past Experience.	19	7	5
Existing Trade Union Membership.	9	4	2

Source: Manpower Services Commission (4.).

* = Essential characteristics associated with the themes constituting the social definition of young people in 'care'.

A1.3(a.). Ascertaining Employer Modalities Of Thought And Associated Methodoligcal Issues.

Identification of employer modalities of thought with respect to young people in 'care' proved a difficult task due, in part, to the implausibility of eliciting valid answers by simply approaching individual employers and asking how their views of these young people influenced their employment decisions with respect to them. It was anticipated responses obtained in this way would merely reflect what respondents considered they should say rather than what they actually thought. As a result, the pilot study had to overcome the anticipated problem of lack of respondent 'honesty'.

However, while the 'honesty' of respondents was doubted it is not alleged that they might have deliberately lied. 'Honesty' is more subtle than that. What is at issue is the clash between a person's stated beliefs relating to a particular matter - for example, young people in local authority residential 'care' - as it exists in the public domain and those which are observed when the same matter intrudes into his, or her private domain (6.). Hence, lack of 'honesty' is essentially about the failure of individuals to be consistent.

To overcome the problem of employer 'honesty' a strategy was adopted which involved asking young people, similar in age to members of the main study 'care' and 'non-care' samples, to undertake job interviews for vacancies advertised in the London Boroughs of Newham and Waltham Forest. For reasons of research management the number of young people who assisted with this phase of the pilot study was restricted to four. With the aid of Community Service Volunteers the help of these young people, two males and two females, was obtained. All were unemployed, had few educational qualifications and had been continuously in 'care' for periods ranging from five to thirteen years. They had also all experienced living in residential settings at various stages of their 'care' careers. At the time of the pilot study the two males and one of the females were placed in different residential establishments while the remaining female had been with a foster family for less than a year.

Having enlisted the help of the young people they were formed into two groups according to gender. These I refer to as groups 'M', for male, and 'F', for female, which operated independently of each other. It was made clear to the young people that when attending a job interview they were not expected to tell lies but while one partner was asked to play the role of the young person in 'care' by making clear his, or her 'care' status the other was to fulfil a 'non-care' role by not emphasizing this.

The sheer difficulty encountered in obtaining job interviews and pressure of time meant that only four sets of interviews per group could be arranged. After each set partners changed roles to allow the potentially confounding effects their differing interview techniques to be controlled. The confounding effects of sexism and racism were controlled by the division of the young people into single sex groups and the coincidence that all who volunteered were White.

The results of the job interviews attended by members of interview groups 'M' and 'F' are recorded in Table A1.5. However, prior to their interpretation two particularly important shortcomings concerning the method by which they were obtained must be recognized.

The first concerns the problem of 'representativeness' for the number of firms and young people involved in this part of the pilot study was insufficient to ensure that findings would be representative of the job search experience of most young people in 'care'. In an attempt to ameliorate this problem an effort was made to ensure that the job interviews which took place were with dissimilar employers (see Table A1.6.).

In addition, unanticipated confounding variables were dealt with by the procedure used to select particular employers as targets for the interview groups. This had two stages, for having sorted out vacancies into different skill categories job applications were then submitted to employers within each of these on a random basis. In so doing ignorance of unanticipated extraneous and confounding variables was randomized among them. The use of the Manpower Commission's Survey then provided a means for checking the representativeness of results obtained by the use of interview groups 'M' and 'F'.

A second problem associated with the use of the two groups concerned the subjectivity of the results obtained which are no more than their member's perceptions of how employers approached perceived them. However, this problem simply returns us to the inherent subjectivity of all research undertaking; data supplied by research tools only achieves the status of 'evidence' because, it is interpreted as such.

Nevertheless, recognition of the problem of subjectivity demands that the results derived from the interview groups be interpreted with caution. Failure on the part of the group's members, when playing the role of someone in 'care', to gain employment does not provide conclusive proof that they were unsuccessful due to the way employers think of young people in 'care'. It merely provides an indicator that this may be so. Only when it is considered along side other indicators, obtained by different means, pointing in the same direction does it take on a persuasive force.

A1.3(b.). Employers' Perceptions Of Young People In 'Care'.

Table A1.5: Pilot Study Employer Survey: Question Areas Covered In Job Interviews And Outcomes.

	Interview Group ' M '								Interview Group ' F '							
	' Care ' Role Player				' Non-Care ' Role Player				' Care ' Role Player				' Non-Care Role Player			
	Interviews.															
Question Areas.	1.	2.	3.	4.	1.	2.	3.	4.	1.	2.	3.	4.	1.	2.	3.	4.
1. Educational Attainment.		X		X		X		X	X	X		X	X	X		X
2. Ability to get on with others.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
3. Health.	X	X		X	X	X		X	X				X			
4. Previous Experience.	X	X		X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
5. Interest in the Job.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
6. 'Care' Status.	X	X	X	X					X	X	X	X				
7. Why in 'Care'.		X							X			X				
8. Type of 'Care'.		X		X												
9. Time in 'Care'.																
Job Not Offered.	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X		X		X		X
Job Offered.							X	X			X		X		X	

Table A1.6: Pilot Study Employer Survey: Types of Jobs For Which Interviews Were Offered.

Interview Group 'M'	Interview Group 'F'
1. General Labourer.	1. Trainee Bank Clerk.
2. Trainee Silk Screen Printer.	2. Machinist in shoe factory.
3. Commis Chef in a fast food resturant.	3. Commis Chef in a fast food resturant.
4. Sales Assistant in a large DIY store.	4. Sales Assistant in a jewellers.

While the question areas interview group members were asked about are reflected in Table A1.5. it does not indicate the diversity of interview procedures employers were found to use. A formal process was encountered, involving the completion of application forms and offering of interview appointments, by members of group 'M' when applying for the vacancies as a trainee silk screen printer and sales assistant in a large 'DIY' store (Interviews 1 and 4). Members of group 'F' encountered a similar procedure when seeking work as a clerk and a sales assistant in a jewellery shop (Interviews 1 and 4).

Table A1.7: Pilot Study Employer Survey: Ratio of Job Applications to Job Interviews Offered.

	Interview Group 'M'		Interview Group 'F'	
	'Care' Role Players	'Non-Care' Role Players	'Care' Role Players	'Non-Care' Role Players
Number of Jobs Applied For.	35	27	26	20
Number of Job Interviews Offered.	4	7	5	8
Ratio of Job Applications to Job Interviews (to, 2 decimal places).	8.75	3.85	5.20	2.50

In contrast, a very informal approach to recruitment was used by the employers who interviewed the young people assisting with the pilot study for jobs as a labourer and commis chefs (see Table A1.6.). These firms can be characterized as having a high staff turn over and offering low pay.

A form of interview procedure laying somewhere between the types so far described was met by the members of group 'F' when being interviewed for a job as a machinist in a shoe factory (Interview 2). The employer concerned did not require them to complete application forms or offer appointments for interview. The job was advertised in a local paper and group members merely presented themselves at the factory and had a brief discussion with one of the factory's managers who asked that they undertake a test on a sewing machine.

Despite the differences in the interview procedures when the first five question areas listed in Table A1.5. are considered, group partners, regardless of 'care' roles, can be seen to have had parallel interview experiences. This is attributed to the similarity of interest employers have in these areas, for they represent a crude abridgement of those characteristics which have been shown in Table A1.4. to be regarded by employers as 'essential' in all recruits. All eight employers wanted young employees who are able to get on with others and with an interest in the work on offer while seven of the employers also asked if the interviewees had any previous relevant experience.

Moreover, five of the employers expressed an interest in the educational attainment of the members of the two group - a surprisingly high level of interest in view of Burgess's (7.) observation that employers seek only that educational competence in perspective employees required to perform the type of job on offer and that those applied for in the course of the pilot study required no particular academic acumen to perform. Therefore, it was suspected that these employers used educational attainment as a means of 'screening-out' job applicants to reduce their number to a manageable size for interview purposes.

Only when the interview experience of the groups is considered with respect to questions asked about their health does a significant divergence in the interests of employers emerge. Table A1.5. indicates that this divergence is along sexual lines for while three out of the four employers who interviewed group 'M' asked about the health of its members, only one of those who interviewed the members of group 'F' did so. This difference is attributed to the more physically demanding nature of some of the jobs applied for by members of group 'M'.

Yet, ironically the employer who showed the most interest in the health of the young people who assisted with the pilot study sought to recruit a clerk, one of the least physically demanding jobs members of groups 'F' and 'M' interviewed for. It appeared this interest in the health of prospective employees was attributable to the conditions attached to an employee health insurance scheme contributed to by the employer in question, a firm of solicitors.

The conclusion to be drawn from an analysis of the first five question areas of Table A1.5. is a simple one. That is, employers tend to be most interested in 'taking on' young people who:

1. Can demonstrate a reasonable level of educational attainment, often in excess of that needed to do the job on offer.

2. Can form harmonious relationships with others.

3. Can show an interest in the job applied for.

4. Can have some relevant previous experience and, especially, where the interviewees are male.

5. Are in good health.

It is possible to gain, by careful examination of question areas 6 to 9, recorded in Table A1.5., some idea of how employer perceptions of those in 'care' disadvantaged them in their search for work. All the employers approached raised the issue of 'care' status with 'care' role players. However, the interest employers expressed in this differed, ranging from simple recognition of the fact that the interviewee was in 'care' to asking detailed questions about the circumstances which caused him, or her to be so.

'Care' role players in both interview groups found that employer interest in their 'care' status increased with the formality of the interview procedures. 'Care' role players consistently spoke of being 'made' to feel defensive about being in 'care' and felt that employers who asked them about this did so in order to find fault. For example, the group 'M' 'care' role player during 'interview 2' stated that the:

> *"interviewer kept trying to catch me out. He seemed to want me to say I got into trouble and couldn't take orders. He didn't seem to want to listen to me".*

This remark typified those made by 'care' role players about many of the employers they had been interviewed by, giving the impression that interviewers were tightly bound to a mode of thought about young people in 'care' which defined them as 'troublesome'. It appeared that employers found it difficult to believe anything about these young people which ran counter to this and the fact that 'non-care' role players had a 50% success rate at job interviews compared with the 12.5% achieved by 'care' role players lends impressive support to this proposition.

Furthermore, Table A1.7. shows that 'care' role players in groups 'M' and 'F' had to submit an average of 8.75 and 5.2 applications, respectively, in order to obtain 1 job interview. In comparison 'non-care' role players in group 'M' submitted only 3.85 applications per interview and those in group 'F' 2.5 per interview.

A1.4. Public Opinion Poll

A public opinion poll was carried out to check how representative the modes of thought expressed in the literature, 'experts' , teachers and employers were of those of the public's. The poll was carried out in July and August 1986 at shopping centres in Stratford, Enfield, and Walthamstow with fifty men and fifty women being stopped, at random, and asked to reply to a brief, interviewer administered questionnaire (see Appendix 2.). To facilitate the identification of the ways in which different sections of the community perceive those in 'care' responses were recorded in terms of the age, sex and race/culture of respondents.

Analysis of the public opinion poll was predicated on the assumption that respondents and the investigator shared a common understanding of the questions asked. However, this proved false, particularly with regard to questions which made reference to poor/inadequate parenting. It became clear that respondents interpreted this in numerous ways with 'care' thought to occur as a result of parental neglect, or family breakdown, or to parents abusing their children etc.

The caution with which the results of the public opinion poll are interpreted reflects an awareness of the methodological problems associated with it, but it is nevertheless contended that the size of its sample was large enough for it to provide an insight into the modes of thought which characterized the public's definition of young people in 'care'pretest the questions to be asked in the main study's poll.

A1.4(a.). Public Opinion Poll: Analysis of Results

Question 1. What Do You Think Is The Main Reason For Children Under 13 Years Being In 'Care'?

Responses to this question revealed considerable unanimity with 74% of respondents, regardless of age, sex, and race, regarding 'care' as a result of 'poor/inadequate' parenting. Of these a clear majority described children in 'care' as being, in some way, victims. This was demonstrated by the repeated references respondents made to a perceived high rate of non-accidental injury suffered by children at the hands of their parents.

A further 11% of respondents, described children as coming into 'care' as a result of being 'beyond parental control'. When asked to clarify their reasons for giving this response nearly all who gave it described parental weakness as the source of the 'trouble'. Only two respondents felt that a child under 13 years was capable of creating problems which parents would not be able to cope with.

As a result, replies given by those who describe the prime reason/cause of children coming into 'care' as being 'poor/inadequate parenting' and others who attribute it to them being 'beyond parental control' are linked together by an ill-defined, but evident concept of parental failure.

'Mental/physical illness' on the part of parent/s or of the child were regarded by 7% and 2%, respectively, of the sample as the most common reason for children coming into 'care'. It appeared that reception into 'care' in such circumstances was regarded as a practical response to a crisis for which no one was to blame.

With only 4% of respondents having no idea why children might come into 'care' nearly all interviewees had an opinion to offer on this subject regardless of their knowledge about it. The similarity of the views offered by those polled pointed to the stereotyped way in which they viewed children in 'care'. It was as if the opinions of a majority of people interviewed seemed shaped by a common modality of thought which cast the 'care' of children as occurring because of parental inadequacy and/or brutality. As a result, they tended to define the 'care' system as providing a 'child protection' service. Those who took a different view were comparatively rare exceptions.

Table A1.8.

What Do You Think Is The Main Reason For Children Under 13 Years Being In 'Care'?

	Age Group.					Total. (100=100%)	Gender.		Total. (100=100%)						Total. (100=100%)
	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65		M.	F.		UKW.	UKB.	UKA.	C.	J.	
Offending.			2			2	2		2		2				2
Beyond Parental Control.	6		5			11	6	5	11	7	3			1	11
Poor/Inadequate Parenting.	28	19	11	9	7	74	35	39	74	45	15	10	4		74
Physical/Mental Illness of Parents.	4				3	7	4	3	7	6		1			7
Mental/Physical Illness of the Child.	2					2	2		2	1		1			2
Other.															
D/K.		3		1		4	1	3	4	1		3			4
Total (100=100%)	40	22	18	10	10	100	50	50	100	60	20	15	4	7	100

UKW = United Kingdom White. UKB. = United Kingdom Black.
UKA = United Kingdom Asian. C. = Cypriot. J. = Jewish.

Question 2. What Do You Think Is The Main Reason For Young People Being In 'Care' ?

Responses to this question were more evenly scattered than those of the first. The most popular reply, offered by 31% of respondents, attributed young people's reception into 'care' to their being 'beyond parental control'. This view was the most frequently expressed by sample members in the 26-35 years and 56-65 years age groups, female respondents and those from the UKW and UKA racial presentation categories. With 'offending', it was also the reason most often given by members of the 36-45 years age group and those in the UKB category for 'care'.

When discussing with respondents what they meant by 'beyond parental control' it seemed to have a chameleon-like quality for while, when applied to children, it was seen as the product of parental failure where young people were concerned; it was almost unanimously attributed to a lack of respect for parents authority. The contrast between these interpretations offers some confirmation for the idea that while children are often seen as not culpable for their being in 'care' young people are.

'Offending' was given by 29% of respondents as the main reason for young people coming into 'care' being that most often supplied by sample members in the 18-25 years and 46-55 years age groups and male respondents. Respondents who offered this reply impressed as regarding the 'care' system, with respect to young people, as having a predominately penal function, as existing to take, punish, and reform 'bad' boys and girls.

The views of respondents who attributed young people's reception into 'care' as either arising out of their being 'beyond parental control; or 'offending' are closely associated. Each depict these young people as being a source of trouble, as being deviant.

'Poor/inadequate parenting' was the third most popular reply, given by 23% of respondents. It was discovered that this reply also took on a different meaning when applied to young people as opposed to children. Thus, while respondents saw the issue of 'poor/inadequate parenting' in terms of child abuse with respect to children only 2 of the 23 people questioned gave the same reply with regard to young people.

Table A1.9.

What Do You Think Is The Main Reason For Young People Being In 'Care'?

	Age Group.					Total. (100=100%)	Gender.		Total. (100=100%)						Total. (100=100%)
	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65		M.	F.		UKW.	UKB.	UKA.	C.	J.	
Offending.	12	5	6	6		29	16	13	29	16	6	5	1	1	29
Beyond Parental Control.	7	8	6	4	6	31	12	19	31	17	6	6	2		31
Poor/Inadequate Parenting.	10	7	2		4	23	14	9	23	14	4	4	1		23
Physical/Mental Illness of Parents.	6					6	2	4	6	6					6
Mental/Physical Illness of the Young Person.															
Other.	1		2			3	2	1	3	3					3
D/K.	4	2	2			8	4	4	8	4	4				8
Total (100=100%)	40	22	18	10	10	100	50	50	100	60	20	15	4	1	100

UKW = United Kingdom White. UKB. = United Kingdom Black.
UKA = United Kingdom Asian. C. = Cypriot. J. = Jewish.

Instead respondents tended to view young people who come into 'care' for this reason as being from, so called, 'problem families' and faced numerous difficulties which follow their members from generation to generation. A worrying implication of this is that if young people in 'care' are thought to come from this kind of background they will be defined as 'lost causes'. It is as though the problem is in their genes.

Other replies given by members of the sample show that 8% of them did not know what was the main reason for young people coming into 'care' while 6% attributed it to 'mental/physical illness' on the part of a parent. The remaining 3% of respondents offered replies recorded in Table A1.9. under the heading, 'other'.

Although, it has been noted that replies to this question seem more widely scattered than those to the first, this is illusory. It has been shown during the course of analysis that the three reasons most commonly given for the reception into 'care' of a young person are all interconnected and account for 83% of views received. More striking still is the way in which respondents were found to interpret the same reasons for reception into 'care' in totally different ways when applying them to children and young people.

Question 3. What Do You Think Is The Most Common Setting In Which Children Under 13 Years Are Placed?

With the exception of respondents in the 45-55 years age range and others in the UKA racial category, the most popular reply to this question described children in 'care' as being placed with foster families. Of the 65% of respondents who gave this response nearly all displayed an approving attitude towards fostering and appeared to view it as the best way of securing the future of a child in 'care'.

In comparison, only 27% of sample members thought that children in 'care' were usually placed residentially. Of these several made it clear that they did not favour residential 'care', seeing it as a necessary evil because of the risks to such children if they remained with their families.

Table A1.10.

What Do You Think Is The Most Common 'Care' Setting In Which Children Under The Age Of 13 Years Are Placed?

	Age Group.					Total. (100=100%)	Gender.		Total. (100=100%)						Total. (100=100%)
	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65		M.	F.		UKW.	UKB.	UKA.	C.	J.	
Residential.	12	9		6		27	12	15	27	13	4	8	2		27
Foster Home.	25	10	18	4	8	65	32	33	65	43	15	5	2		65
Home On Trial.	3	1				4	3	1	4	2	1	1			4
Other.		1				1	1		1	1					1
D/K.		1			2	3	2	1	3	1		1		1	3
Total (100=100%)	40	22	18	10	10	100	50	50	100	60	20	15	4	1	100

UKW = United Kingdom White. UKB. = United Kingdom Black.
UKA = United Kingdom Asian. C. = Cypriot. J. = Jewish.

While 3% of respondents had no reply and another 1% gave ones listed under the heading 'other', a further 4% of those questioned considered that the majority of children in care were allowed 'Home on Trial'. In fact, according to the latest official figures available at the time of the pilot study this was the most common placement of young people in 'care' in England and Wales with 10,791 (8.) being so placed.

Question 4: What Is The Most Common 'Care' Setting In Which Young People Are Placed?

Replies to this question were a mirror image of those received to the previous one. Whereas only 27% of respondents felt children were normally placed residentially, 58% considered that young people were usually put into this form of 'care'. Conversely, while 65% of respondents held that children in 'care' tended to be fostered only 27% felt the same to be true for young people.

However, it has to be recognized that 11% of respondents gave 'Don't Know' answers to this question, indicating a degree of uncertainty not found about any of the questions so far discussed.

Question 5. Compared With Young People Not In 'Care' How Well Do You Think Those In 'Care' Do At School?

Reference to Table A1.12 shows that 53% of respondents felt that young people in 'care' did less well at school than did their 'non-care' counterparts. The family backgrounds of, and disciplinary problems young people in 'care' were thought to be the main reasons for this. No mention was made of the many difficulties living in 'care' confronts them with when trying to settle at school and study in residential establishments.

Table A1.11.

What Do You Think Is The Most Common 'Care' Setting In Which Young People Are Placed?

	Age Group.					Total. (100=100%)	Gender.		Total. (100=100%)						Total. (100=100%)
	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65		M.	F.		UKW.	UKB.	UKA.	C.	J.	
Residential.	27	9	8	8	6	58	31	27	58	36	14	6	2	1	58
Foster Home.	11	6	6	2	2	27	13	14	27	15	4	6	1		27
Home On Trial.		2				2	2		2		1	1			2
Other.		2				2		2	2	2					1
D/K.	2	3	4		2	11	4	7	11	7	1	2	1		11
Total (100=100%)	40	22	18	10	10	100	50	50	100	60	20	15	4	1	100

UKW = United Kingdom White. UKB. = United Kingdom Black.
UKA = United Kingdom Asian. C. = Cypriot. J. = Jewish.

Question 6. Do You Feel Young People In 'Care' Are More Or Less Likely To Pose Employers Problems Than Others Of Their Age?

Responses to this question showed that while 17% of respondents felt young people in 'care' did not create any special problems for employers 75% took the opposite view. Table A1.13. shows this was the dominant view in each of the respondents' age, gender, and racial categories.

Respondents' comments indicated that their doubts about the ability of young people in 'care' to perform successfully at work centred on their perceived difficulties in making satisfactory relationships with others. In all, 19% of respondents felt that these young people would be unable to 'get on' with their workmates while their refusal to obey the instructions of managers was predicted by a further 20% of those polled.

Another 17% of respondents gave replies which suggested that young people in 'care' were more likely than others of their age to lack the maturity and necessary 'good' habits - e.g. being on time for work, arriving for work and working diligently etc. - needed to hold a job. As if to emphasize the wide-spread nature of this belief a number of respondents who were unable to specify the nature of any exceptional problems these young people might cause employers considered that they had no interest in working and might try to get dismissed if obliged to take a job.

No respondents felt that young people in 'care' were likely to present employers with less problems than their 'non-care' counterparts. Thus, replies to this question, again, as reflected the existence of a dominant modality of thought which stereotyped the way in which those in 'care' are defined.

It was noted that the three employers encountered during the course of the opinion poll - a butcher, builder, and newsagent - all viewed young people in 'care' as poor employment risks. If this view is shared by more, and larger employers the effects of this view present an obvious threat to the employment chances of these young people.

Table A1.12.

Compared With Young People Not In 'Care' How Well Do You Think Those In 'Care' Do At School?

	Age Group.					Total. (100=100%)	Gender.		Total. (100=100%)						Total. (100=100%)
	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65		M.	F.		UKW.	UKB.	UKA.	C.	J.	
Worse.	18	9	12	10	4	53	31	22	53	29	11	8	4	1	53
Better.	3	1				4	2	2	4	4					4
Same.	12	8	6		6	32	10	22	32	20	7	5			32
D/K.	7	4				11	7	4	11	7	2	2			11
Total (100=100%)	40	22	18	10	10	100	50	50	100	60	20	15	4	1	100

UKW = United Kingdom White. UKB. = United Kingdom Black.
UKA = United Kingdom Asian. C. = Cypriot. J. = Jewish.

Table A1.13.

Do You Feel Young People In 'Care' Are More Or Less Likely To Pose Employers Problems Than Other Young People.

	Age Group.					Total. (100=100%)	Gender.		Total. (100=100%)						Total. (100=100%)
	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65		M.	F.		UKW.	UKB.	UKA.	C.	J.	
More.	33	15	13	7	7	75	41	34	75	49	13	9	3	1	60
Less.															
Same.	7	5	2	1	2	17	7	10	17	8	4	5			17
D/K.		2	3	2	1	8	2	6	8	3	3	1	1		8
Total (100=100%)	40	22	18	10	10	100	50	50	100	60	20	15	4	1	100

UKW = United Kingdom White. UKB. = United Kingdom Black.
UKA = United Kingdom Asian. C. = Cypriot. J. = Jewish.

Question 7. Do You Think Being In 'Care' Represents A Disadvantage When Trying To Find Work?

Of those polled 60% felt that being in 'care' did represent a disadvantage when attempting to find work, 29% considered that it did not and 11% were unsure. However, despite the numerical dominance in each respondent category of those who considered 'care' handicapped its subjects in their efforts to find work few gave reasons for this. However, several identified the importance of the support young people get from their families when making the transition from school to work and assumed that such support was not available to those in 'care'.

The 29% of respondents who did not feel that young people in 'care' were disadvantaged in their search for work displayed a marked faith in the child 'care' system and the skills of those employed within it. Some respondents even appeared to believe that far from being disadvantaged in their attempts to find work young people in 'care' are at an advantage over others of their age who did not have the help of social workers to find them find a job.

Question 8. Have You Ever Met A Young Person In 'Care'? (if Yes - How Many?).

Comment has previously been made on the comparative rarity of 'Don't Know' responses recorded to questions asked during the course of the opinion poll. It seems like the teachers interviewed, nearly all of those who participated in the opinion poll, had definite opinions about young people in 'care' which displayed a considerable degree of critical uniformity.

However, the responses to this question indicated that sample members rested their opinions of young people in 'care' on ignorance. Not only did 70% of those interviewed admit to never having had direct contact with a young person in 'care', but of the 30% who said they did nearly all had no more than a single superficial encounter with these young people. For example, one respondent mentioned that he once spoke to three young people who lived in the children's home situated next to his friend's house in Leeds which he last visited four years ago.

Table A1.14.

Do You Think Being In 'Care' Represents A Disadvantage
When Attempting To Find Work?

	Age Group.					Total. (100=100%)	Gender.		Total. (100=100%)						Total. (100=100%)
	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65		M.	F.		UKW.	UKB.	UKA.	C.	J.	
Yes.	23	14	15	6	2	60	31	29	60	34	13	10	2	1	60
No.	13	5	3		8	29	14	15	29	21	3	5			29
D/K.	4	3		4		11	5	6	11	5	4		2		11
Total (100=100%)	40	22	18	10	10	100	50	50	100	60	20	15	4	1	100

UKW = United Kingdom White. UKB. = United Kingdom Black.
UKA = United Kingdom Asian. C. = Cypriot. J. = Jewish.

Table A1.15.

Have You Ever Met A Young Person In 'Care'?

	Age Group.					Total. (100=100%)	Gender.		Total. (100=100%)						Total. (100=100%)
	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65		M.	F.		UKW.	UKB.	UKA.	C.	J.	
Yes.	16	6	7	1		30	18	12	30	19	7	3	1		30
No.	24	16	11	9	10	70	32	38	70	41	13	12	3	1	70
Total (100=100%)	40	22	18	10	10	100	50	50	100	60	20	15	4	1	100

UKW = United Kingdom White. UKB. = United Kingdom Black.
UKA = United Kingdom Asian. C. = Cypriot. J. = Jewish.

Nevertheless, the lack of knowledge of respondent's perceptions did not dilute the strength with which they clung to the views they expressed about young people in 'care'. Respondents ignorance does not reduce in any way the damaging impact of their views on the employment prospects of these young people if the opinion gleamed by the poll reflects that of the community at large.

A1.5. Pilot Study: Summary.

What is emphasized here is the uniformity of the modes of thought displayed by all participants in the pilot study . The themes found in the literature which describe these young people, and the views of 'experts', teachers and employers inter-twine to endorse one another's 'validity'.

However, from a methodological point of view the similarity in the modes of thought exhibited by those approached, consulted or read in the course of the pilot study is worrying. Certainly, Goode and Hatt (8.) point out that stereotyped, cliched forms of replies to questions asked indicate that they may have been framed in ways which suggest the replies received.

Nevertheless, as the pilot study attempted to identify the modes of thought which define young people in 'care' it was, in effect, seeking those stereotypes and cliches used to describe these young people arising out of the social definition of them. As a result, the conformity of views found by the pilot study was anticipated and all that was learnt during its conduct played a vital role in facilitating the field work phase of the main study.

Appendix 2.

Pilot Study Questionnaires.

Note: All questionnaires were interviewer administered allowing them to also act as interview schedules.

Teacher Questionnaire.

1. Respondent Information.

a. School. b. Date of Interview.
c. Respondent Code.
d. Respondent's Professional Position.
e. Length of Time Respondent in Present Post.
f. Length of Time Respondent Been Teaching.
Comments.

2. Propositions.

I am going to read out a list of propositions concerning children and young people in 'care'. I would be grateful if you would tell me if you agree or disagree with each proposition. If you have no definite opinion about please say "don't know".

	Responses (delete)	**Comments**
1. Children tend not to be culpable for their being in 'care'.	Y./N./D.K.	
2. Young people tend to be culpable for their being in 'care'.	Y./N./D.K.	

3. Residential ’care’ is a last resort. Y./N./D.K.

4. Most young people in ’care’ are placed residentially. Y./N./D.K.

5. Residential ’care’ has a penal function with respect to young people. Y./N./D.K.

6. Young people in ’care’ are more likely than other pupils to have poor attendance records. Y./N./D.K.

7. Young people in ’care’ are more likely than other pupils to have poor disciplinary records. Y./N./D.K.

8. Young people in ’care’ are more likely than other pupils to be lazy. Y./N./D.K.

9. Young people in ’care’ are less likely than other pupils to gain academic qualifications. Y./N./D.K.

10. Young people in ’care’ are more likely than other pupils to have poor relationships with teachers. Y./N./D.K.

11. Young people in ’care’ are more likely than other pupils to have poor peer relationships. Y./N./D.K.

12. Social work agencies fail to provide teachers with adequate help with young people in ’care’. Y./N./D.K.

13. I have experience of teaching young people in ’care’ (if ’Yes’ how many?). Y./N./D.K.

14. I feel I need to know more about young people in ’care’. Y./N./D.K.

Employer Survey: Questionnaire Put To Interview Groups (completed after each job interview).

1. Respondent Information.

a. Name. b. Gender. c. Racial Presentation.
d. Interview No. e. Role Played. f. Date of Interview.
g. Respondent Code.

2. Job Applied For.

1. What is the name of the firm you applied for a job with?
2. What is that firm's business?
3. What was the job you applied for?
5. How did you apply for the job?
6. What form did the interview take?
7. Was the interview formal, or informal?

Comments.

3. Question Areas Raised By Employers.

Could you please tell me if the employer asked you any questions about each of the following.

	Responses (delete)	**Comments.**
1. Educational attainment.	Y./N.	
2. Ability to get on with others.	Y./N.	
3. Health.	Y./N.	
4. Previous employers.	Y./N.	
5. Interest in the job.	Y./N.	
6. ’Care’ status.	Y./N.	
Why you are in ’care’ (’Care’ Role Player Only)	Y./N.	
Type of ’care’ you are in. (’Care’ Role Players Only)	Y./N.	
The length of time you have been in ’care’. (’Care’ Role Players Only)	Y./N.	

4. Job Offer.

Were you offered the job? Y./N. (delete).

Comments.

Public Opinion Poll Questionnaire.

Respondent Information.

a. Place of Interview. b. Date of Interview.
c. Respondent Code.
b. Estimated age of respondent: 18-25, 26-35, 36-45, 46-55, 56-65, 66+.
(circle appropriate age range).
e. Respondent's gender. M./F. (delete).
f. Respondent's racial/cultural presentation.

1. What do you think is the main reason for children under the age of 13 years being in 'care'?

	Response (tick).	**Comments.**
Offending.		
Beyond Parental Control.		
Poor/Inadequate Parenting.		
Mental/Physical Illness of the Parents.		
Mental/Physical Illness of the Child.		
Other.		
Don't Know.		

* A card listing the above reasons was given to respondents to look at prior to replying to this question.

2. What do you think is the main reason for young people being in 'care'?

	Response (tick).	**Comments.**
Offending.		
Beyond Parental Control.		
Poor/Inadequate Parenting.		
Physical/Mental Illness of the Parents.		
Physical/Mental Illness of the Young Person.		
Other.		
Don't Know.		

* A card listing the above reasons was given to respondents to look at prior to replying to this question.

3. What do you think is the most common 'care' setting in which children under the age of 13 years are placed?

	Response (tick).	**Comments.**
Residential 'Care'.		
Foster Homes.		
With Their Parents ('Home on Trial')		
Other.		
Don't Know.		

4. What do you think is the most common 'care' setting in which young people are placed?

	Response (tick).	**Comments.**
Residential 'Care'.		
Foster Homes.		
With Their Parents ('Home on Trial')		
Other.		
Don't Know.		

5. Compared with young people not in 'care' how well do you think those who are in 'care' do at school?

	Response (tick).	**Comments.**
Worse.		
Better.		
Same.		
Don't Know.		

6. Do you feel young people in 'care' are more or less likely to pose employers problems than others of their age?

	Response (tick).	**Comments.**
More.		
Less.		
Same.		
Don't Know.		

7. Do you think being in 'care' represents a disadvantage when trying to find work?

	Response (tick)	**Comments.**
Yes.		
No.		
Don't Know.		

8. Have you ever met a young person in 'care' (if Yes - how many)?

Y./N. (delete)

Comments.

Appendix 3.

Geographical Foci.

A3.1. Introduction.

This Appendix presents profiles of the London Boroughs of Hinkley and Ingleby. A brief history of each will be offered, followed by statistical information on their populations, household structures, ethnic minorities, levels of unemployment, and education services. Figures to be quoted will be confined to those covering the period leading up to the start of the field work phase of the research study as these most accurately describe the environment in which it took place. Unfortunately, in order to preserve the anonymity of the Boroughs, some descriptive references will be limited and, as was previously observed.

A3.2 The London Borough Of Hinkley: History.

The London Borough of Hinkley is an Inner City Borough, created in 1965 when the old Metropolitan Borough of Hinkley was amalgamated with two, similar neigbouring boroughs. Whilst the names of all three boroughs are Anglo-Saxon in origin there is evidence that the area was inhabited long before that in the palaeolithic era and coins have been found giving proof of Roman occupation (1.).

At the opening of the nineteenth century Hinkley was largely rural, but the growth of the City pushed people outwards into the area along with Jewish refugees from the Continent and Irish workers recruited to build the docks in the Port of London. As the century progressed the relentless process of urbanisation swept-up Hinkley and its neighbours. In 1849 the Local Government Act disposed of the local parishes, transforming them into Metropolitan Boroughs which later joined to form the present day Borough.

However, even in the nineteenth century the three Metropolitan Boroughs had acquired an unenviable reputation as a result of the widespread poverty in the area. In a survey of London Life and Labour in 1891 Hinkley was described as:

> *"one of the worst parts of London, whose poverty and over-crowding are characteristic of practically the whole district" (2.).*

The early years of the twentieth century witnessed great changes in the social and economic lives of the people, and local authorities played an important part in these. In the three Metropolitan Boroughs this was indicated by the expansion of their activities which ranged from the supply of electricity to the opening of public libraries. In 1919 a Labour controlled Council was elected in Hinkley which maintained an almost unbroken grip on political power in the area.

The 1920's and 1930's brought the General Strike and high levels of unemployment followed by the Second World War. This lead to the widespread devastation in the area. However, with the implementation of the London Government Act on the 1st April 1965 the racially diverse and economically deprived Metropolitan Boroughs were joined to form the larger, single London Borough.

Though the years have brought many changes poverty remains embedded in Hinkley. This point was made in an article by John Carvel published in The Guardian in 1986. He wrote:

> *"no matter how the governments recently published battery of statistical information is about the relative social, economic and environmnetal deprivation of different towns and cities in England and Wales... is weighed and interpreted... the London Borough of Hinkley always comes out worse" (3.).*
>
> (Name of Borough changed from that appearing in the article quoted).

Given Carvel's comments it is not surprising to find that Hinkley has managed to cling to its unenviable position at the bottom of the 'poverty league'. In this respect, little seems to have changed since the survey of 1891.

A3.3. The London Borough Of Ingleby: History.

The London Borough of Ingleby, like Hinkley, is a product of the London Government Act 1963 which merged the relatively poor Metropolitan Borough of Ingleby with a prosperous neighbouring borough. The names of the two areas have different roots with Ingleby's being Anglo-Saxon in origin while its neighbour was called after the family who once owned it. However, both were areas of ancient settlement and Roman occupation.

At the opening of the nineteenth century the Parish of Ingleby was predominately rural while its neighbour was already 'built-up', its incorporation into London dating back to the end of the seventeenth century as a result of its proximity to the City and growth of Britain's commercial and business interests.

The rapid urbanization of the nineteenth century set off a train of events in the Parish of Ingleby, running parallel to those occuring at this time in the parishes which eventually became the London Borough of Hinkley. This produced a speedy growth in Ingleby's population as it absorbed an influx of refugees and migrant workers with the result that by the middle of the century it and the neighbouring parish were sucked into the Inner London area to later be recreated as Metropolitan Boroughs.

Britain's industrial supremacy and the 'assets' of empire meant that this transformation was accompanied by growing prosperity in Ingleby's neighbour (as its financial institutions flourished). In contrast, Ingleby became increasingly impoverished as it struggled to meet the housing needs of an expanding local population with hopelessly inadequate resources. Nevertheless, despite their differences the Boroughs entered the twentieth century with responsibility for a wide range of local services e.g. education, public health, transport etc.

The history of the area throughout the 1920's, the 1930's and the Second World War was essentially the same as that of the three Metropolitan Boroughs which were to become modern Hinkley. The General Strike, Great Depression and sustained levels of high unemployment were the dominant concerns in Ingleby and its neighbour as they were elsewhere. With the coming of World War Two the economic-ills of the area were temporarily forgotten, but the two Boroughs suffered heavy bombing meaning that the 1950's was a period of rebuilding.

With the implementation of the London Government Act in 1965 the boundary between Ingleby and its neighbour was swept away as the two were merged to form the London Borough of Ingleby. It is a Borough of contrasts, reflecting the differences between the old Metropolitan Boroughs. Thus, at the time of their amalgamation while Ingleby's neighbour was one of the lowest rated and richest local authorities in Britain Ingleby remained beset with its historic housing and resource problems.

A3.4. The London Borough Of Hinkley: Population Change.

The population of what is now the London Borough of Hinkley fell gradually from around 389,000 in 1901 to less than half that number in 1979 according to estimates supplied by the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys (OPCS) (4.). However, whilst this decline was rapid throughout the 1970's the OPCS's figures were seemingly inflated as the census of 1981 recorded 179,529 persons as being usually resident in the area (5.).

Nevertheless, despite the divergence between the OPCS's and census's figures the substantive issue of the long-term decline of Hinkley's population remains unaffected. This well established trend became more pronounced in the 1960's thanks, in large part, to the encouragement successive governments gave to firms to depart from the Inner City. It was a policy which meant that Hinkley lost many of its younger residents who were sucked out of the area in search of work which, in turn, lead to a change in the age structure of the Borough's population. As a result more of its residents were over the age of 65 years in 1981 than in 1971 even though its total population had fallen. Thus, this age group made up just over 16% of the Borough's population in 1979 compared with just 13% in 1971.

In addition, between 1978 and 1979 there was also an increase in people under the age of 29 years and a fall in the number of those aged 30-64 years. The overall result of these demographic changes was that Hinkley acquired a population made up of an increasingly large proportion of 'dependent' individuals (6.).

However, whilst the age structure of Hinkley's population may have changed in the 1970's its distribution between genders remained fairly constant between 1971 and 1979 with more females than males living in the area (7.). This difference was most pronounced in the older age groups, particularly among the over 75s owing to the longer life expectancy of women.

A3.5. The London Borough Of Ingleby: Population Change.

According to the OPCS, at the time of its creation the London Borough of Ingleby had a population of 256,000 which seeped away throughout the 1960's and 1970's to a total of 166,000 by 1980 (8.). The reasons for this appear to be the same as those underlying Hinkley's population decline. Howver, the 1981 census found that Ingleby only had 157,522 residents showing that its population loss was greater than the OPCS's figures indicated (9.).

The causes of Ingleby's declining population centred on its loss of residents who can be described as being of 'prime' working age which, as in Hinkley, produced a change in the age structure of the area's population leaving it with a proportionately larger dependent population in 1981 than it had in 1971. The comparison of census figures shows that while the over 65 years age group made up 13% of Ingleby's population in 1971 this figure climbed to 15% by 1981 matching the equivalent fall in the proportion of its residents aged 30-64 years (10.).

However, despite the increasing dependence of its population Ingleby was not so dramatically effected by this phenomenon as was Hinkley. Put simply, whereas Ingleby experienced a proportional growth in the size of its dependent population, unlike that of Hinkley's it did not also grow numerically.

Nevertheless, that gender distribution of Ingleby's population mirrored that of Hinkley's in the period covered. From 1971-1980 this remained constant with there being, overall, more females than males due to the predominance of the former in the older age groups.

A3.6 The London Borough Of Hinkley: Households.

Much of the information used on households comes from the National Dwelling and Household Survey (NDHS) of 1977. The survey consisted of a sample of 375,000 households nationally, including coverage of all London Boroughs and 'housing stress' areas outside of London. Sample sizes in London were larger than elsewhere averaging 7,000 households per London Borough. The NDHS estimated that there were around 72,000 households in Hinkley containing an average of 2.66 people. The average household size in Greater London was given as 2.62.

However, the 1981 census revealed that as a result of population loss the number of households in Hinkley had fallen to 68,497 of an average size of 2.58 persons, the same as the Inner London average.

According to the NDHS 31% of households in Hinkley were two person while 28.9% consisted of three to four persons. This gave Hinkley a relatively high proportion, 40%, of households comprising of either one person or more than five people. Census findings reduced this proportion to 36%.

Moreover, the distribution of socio-economic groups, indicating the type of job done by heads of households, as identified in the NDHS shows that only just over 8% of household heads were in professional or managerial occupations. In comparison with the Greater London, shows that Hinkley has a much higher percentage of its population in manual work than average, with a corresponding smaller part of its population being members of managerial, professional and other non-manual groups. The 1981 census confirmed these findings.

A3.7. London Borough Of Ingleby: Households.

The NDHS estimated that Ingleby had 64,319 households having an average size of 2.62 persons, the same as the Greater London average. Subsequently, the census of

1981 recorded the Borough as having 64,312 households. Of these households 30% were two person, 27% were 3-4 person, while 4% contained five or more individuals while the average household size was 2.40 people. Thus, the NDHS demonstrated a marked degree of similarity between Ingleby and Hinkley in so far as 41% of households in the former were either one or more than five person compared with 40% of the latter's. This equivalence was reflected in census statistics (11.) - which reduced these figures to 37.1% and 36% respectively.

Moreover, 65% of household 'types' in Ingleby are those of married couples while 10% are single parent, a figure approaching that for such households in Hinkley.

However, the apparent similarity between the two Boroughs is misleading for while 33% of all households in Ingleby comprises one person and 9% contain more than five individuals in Hinkley these figure are 27% and 14% respectively.

A3.8. Ethnic Minorities In Hinkley.

A3.8(a.). The Jewish Population.

Hinkley has traditionally been characterized by ethnic diversity, with people from many countries and of numerous religious and cultural backgrounds settling in the area. One of the oldest of the area's ethnic minorities is its Jewish population.

Jewish settlement in Hinkley occurred before the urbanization of much of the present borough. In the nineteenth century the development of middle-class suburbs in parts of Hinkley attracted Jews moving out of Whitechapel and in 1874 the area first synagogue was opened.

The nineteenth century also saw a change in the economic base of, what is now the London Borough of Hinkley with agriculture and brick-making giving way to small scale workshop industries including furniture, shoe making and tailoring. These trades involved home and out-working and became associated with the Jewish community.

With the beginning of large scale Jewish migration from Eastern Europe in the last years of the nineteenth century the growth of the area's Jewish population received a boost and it became more varied. 1886 saw the establishment of a German Jewish synagogue and the growth of an Ashkenazi community. By 1903 the local community was estimated to number 10,000 and by 1923 it had reached 20,000, about 6% of Hinkley's population (12.). Today, Hinkley has one of the largest Orthodox Jewish communities in Britain and incorporates Sephardic alongside Ashkenazi Jews.

Continuing Jewish migration was, however, stemmed by the Aliens Act of 1905 and Aliens registration Act of 1914. These Acts like the immigration control legislation of the 1960's, were designed to restrict entry to specific ethnic groups, like the Jews.

The 1930's was accompanied by a growing anti-semitism with the rise of fascism. Oswald Moseley's meetings were a familiar part of the Hinkley scene at this time. In the summer of 1936 there were an estimated 600 a month in East London and in October of that year, following a mass meeting of anti-fascists at Hinkley Town Hall a crowd, estimated at 300,000 (13.), physically prevented a Black Shirt march in the Borough.

With the approach of war British fascism declined and throughout the 1930's and immediately after the Second World War the Jewish population was swollen by the arrival of refugees from Germany and then by survivors of the holocaust. Within the latter group were East European Hasidics who remain a visible ethnic group in the area.

Since the 1950's there has been a substantial decline in the Jewish populations in parts of the Borough offset by its consolidation in other parts. A general outward migration to the more prosperous Boroughs of Barnet, Enfield and Redbridge has occurred with respect to this community with the largest minority group in the Borough becoming, and now being the West Indian/Afro-Caribbean community.

A3.8(b.). The West Indian/Afro-Caribbean Population.

The '1981 Census for Hinkley: Ward Profiles' (14.) reports that while in 1951 there were only 70 people in the former Metropolitan Boroughs born in the West Indies this number had increased to 9,300 by 1961. However, the passing of immigration controls in 1962 and 1965 slowed down the inflow of immigrants from the West Indies. As a result, while the new London Borough had an estimated West Indian population of 14,500 this figure showed no substantial increase by 1971.

Nevertheless, the Afro-Caribbean community continued to grow through natural increase, and the NDHS of 1978 indicated that there were 26,000 people in the Borough who considered themselves to be of West Indian origin. By 1982, it was reported (15.) that 13% of Hinkley's population were members of its West Indian/Afro-Caribbean community, a figure not exceeded in any other British local authority.

Members of the West Indian/Afro-Caribbean community are concentrated in the centre of the Borough where, in the 1950's and 1960's, cheap accommodation for rent or sale could be found. In more recent years the local authority has become the main provider of housing for this community leading to some dispersal of it from Central Hinkley.

West Indians/Afro-Caribbeans have made, and continue to make a major contribution to the local cultural and sporting scene and to the Borough's political and business life. Caribbean music and food are features of the Authority's festivals and in sport the local black community has provided many outstanding figures. A small Black business sector has developed, despite major economic and institutional handicaps. These businesses tend to be ghettoized, being largely confined to those parts of the retail and service sector which meet the particular needs of the West Indian/Afro-Caribbean community.

The mid-1980's witnessed Hinkley coming to terms with the need to provide services appropriate for its minority communities. This was linked to the emergence of a vocal group of local politicans from these communities who asserted the legitimate demands of all minority ethnic groups living in the Borough and took a firm stand against explicit and implicit racism. West Indian/Afro-Caribbean politicians were in the vanguard of this movement and achieved positions of strategic importance on the local council, in its committees and achieved representation in Parliament.

A3.8(c.). Ethnic Minorities In Hinkley: The Asian Population.

The Asian population in Hinkley is small in comparison to that of many London Boroughs. The NDHS estimated that in 1978 Asians made up 3.4% of the Borough's population. Of these many are recent residents, nearly half having moved to their present address in the previous two years. Over half of those who moved in the previous year had come from outside of the Authority, mainly from other parts of London.

Asians from all three countries of the Indian Sub-Continent, as well as migrants from East Africa live in Hinkley. The vast majority of these are Indians and all of the main Sub-Continental languages and religions are represented in the Borough. From India there can be found Gujerati speaking Hindus and Punjabi speaking Sikhs, from Pakistan the later can also be found along with Urdu speaking Muslims, while others from Bangladesh who speak Bengali have all settled in the area.

The Asian population is not evenly distributed across Hinkley, nearly a quarter of its members live in a wards next to an adjacent borough having a more substantial Asian population. The majority of Asian residents are owner occupiers, only a small proportion are local authority tenants.

A3.8.(d.). The Cypriot Population.

Hinkley's 'Borough Profile' (16.) observes that throughout the 1970's and early 1980's the area's fastest growing minority was its Cypriot - Greek and Turkish - population. This had reached 2,000 in 1961, 3,500 in 1966 and 4,000 in 1971. Unfortunately no estimates are available since then, but;

> *"it is apparent that the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974 led to substantial migration to Britain, and that Hinkley, Ingleby and Haringey were the most significant destinations for such migrants, with strong core communities already established" (17.).*

A survey by the Inner London Education Authority (18.) in 1978 found that Turkish was the most common minority first language, other than English, spoken by children in Hinkley's schools with over 1,000 of them speaking it. Greek was the second most important with 600 children speaking it.

A variety of institutions have been established by the Cypriot communities in the Borough ranging from those which meet their religious needs to others which support them in overcoming the problems of daily living whilst the local authority makes use of Greek and Turkish speaking translators and advisers in the planning and supply of those services for which it is responsible.

A3.8(e.). Other Groups.

The most significant groups not so far mentioned are Africans, Irish, mainland Turks and Chinese. Among the most most recent migrants are the Vietnamese 'boat people'.

Unfortunately, racist organizations have maintained their historical presence in Hinkley with the National Front having had its headquaters in the area. The Authority has a clear anti-racist stance and successfully undertook legal proceedings to evict the Front from its offices.

A3.9. Ethnic Minorities In Ingleby.

A3.9.(a.). Irish Population.

Ingleby, like Hinkley, is an area of ethnic diversity. Of the many ethnic groups to be found in the Borough the Irish are the oldest. Coming mainly from the Catholic tradition their arrival in the area in significant numbers can be traced back to the Potato Famine whilst the importation of workers from Ireland to build the London Docks in the last century greatly accelerated the growth of the Irish community.

Having settled in the area in the early part of the nineteenth century Irish migrants formed an under-class of poor whose reliance on unskilled, or semi-skilled work in the building industry ensured that their employment tended to be cyclical and insecure. Despite this, Irish settlement in the area continued with migrants from Ireland numbering 7,000 or about 4% of the local population by 1902.

Substantially unaffected by the attempts of various governments to control immigration, the twentieth century has witnessed the continuing arrival of the Irish. Whilst the local Irish community has suffered some attrition owing to a process of Anglicization it has continued to expand having 10,219 members in 1981, equivalent to 7% of all Ingleby's residents.

However, while the Irish have left their mark in Ingleby in the form of churches, pubs, the local professional football club etc., other minority groups are increasingly important. Of these the largest is the West Indian/Afro-Caribbean population.

A3.9(b.). West Indian/Afro-Caribbean Population.

The growth of Ingleby's Afro-Caribbean population followed the same pattern, but on a smaller scale, as that found Hinkley. Thus, the 1950's was a period of inflow from the West Indies which continued until the imposition of immigration controls in the 1960's. Its future growth then became a matter of internal procreation.

The NDHS reported that in 1978 8,800 of Ingleby's resident's considered themselves to be of West Indian origin, 5.2% of the local population. Since that time the size of the Borough's West Indian/Afro-Caribbean community appears to have gone into decline with figures gathered by the Authority's Planning Department (19.) showing that whilst this community numbered 5,265 in 1982 it accounted for only 3% of the area's population.

Members of the West Indian Afro-Caribbean community are not evenly distributed throughout the Borough being concentrated in those parts of Ingleby closest to nearby Hinkley. There appear to be two main reasons for this. First, the Authority is the main provider of housing to the community's members and the majority of council properties are in the old Metropolitan Borough of Ingleby. Second, the far larger West

Indian/Afro-Caribbean community of Hinkley provides that of Ingleby's with a more extensive social and cultural infrastructure.

Ingleby's West Indian/Afro-Caribbean community has made a significant impact on life in the Borough. As in Hinkley this has been most evident in the local cultural and sporting scenes while several of the community's members have been elected as councillors. There is also a Black business sector in Ingleby which services the community.

A3.9(c.). The Asian Population.

According to the NDHS Ingleby had the smallest Asian community of all Inner London Borough's standing at 1,900, equivalent to 1.1% of the local population, at the time of the survey's publication. By 1982 it had grown to 3,070 or 1.7% of the local population.

In many ways the Asian populations of Ingleby and Hinkley are similar with Ingleby's, like that of Hinkley's, largely consisting of people who only moved to their present addresses within the previous two years having usually arrived from other authorities, mainly in other parts of London.

All the main Sub-Continental languages are to be found in Ingleby with 26.1% of local school children who speak a language in addition to English speaking Bengali whilst another 6% speak Gujerati and 4.9% Punjabi. The differing religious needs these languages denote - Muslim, Hindu and Sikh - are all met within the Borough.

Although Ingleby has a large stock of council housing the tendency is for members of this community to become owner occupiers.

A3.9(d.). The Cypriot Population.

Following, the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974 Ingleby's Cypriot community underwent a rapid expansion jumping, according to the Authority's own calculations, to 5,000 by 1982; this being 3% of the local population (20.). As a result, Ingleby became the main area of Turkish Cypriot settlement in Britain while also having the country's second largest Greek Cypriot community which established its own Orthodox church.

The Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities have had a significant impact on the area and set up numerous businesses. These tend to be small scale and are concentrated in the catering and grocery sectors. Many local mini-cab and dress making firms are also run by Cypriots. Economic activity on the part of the Cypriot community tends to differ from that of the West Indian/Afro-Caribbean in that businesses run by the former are less confined to servicing the needs of its members.

The significance of Ingleby's Cypriot population is most clearly understood when it is appreciated that 10.9% of children attending school in 1987 were either Turkish (6.9%) or Greek (4%) speakers (21.). To meet the needs of the two constituents of its Cypriot population many of its community groups have been funded by Ingleby to ensure the cultural, social and material needs of the Borough's Cypriots are properly represented and met.

A3.9(e.). Other Groups.

Other significant groups to be found in Ingleby include residents from all parts of Europe other than Cyprus (6,194), Africans (2,397), those from Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore (1,565) and a large number of individuals from all parts of the world not so far referred to (5,224). Altogether, these groups account for 10% of the local population in 1982 making the Borough extremely cosmopolitan.

A3.10. Unemployment In Hinkley.

Unemployment in Hinkley has always been high. It is an ever present problem with the recession of the late 1970's and early 1980's hitting the Borough hard. Records kept by the Authority's Planning Department (22.) show that the majority of jobs lost in the area between 1977 and 1980 were from the local manufacturing sector, which shrunk by 12.6%, with particularly significant losses recorded by the industries which had traditionally been the primary employers of school leavers. Employment in clothing and footwear (12.9%), timber and furniture making (10.5%), printing and publishing (4.5%) and toy making (52.7%) all fell drastically in this period. As a result the local labour market was dislocated, leaving large scale local unemployment and 15,000 residents dependent on supplementary benefit by the end of 1982.

An important facet of Hinkley's employment problem was identified in its Borough profile which observes:

> *"Although it (unemployment) reflects the situation in the country as a whole Hinkley shows all the stress of an innner city area with the resulting unemployment rates. The problem is particularly bad for school leavers and is getting worse for the ethnic population and women" (my brackets) (23.).*

With these observations in mind the following points need to be made:

1. **Adult Female Unemployment:** Figures collected by Hinkley (24.) show that between 1979 and March 1980 5,416 jobs were lost in Hinkley reducing their number from 87,530 to 82,114, a decline of 6.2%. Although the number of male and female unemployment was about the same, females were hardest hit with 8% of those in work made redundant in this period as compared with 5% of working males.

2. **Adult Male Unemployment:** The most commonly quoted indicator of unemployment is its rate amongst adult males. Whilst this tends to mask the problems faced by other groups in the period leading up to the study (1979-1982) the monthly rate for Hinkley was higher and rising more quickly

than for the GLC area.

3. **Ethnic Unemployment:** Unemployment rates amongst the ethnic minorities of Hinkley from May 1980 to February 1981 showed a quickening, but parallel increase among the area's Indian Sub-continent and West Indian/Afro-Caribbean communities, with the former starting off from a higher level (25.). In contrast, the unemployment rate experienced by Hinkley's White population was at a lower level than that of the two minority groups and failed to show the same rate of increase (26.).

4. **Youth Unemployment:** The unemployment trend for young people covering the period January 1981 to January 1982 indicated its cyclical form with school leavers joining the workforce at the end of the summer term (27.). The dearth of local jobs which, given the dependence of the young on local labour markets, amplified the severity of the employment problems they confronted.

A3.11. Unemployment In Ingleby.

A leaflet prepared by Ingleby's Economic Development Unit summarizes the scale the Borough's unemployment problem when stating that:

> *"Ingleby, like many other inner city areas, bore the brunt of the 1980's depresssion. As a result, the Borough's registered unemployment rate is now around twice the average for London, and one of the highest among individual Borough's" (28.).*

Whilst the labour market situation confronting the Borough's residents was more favourable than that faced by those living in Hinkley there was a considerable degree of similarity with Ingleby's local economy also undergoing structural changes leaving many people with skills which did not match available jobs while;

> *"some employers have negative attitudes to employing inner city residents: only one in five local jobs go to local people" (29.).*

Thus, throughout the first half of the 1980's unemployment in Ingleby rose steadily. At the time of the 1981 census it stood at 16.2% and hit a peak of 20.4% in July 1986 before falling steadily back to 11% by December 1989 (30.).

However, unemployment was as selective in its impact in Ingleby as it was in Hinkley. The following makes this clear:

1. **Adult Female Unemployment:** Women are identified by Ingleby as a ' disadvantaged ' group in the local labour market with good reason. Between July 1977 and July 1980 available jobs in the Borough fell by 5% and that with 109,582 women (31.) unemployed at the end of this period they appeared to run a disproportionately greater chance of suffering unemployment than did men.

2. **Adult Male Unemployment:** Although the adult male unemployment rate in Ingleby from 1979 to 1982 was less than that of Hinkley's by December 1989 it was still double the London average.

3. **Ethnic Unemployment:** Ingleby's Economic Development Unit recognizes that the highest levels of unemployment in the area are among ethnic minorities . In a strategy document issued by Ingleby reference is made to the 1987 Survey of Living Standards and states:

   > *"Evidence from the Survey of Living Standards, found that in Ingleby the various ethnic minority groups had much higher rates (of unemployment) than white British. For instance, unemployment among Cypriots was reported as 34%, around a quarter among Irish and black people and 14% among white British" (my brackets) (32.).*

   The rate of unemployment of the ethnic minorities is so much greater than that of other members of the population it is impossible not to attribute this, in large part, to racism.

4. **Youth Unemployment:** Youth unemployment in Ingleby has tended to exhibit the same cyclical patterns as that for young people in Hinkley - both ebb and flow cyclically with the discharge of school leavers onto the labour market each summer. In April 1986 20% of all Ingleby's school leavers were unemployed,

but the demographic changes which reflect their significantly lower numbers in the population as a whole is tending to transform the problem of youth unemployment to one of their recruitment and retention.

However, the falling numbers of young people in Ingleby's population does not guarantee the banishment of their employment problems as many lack the appropriate skills and, or educational qualifications employers require.

A3.12. Education In Hinkley

Education in Hinkley throughout the period of the research study was provided by the now defunct Inner London Education Authority (ILEA). It was responsible for the provision of nursery, primary, secondary, further and some higher education for residents of the Borough. However, as the population of the area has declined there has been a corresponding reduction in the number of school aged children leading to the closure of some educational establishments and the merging of others.

Educational attainment at secondary school level in the Borough is poor being lower in 1982 than many other parts of the ILEA area.

A3.13. Education In Ingleby

Ingleby has a well developed educational infrastructure that includes two universities and two colleges of further education and is responsible for the provision of nursery, primary, secondary further and some higher education in the area.

Although Ingleby and Hinkley have the same responsibilities for the supply of education the level of attainment, measured in terms of examination passes, of pupils aged 16 years is higher in the former, than in the latter Borough.

Appendix 4.

Respondent Foci.

A4.1. Introduction.

The respondent focus of the study consists of three groups. These I call, the 'experts', the 'tracers', and the 'targets'. While each contributed information to the study the nature of this information varied with the differing roles each group played in the study as did the points at which they participated in it. The purpose of this Appendix is to provide an overview of the respondent groups and the uses they were put to.

A4.2. The 'Experts'.

The word 'expert' denotes a person having special skills or knowledge (1.) of the problems young people in local authority residential 'care' are confronted with on the labour market and in other areas of their lives as a result of being in 'care'.

The specification of concepts, the formulation of hypotheses, the construction of questionnaires and the development of the research design were all matters on which the opinion of 'experts' were required and their views informed the different stages of the research study. The 'experts' consulted were the writers and the organizations having a special interest in young people in 'care'.

A4.2(a.). The 'Writers'.

The 'writers' are the social researchers who have contributed to the body of literature on young people in local authority residential 'care' and formed the largest and most influential block of 'expert' opinion to which reference was made. Their views were discussed in Part 1 of this thesis and shall not be repeated here. However, it is worth emphasizing the importance of the 'writers' as an 'expert' group by citing Komidar who stresses that;

> *"... all research inevitably involves the use of the book, pamphlet, periodical and documentary material in libraries. This applies to studies based upon original data gathered in field study as well as to those based entirely upon documentary sources. In both types of studies there is the same need for using certain basic kinds of documentary materials. On the one hand, general source materials have to be consulted for the necessary background knowledge of the problems to be investigated. Obviously, no research project can be undertaken without this preliminary orientation. Nor should one be undertaken without knowledge of the research that has already been done in the field. It provides further orientation to the problem, and at the same time eliminates the possibility of unnecessary duplication of effort. In addition, valuable information on research techniques may be gained from reports of previous research" (2.).*

However, the usefulness of written 'expert' opinion is restricted as it is impossible to conduct a dialogue with the written page. As a result, the 'writers' are innately passive respondents. The literature can only present the views of authors to readers who are left to make of them what they will. They may ask questions of the literature, but no replies will be forthcoming. The best that can be hoped for is the discovery of more satisfactory explanations which appear to answer unanswered questions.

A4.2(b.). The 'Organizations'.

As a result of the unresponsiveness of the 'writers', attempts were made to enrich information derived from the literature by seeking the views of several organizations having a 'special' interest in young people in local authority residential 'care'. These were contacted in the course of a preliminary study and were as follows:

1. National Association for Young People in Care (NAYPIC).

2. First Key.

3. Community Service Volunteers (CSV): Community Programme.

4. The June Chambers Memorial Association (JCMA).

The contribution these agencies made to the research study was examined in Appendix 1., therefore, efforts here will be confined to pointing out the credentials of each and their specific areas of expertise:

1. **The Organizations: NAYPIC.** Run and staffed by young people from a variety of 'care' backgrounds NAYPIC is the consumers' voice in the provision of child 'care' services. Established in 1969 it has come up with hard hitting criticisms about life in 'care' and advocated ways of improving it. Its work has gained widespread respect, especially from its association with the report of the House of Commons Social Services Committee, "Children in Care", 1983 (3.).

   As the influence of NAYPIC has grown so has its ability to get much needed financial security provided by DHSS funding which grew from £37,000 a year in the period 1983-1986 to £65,000 a year from 1986-1989. This has enabled NAYPIC to employ full-time staff who must, by the organization's rules, relinquish their jobs when they become 25 years of age to ensure that staff continue to reflect the feelings of the young people they represent.

2. **The Organizations: First Key.** In 1984 First Key was established as the successor to Home Base, an informal organization which grew out of Shelter's concern for the housing difficulties and homelessness experienced by many 'care' leavers.

   First Key has followed up the work of Home Base by operating as a national resource agency and pressure group which acts as a catalyst for action on the unmet housing needs of 'care' leavers. The agency has gradually broaden its interests as it came to realize that the housing difficulties of these young people are intertwined with many of the other problems they face. As a result, First Key incorporated into its remit the improvement of;

   > *"the co-ordination between statutory and voluntary agencies and community groups to support the transition from care through easier access to services such as housing, education and training as well as social facilities" (4.).*

The work of First Key has gained considerable respect as is reflected in the success it has met with in gaining funds from central and local government. Its grant, received from the DHSS, was renewed and increased in the course of this study and the organization proved itself capable of attracting additional monies from industry, commerce and grant making trusts.

3. **The Organizations: Community Service Volunteers (CSV):Community Programme.** CSV was set up in 1962 as a charity dedicated to the promotion of full-time volunteer involvement in all forms of social and community services in Britain. Since its founding CSV has grown steadily and attracted considerable government funding. This has enabled it to employ a large full-time staff working in all parts of the U.K. and to expand its activities to include working with the media and running several job creation schemes.

The Community Programme is an innovative undertaking, representing the effort made by CSV to assist young people in 'care' make the transition to independent living. As a result, the Programme is particularly interested in their employment problems. It is an interest which has enabled it to attract funding from the Department of Employment and a number of local authorities.

4. **The Organizations: June Chambers Memorial Association (JCMA).** In 1979 the JCMA was set up in the memory of June Chambers who had been employed as a residential social worker by the London Borough of Waltham Forest and is dedicated to helping young people, about to leave 'care', make the transition to independence. Financed by Waltham Forest and the London Borough of Redbridge, the Association limits its operations to these Boroughs. It employs two full-time workers who, with the help of volunteers, provide practical help and advice to the sixteen year olds who are placed in the Association's bedsitters prior to being discharged from 'care'.

Of the respondent 'expert' organizations the JCMA was the smallest and the only one which did not operate on a national scale. However, it occupied a special place within the study as only it worked directly with young people in 'care' on a day to day basis.

A4.3. The 'Tracers'.

Interviewed three times during the course of the study the 'tracers' formed a crucial part of the respondent focus, consisting of young people in, and not in local authority residential 'care'. The contrasting backgrounds, views and experiences of these young people were used to; a.) check-out the validity of presenting young people in 'care' as different from others of their age by the application of social definition which presents them as unusually deviant; b.) test the proposition that young people in 'care' are defined differently from other young people, and; c.) to identify any linkage between this definition and reduced job opportunities for those in 'care'.

Thus, the 'tracers' provided valuable operational tools and were members of the following samples:

1. **London Borough of Hinkley 'Care' Sample** consisting of all young people of minimum school-leaving age in 'care' to the Authority and residing in residential accommodation, situated within the Borough's boundaries and run by it.

2. **London Borough of Ingleby 'Care' Sample** consisting of all young people of minimum school-leaving age in 'care' to the Authority and residing in residential accommodation, situated within the Borough's boundaries and run by it.

3. **London Borough of Hinkley 'Non-Care' Sample** matched with the Borough's 'care' sample.

4. **London Borough of Ingleby 'Non-Care' Sample** matched with the Borough's 'care' sample.

It is emphasized that the study was not about the members of any of these samples, interest in them lay in their ability to access the views of the third respondent group, the 'targets'.

A4.4. The 'Targets'.

The 'target'groups comprised of powerful defining groups whose view of young people in local authority 'care' was considered to play an influential role in determining their futures. It is the views of these groups which are of ultimate interest to the study making them its 'targets'.

However, a problem is encountered when trying to decide who to include and exclude from the 'target' respondent category. Research only ever deals with simplified abstractions of 'reality' and social definitions arise out of a complex and dynamic interactive process making the attribution of definitions to the views of notionally omnipotent definers naive. To overcome this seemingly insurmountable obstacle a strategy was adopted which restricted membership of this part of the respondent focus to those who 'the writers' and 'the organizations' most clearly identified as having views of young people in 'care' which profoundly effected their employment chances. These were as follows:

1. Teachers.

2. Employers.

3. The Public.

The following points are made:

1. **The 'Targets': Teachers.** There is a well documented positive correlation between being in 'care', poor school performance and restricted job opportunities (5.). All 'expert' opinion consulted in the course of the study confirmed this leading to the conclusion that teachers are very powerful definers of young people in 'care'. The weight of available 'evidence' shows that the ways in which teachers perceive these young people is a major factor in determining their future life chances.

Accordingly, a small sample of teachers were interviewed in the course of the pilot study while the interviews conducted with all those teaching 'care' respondents formed an important part of the main study's fieldwork phase.

2. **The 'Targets': Employers.** As the providers of employment it is reasonable to assume that the pre-conceptions employers had of young people in 'care' are pivotal in determining their fate on the labour market. If employers regard these young people with mistrust not only their economic, but also their social position is likely to be eroded for, as the discussion of labour market theories pointed out (6.), the labour market is a social market.

   In order to identify the views employers have of young people in, not 'care' a number of firms participated in the pilot study (see Appendix 1.). Subsequently, in the fieldwork phase of the main study employers who had been approached by 'care' and 'non-care' respondents for work were invited to take part in the research as were others, located within the geographical range of the young people's job search. As a result, a representative cross section of the kinds of work respondents enquired after and types of employers they sought it from was obtained. At all times trouble was taken to ensure that those who responded to the study on behalf of employers were personnel who took recruitment decisions on behalf of these employers.

3. **The 'Targets': The Public.** The public were incorporated into the research focus's 'target' group for the following reasons:

   a. Chapter 10's discussion of the social costs of unemployment makes clear that, regardless of accuracy, the social stereotypes attached to individuals have tangible and enduring implications for them.

   b. As the possessors of 'social baggage' teachers and employers are influenced by, as well as influencing, prevailing social stereotypes.

   The public's opinion of young people in residential 'care' is a matter of more than academic interest. It has an all prevailing influence, emphasizing the interactive nature of the social process generating the definition of these young people. As a result, attempts were made in the pilot and main studies to gauge what this opinion was.

Appendix 5.

This Week: 'The Disappearing Dole Queue', Thames Television, 15th. January 1987.

While the fieldwork phase of the research study was in progress 'The Disappearing Dole Queue', a programme in Thames Television's This Week current affairs series, was broadcasted at a time when the Department of Employment's monthly unemployment statistics appeared to be exhibiting a welcome downward trend with the fall in the number out of work for December 1986 being a record. The dole queue appeared to be disappearing or, at least, shrinking.

However, the unemployment statistics were, and are a highly selective count of the unemployed which acknowledges as unemployed only those who are claiming unemployment benefit or income support. As a result it has long been recognized that women and young people are significantly under represented in the unemployment figures.

Furthermore, the immense political pressure to achieve a drop in the level of unemployment contributed to the development of a vast array of schemes, programmes and tests capable of being deployed against the unemployed in an effort to ensure that many do not appear in the count of those out of work and to coerce them into low paid employment.

Since 'The Disappearing Dole Queue' things have changed in the way the unemployed are treated. The proliferation of special schemes and programmes which then abounded for them have been replaced by just two - a much expanded Youth Training Scheme (YTS) and a newly introduced Employment Training (ET) programme. However, these are no more than streamlining exercises which bear the mark of their numerous predecessors whilst the restricted access to benefit and the application of a 'work fair' principle continue to be as much in evidence at the time of writing as they were in early 1987.

Thus, the cautionary tale the This Week programme gave about taking the unemployment statistics at face value remains valid as do the examples of the ways in which they can be massaged in a downward direction making the disappearance of the dole queue more apparent than real. The purpose here is to provide a synopsis of the tactics the This Week team identified as being used to produce this effect and are as follows:

1. Restart.

Under the auspices of Restart, a government sponsored scheme aimed at the 1.2 million individuals who were, at the end of 1986, long-term unemployed - out of work of work for a year or more - were given compulsory interviews at their Job Centres with failure to attend resulting in loss of benefit.

Restart was given a high priority by the Department of Employment with 900,000 long-term unemployed having been interviewed by the date of 'The Disappearing Dole Queues' broadcast. Of these, 146,000 were deprived of benefit and so ceased to be defined as unemployed and counted as such.

2. Job Clubs.

Following their Restart interviews some unemployed individuals join Job Clubs of which the government wanted to establish 2,000 by November 1987. However, this rate of expansion was not matched by the predicted growth in available work leaving too many people chasing too few jobs. Not surprisingly, This Week's reporters discovered that many of those who succeeded in finding work through Job Clubs earned little more, sometimes less, than they had received by way of benefit. When interviewed about this on the television Professor Minniford, one of Chancellor of the Exchequer's 'Seven Wise Men' (independent economic advisors) and former economic guru of Margaret Thatcher, candidly admitted that the operation of Job Clubs reflected the government's policy of forcing the unemployed into low paid work.

3. The Community Programme.

The Community Programme placed unemployed people on projects, of up to a year, in service to their local communities. Although project placement did not constitute what is normally understood to be employment - no wage was paid, just an allowance from the Manpower Services Commission equivalent to unemployment benefit - the Programme's participants ceased to be recorded as unemployed. In this way 250,000 were shorn from the unemployment statistics by January 1987.

4. The Youth Training Scheme (YTS).

Although now much expanded, by 1987 the YTS had prevented 175,000 young people aged 16 to 18 years from being recorded as unemployed.

5. The Job Training Scheme (JTS).

Since being swallowed up by Employment Training Scheme the JTS was aimed at the unemployed aged 18 years an over who it provided with training programmes of six months duration. In this period JTS 'trainees' were not included in the count of unemployed although they continued to receive the same benefits from the same social security offices.

Furthermore, those who were classified as long-term unemployed at the outset of their JTS found that they were re-classifed as short-term unemployed if they remained without work at the end of their period of training.

Therefore, whilst the JTS may not have found work for many long-term unemployed it succeeded in fictionally reducing their number by 50,000.

6. Availability For Work Test.

Those wishing to claim unemployment benefit prior to its award are made to complete a form designed to test their availability for work. Claimants are required to state how far they are prepared to travel to work, what hours they will work, what kind of work they would do etc. The responses given to these questions are vetted with claimants' replies being used to decide who will and won't get benefit.

The availability for work test continues to be used, but by early 1987 it had already skimmed 95,000 off the unemployment figures whilst leaving the underlying number of people out of work untouched.

7. Forcing Claimants To Claim Benefits Which Eliminate Them From The Unemployment Statistics:

'The Disappearing Dole Queue' made reference to the tactic of persuading unemployed individuals to claim forms of benefit e.g. invalidity benefit, which automatically removed from them from the unemployment statistics. Whilst this reduced the figure given for the number of unemployed it did not lower the number of people in need of work.

Summary: Changing The Ways In Which the Unemployment Figure Is Calculated.

From the General Election of 1979 to January 1987 eighteen changes in the way the unemployed were counted took place with each change resulting in a downward revision in the number of those recorded as out of work. This, when combined with the use made of the kinds of devices referred to above meant that whilst the dole queue did appear to be disappearing, at the time of This Week broadcast, with the unemployment statistics showing 3.3 million unemployed this was a mirage with their truer number, as calculated by the TUC and CBI, being over 4 million. On the basis of these figures up to another .7 million might need to be added to the unemployment statistics for January 1993, which showed that 3 million were still out of work, to get a more accurate idea of the true level of unemployment in Britain at that time. A similar calculation needs to be done to assess the 'true' level of present day unemployment.

> *"Employmenmt ministers and officials rejected an analysis by the Cambridge Economist, John Wells, based on International Labour Organisation figures, that some 1.08 million are without work, but unable to cliam benefit... It has long been alleged that the 29 changes in the jobless definition since 1979 may have underestimated the total figure of the unemployed by as much as 1 million" (1.).*

Appendix 6.

Labour Force Survey: Technical Note.

Survey Design.

The 1988 Labour Force Survey estimates are based on interviews with members of about 60,000 private households throughout Great Britain during March, April and May 1988 (that is about one in every 350 private households in Great Britain).

Those responding households constituted about 81 per cent of the eligible households found at the addresses selected for the sample. The addresses were drawn by a random process from the Post Office's postcode address file in such a way that each standard region was represented in the correct proportion for the country as a whole, as there were three strata of local authority districts defined by population size and density. Since 1984, approximately 30 per cent of each year's sample has been drawn at random from the list of addresses selected for inclusion in the previous year. No address is included in the sample for more than two years.

The survey was carried out by the Social Survey Division of the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys on behalf of the Employment Department.

The survey is also extended to Northern Ireland, by the Department of Economic Development in Northern Ireland, in order to provide estimates for the whole of the United Kingdom, as required by the European Community. However, the questionnaires for Northern Ireland are slightly different from those used in Great Britain and therefore the estimates to which this thesis has referred are for Great Britain only.

The questionnaire covers household size and structure; accommodation details; basic demographic characteristics such as age, sex, marital status and ethnic origin; and, for people aged 16 and over, details of economic activity. The latter was established by asking people about their paid work, job search and so on, during a specified reference period, normally a period of one week or four weeks (depending on the topic) immediately prior to the interview (see "Concepts and Definitions Used" below).

If a member of a household was unavailable for interview, information relating to that person could be provided by a related adult member of the same household. Information was provided by such "proxy" informants in respect of 35 per cent of the responding adults in the 1988 survey.

The results of the survey were scaled to give estimates relating to the whole population resident in private households in Great Britain in spring 1988. The sample was designed to be representative of this population, but some individuals and housholds declined to take part (the survey is voluntary) or could not be contacted during the interview period.

In order to adjust for this, each person in the survey was given a weight or 'grossing factor', related to that person's age, sex, marital status and region of residence. In this way the 'grossed up' survey results give the correct population total for Britain and reflect the distribution by sex, age and region shown by the population figures.

The population figures used in producing the preliminary estimates are population projections. As usual, the results are therefore subject to revision when later population figure become available.

As with all sample surveys, the results are subject to sampling error. A detailed description of the sample design (which has remained the substantially unchanged since 1984) and information about sampling errors are given in the OPCS report of each year's surveys.

Time Series Estimates.

Where time series are presented the figures for earlier years (i.e. prior to 1988) are the final estimates based on the appropriate official mid-year population estimates. They therefore differ slightly from the preliminary estimates for each year published in the Employment Gazette. In addition, the grossing factors for the 1984 results have been recalculated to take account of an improvement in the grossing procedure introduced in the preparation of the 1985 results (using the old method, the population aged 16 to 19 was underestimated by some 82,000 in the preliminary 1984 LFS results).

Concepts And Definitions Used.

1. **Participation Rate:** The percentage of the relevant population who are economically active, either employed or unemployed.

2. **Economic Activity:** Two measures of economic activity used when discussing youth unemployment in the 1980s were the:

   a. **Employment Rate:** The number of employed divided by the population. People in employment comprise of those aged 16 years and over who did some work in the LFS's reference week; those who had a job that they were temporarily absent from; and those on work related government employment training programmes.

   b. **Unemployment Rate:** This relates to the standardized ILO/OECD definition of unemployment which comprises of those who are without a job and available for work and have either been looking for employment at some time during the last four weeks or were waiting to start a job they had already obtained.

3. **Job Losers** have been made redundant, dismissed or had a temporary job terminated.

4. **Job Quits** have left their previous jobs voluntarily.

5. **New Entrants** are those who report never having worked previously.

6. **Re-entrants** left their last job three years ago.

7. **Structural Difference Index (SDI):** The industrial and occupational SDIs are calculated as Episilon [aij - aj], where aij is the percentage of workers from the ith age group engaged in the jth category and aj is the percentage of all worker

in that category.

8. **Trade and Craft Qualifications:** include those with technical, City and Guilds, completed apprenticeships and other vocational qualifications.

9. **Other Qualifications:** encompass all other academic qualifications up to and including GCE A-level or equivalent.

10. **No Qualifications:** includes all those without any of the formal qualifications listed above.

11. **Missing Values:** Many of the Tables drawn from the LFS have distributions which include missing values and non-responses. Unless otherwise indicated, these missing values have been re-allocated on a pro-rata basis across all respondent categories.

* Extracted from the Employment Gazette, April and June 1989

Appendix 7.

Main Study Questionnaires/Interview Schedules

Note: The comments column records the comments respondents offered in the course of interview. Whilst every effort was made to do this as accurately as possible a verbatim recording of their comments was not made as this proved impractical.

'Tracer' Respondents' Questionnaire: First Interview.

1. Respondent Information.

a. Respondent Code.

b. Name. c. Date of Birth. d. Date of Interview.

e. Racial Presentation. f. Gender.

g. School.

h. Home Address and Telephone Number.

i. Structure of Respondent's Household.

j. Care Status.

'Care' Respondents Only.

k. Placement Address and Telephone Number.

l. Current Legal Status.

m. Person/s the Respondent was Living with
Prior to Entering 'Care'.

2. Parental Occupation.

I would be grateful if you could provide me with some information about your parents' employment.

Where the respondent comes from a two parent household:

a.i. Are either of your parents employed (if 'No' go to 3a.)? Y./N./D.K. (delete).

b.i. In your opinion which of your parents is the main wage earner? Mother/Father/Other (delete).

c.i. What is that parent's job?

Comments.

Where the respondent comes from a single parent household.

a.ii. Is your mother/father employed (if 'No' go to 3a.)? Y./N./D.K. (delete).

a.ii. What is your mother's/father's job?

Comments.

3. Household Structures.

a. Does the respondent come from a single or 2 parent household (see 1i.)? 1/2 parent/s (delete).

b. Are there dependent children in the respondents family home (see 1i.)? Y./N. (delete).

Comments.

4. Changes Of Address.

How many times have you changed address in the last 2 years?

Comments.

5. The Mental And Physical Health Of Respondents’ And Their Families.

	Comments.
a. Have you ever suffered any serious illness (if ’No’ go to 5d.)?	Y./N. (delete).
b. What was that illness?	
c. Would you describe that illness as having short or long-term effects on you?	Short/Long-Term (delete).
d. Have any members of your immediate family ever suffered any serious illness (if ’No’ go to 6a.)?	Y./N. (delete).
e. What was that illness?	
f. Would you describe that illness as having long or short-term effects on them?	Short/Long-Term (delete).

6. Past Social Work Involvement.

a. Is the respondent known to social services (if 'No' go to 7a.)? Y./N. (delete).

b. Number of contacts (i.e. case allocations) with social services?

c. Total length of time case allocated (all allocations) to social workers?

Comments.

7. Number Of Arrests.

a. Have you ever been arrested (if no go to 10a)? Y./N. (delete).

b. About how many times have you been arrested?

Comments.

8. Number Of Convictions.

a. Have you ever been found guilty of an offence (if 'No' go to 9a.)? Y./N. (delete).

b. About how many times have you been found guilty of an offence?

Comments.

9. Last Arrest/Conviction.

a. How long ago did your last arrest or conviction take place - please state that which occurred most recently?

Comments.

10. Level Of Contact With Parents.

Which of the following statements best applies to you?

	Responses (tick.)	Comments.
I live full-time with my parent/s.		
I live part-time with my parent/s.		
I have daily contact with my parent/s.		

I have weekly contact with
with my parent/s.

I have monthly contact with
my parent/s.

I have yearly contact with
my parent/s.

I see my parent/s less than
yearly.

I have no contact with my
parent/s.

* A card listing the above statements was given to respondents to look at when answering this question.

11. Relationship Between Parents.

Could you tell me how good you feel the relationship between your parents is:

	Responses (tick.)	**Comments.**
Very good.		
Good.		
Fair.		
Poor.		
Very Poor.		
Not Applicable.		

* A card listing the above responses was given to respondents to look at when answering this question.

12. Respondents' Relationship With Their Parents.

How well do you think you get on with your parent/s?

	Responses (tick.)	Comments.
Very good.		
Good.		
Fair.		
Poor.		
Very Poor.		
Not Applicable.		

* A card listing the above responses was given to respondents to look at when answering this question.

13. Respondents' Sibling Relationships.

I would be grateful if you would now tell me how well you feel you get on with your brothers and sisters. Would you say your relationship with them is:

	Responses (tick.)	Comments.
Very good.		
Good.		
Fair.		
Poor.		
Very Poor.		
Not Applicable.		

* A card listing the above responses was given to respondents to look at when answering this question.

14. Respondents' Relationships With Their Grandparents.

Which of the following terms best describes your relationship with your grandparents?

	Responses (tick.)	**Comments.**
Very good.		
Good.		
Fair.		
Poor.		
Very Poor.		
Not Applicable.		

* A card listing the above responses was given to respondents to look at when answering this question.

15. Attitude Towards Teachers.

Can you tell me if you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each of the following statements:

	Strongly Agree (+ +)	**Agree** (+)	**Disagree** (-)	**Strongly Disagree** (- -)
I have got on well with most teachers.				
I feel teachers expect me to do well.				
Teachers treat me like an adult.				

Teachers made me
work hard and do
my best.

* A card listing the above statements was given to respondents to look at when answering this question.

Comments.

16. Examinations Passed.

a. Did you pass any ’O’ Levels or gain any C.S.E. grade 1 passes (if ’Yes’ how many)? Y./N. (delete).

b. Did you gain any C.S.E.’s passes below grade 1 (if ’Yes’ how many)? Y./N. (delete).

c. Have you any other qualifications (if ’Yes’ how many)? Y./N. (delete).

Comments.

17. School Attendance.

Number of weeks respondent absent from school in the last two years:

0-6, 7-13, 14-20, 21-27, 28-34, 43-41, 42-48, 59-55
(circle appropriate range of weeks)

Comments.

18. Attitudes Towards School.

Can you tell me if you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each of the following statements:

	Strongly Agree (+ +)	**Agree** (+)	**Disagree** (-)	**Strongly Disagree** (- -)
I've enjoyed school.				
I get on well with other pupils.				
School has made me me think of doing further education.				
My school attendance has been good.				
I've been successful at school.				
School is interesting.				

* A card listing the above statements was given to respondents to look at when answering this question.

Comments.

19. Respondents' Perceptions Of Their Own Abilities.

a. From the types of jobs listed which is the type you most expect to enter when you start work?

b. From the same list of jobs which is the type it is your ambition to eventually get.

	Expectations.	**Aspirations.**
Professional: jobs normally requiring a degree or equivalent as an entry qualification.		
Arts/Performing Arts/Sport.		
Business/Administration.		
Clerical/Secretarial.		
Skilled Trades.		
Retail Trades.		
Semi-Skilled/Unskilled.		
Other.		
Don't Know/Anything.		

* A card listing the above types of jobs was given to respondents to look at when answering this question.

Comments.

20. Respondents’ Reasons For Leaving School.

Please could you tell me which of the following reasons for leaving school best describe your reason for leaving (each pair of reasons read out separately to the respondent).

Responses (tick.) **Comments.**

Financial.

I want to earn money.

I/my family need all the money I can earn.

Vocational.

I have a job lined up.

I want to get away from school.

Social.

I can make more friends at work.

All my friends are leaving school.

Developmental.

Work offers me a better chance of getting on in life.

Staying on at school won’t do me any good.

21. Primary Sources Information On Job Vacancies.

From the list of possible sources on job vacancies could you please tell me which ones you regard as having been the most, and second most important to you in your last year at school?

	Responses (tick.)	**Comments.**
Social Workers.		
Teachers.		
Careers Offices/ Job Centres.		
Relatives.		
Friends.		
Newspapers.		
Other.		

* A card listing the above sources was given to respondents to look at when answering this question.

22. Number Of Jobs Applied For.

a. Please estimate the number of jobs you applied for in your last year at school (if none, end).

b. Could you give me some idea of the types of jobs and names of firms you have approached for work in your last year at school.

Comments.

23. Geographical Extent Of Job Search.

Of those jobs you have applied for how far from your present address was the one at greatest distance?

Comments.

24. Employment Status.

a. Are you employed at this time? Y./N. (delete)

Comment.

Note: Where the design of instruments (see Chapter 14.7.) specified that the information requested by certain questions should be sought from sources other than respondents these questions were not raised with them. As a result, for example, respondents were not asked about their past histories of social work involvement as this information was gleaned directly from the records of local authority social services departments.

'Tracer' Respondents' Questionnaire: Second Interview.

1. Respondent Information.

a. Respondent Code. b. Name.
c. Date of Interview.

d. Home Address and Telephone Number.

'Care' Respondents Only.

e. Placement Address and Telephone Number.

f. Current Legal Status.

Comments.

2. Employment Status.

Are you employed at this time Y./N. (delete)
(if 'Yes' end)?

Comments.

3. Primary Sources Information On Job Vacancies.

From the list of possible sources of information on job vacancies could you please tell me which one do you regard as having been the most important to you since the last interview.

	Responses (tick.)	**Comments.**
Social Workers.		
Teachers.		
Careers Offices/ Job Centres.		
Relatives.		
Friends.		
Newspapers.		
Other.		

* A card listing the above sources was given to respondents to look at when answering this question.

4. Number Of Jobs Applied For.

a. Please estimate the number of jobs you have applied for since the last interview.

b. Could you give me some idea of the types of jobs and names of firms you have approached for work since the last interview?

Comments.

5. Geographical Extent Of Job Search

Of those jobs you have applied for since the last interview about how far from your present address was the one at greatest distance?

Comments.

'Tracer' Respondents' Questionnaire: Third Interview.

1. Respondent Information.

a. Respondent Code. b. Name.

c. Date of Interview.

d. Home Address and Telephone Number.

'Care' Respondents Only.

e. Placement Address and Telephone Number.

f. Current Legal Status.

Comments.

2. Employment Status.

Are you employed at this time Y./N. (delete)
(if 'Yes' end)?

Comments.

3. Primary Sources Information On Job Vacancies.

From the list of possible sources of information on job vacancies could you please tell me which one do you regard as having been the most important to you since the last interview.

	Responses (tick.)	**Comments.**
Social Workers.		
Teachers.		
Careers Offices/ Job Centres.		
Relatives.		
Friends.		
Newspapers.		
Other.		

* A card listing the above sources was given to respondents to look at when answering this question.

4. Number Of Jobs Applied For.

a. Please estimate the number of jobs you have applied for since the last interview.

b. Could you give me some idea of the types of jobs and names of firms you have approached for work since the last interview?

Comments.

5. Geographical Extent Of Job Search

Of those jobs you have applied for since the last interview about how far from your present address was the one at greatest distance?

Comments.

Main Study: Public Opinion Poll Schedule

Respondent Infoermation.

a. Place of Interview.

b. Date of Interview.

c. Respondent Code.

d. Estimated Age of Respondent: 18-30, 31-40, 41-50, 51-60, 60+.

(circle estimated age range).

e. Respondent Gender - M/F (delete).

f. Respondents Racial Presentation - Black/White (delete).

1. Do You Know That Some Teenagers In 'Care' Live In Residential Establishments Run By Local Authorities?

	Response (tick)	Comments
Yes.		
No.		

2. What Do You Think Is The Main Reason For Children Under The Age Of 13 Years For Being In 'Care?

	Response (tick)	**Comments**
Offending.		
Failure To Accept Parents Authority.		
Not Care For Properly By Parents.		
Been Abused.		
Family Breakdown.		
Illness Of Parent.		
Loss Of Parents.		
Not Wanted By Parents.		
Others.		
Don't Know.		

3. What Do You Think Is The Main Reason For Teenagers Being In 'Care'?

	Response (tick)	**Comments**
Offending.		
Failure To Accept Parents Authority.		
Been Abused.		
Behaviour.		
Family Breakdown.		
Others.		
Don't Know.		

4. Do You Think Children In 'Care' Under The Age Of 13 Years Are Most Often Placed In Residential Homes, Or With Foster Families, Or With Their Own Parents?

	Response (tick)	**Comments**
Foster Family		
Residential Home.		
Own Parents.		
Don't Know.		

5. Do You Think Teenagers 'Care' Under The Age Of 13 Years Are Most Often Placed In Residential Homes, Or With Foster Families, Or With Their Own Parents?

	Response (tick)	**Comments**
Foster Family		
Residential Home.		
Own Parents.		
Don't Know.		

6. In Terms Of Examinations Passed Do You Think The School Performance Of Teenagers In Local Authority Residential 'Care' Is Likely To Be Better Than Average, Average Or Below Average?

	Response (tick)	**Comments**
Better Than Average.		
Average.		
Below Average.		
Don't Know.		

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a.) he is unlikely to achieve or maintain, or have the opportunity of achieving or maintaining, a reasonable standard of health or development without the provision for him of services by a local authority...

b.) his health or development is likely to be significantly impaired, without the provision for him of such services, or

c.) he is disabled.

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